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THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
1843?
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

NEW SERIES.



VOLUME THE THIRD.

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Season

STEPHEN AUSTIN,



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[NEW SERIES.]

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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—Contributions towards a Glossary of the Assyrian Language. BY H. F. TALBOT.















I THINK it may be of some utility to the Students of the Assyrian Language to bring together in the form of a Glossary a certain number of words of which the meaning appears to be established with a reasonable amount of probability. I have here presented to the Society the commencement of such a work, to be continued, as I hope, on a future occasion. I have not followed any alphabetical order, but have numbered the words, so that in the event of their becoming sufficiently numerous, an alphabetical index referring to these numbers may be added. I have been very careful to refer to passages in which the words are found, so as to enable any one to verify their accuracy. I have used some typographical abbreviations, the principal of which are the following:—















- L. .. First Vol. of British Museum Inscriptions. Edited by Layard, 1851.
- B. ... Second Vol. of British Museum Inscriptions. Edited by Rawlinson, 1861.
- 2 B. .. Third Vol. of British Museum Inscriptions. Edited by the same, 1866.
- R. A. S. .. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- R. S. L. .. Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.
- Obel. .. Inscription on the Obelisk (L. pl. 87-98).

- Tigl. Annals of Tiglath Pileser I. (R. pl. 9-16).
 Annals. Annals of the King who has been called Sardanapalus I. or
 Ashurakhbal (R. pl. 17-26).
 Tayl. Annals of the first eight years of Sennacherib's reign, called
 "Taylor's Cylinder" (R. pl. 37-42).
 B. N. The Birs Nimrud Inscription (R. pl. 51).
 E. I. H. The great Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, in the East India
 House (R. pl. 59-64).
 Phill. Inscription in the possession of Sir T. Phillipps, Bart.
 (R. pl. 65).
 Bell. Bellino's Cylinder, containing annals of the first two years of
 Sennacherib's reign. Published by Grotefend from
 Bellino's facsimile.
 Botta From Botta's Monument de Ninive. 1849-50, Paris.
 Behist. The Inscription of Behistun. Edited by Sir H. Rawlinson,
 in the Journal of the R. A. S.
 P. C. Proto-Chaldean; sometimes called Accadian.
 Sch. Schindleri Lexicon Pentaglotton. Hanovise, 1612.
 Buxt. Buxtorf's great Lexicon; which he describes as "Opus
 XXX annorum."
 Ges. or Gesen. Gesenii Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum.
 Leipsic, 1833.
 Opp. Khors. Grande Inscription du Palais de Khorsabad. Publiée et
 commentée par J. Oppert et J. Ménant. Paris, 1863.
 Opp. Exp. .. Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie. Publiée par
 J. Oppert. Paris, 1858.
-

1. **Ilu.** 𐎶 𐎵, a God.—Phill. 1, 11. Ana Marduk ilu bani-ya, "Unte Marduk the god my creator (or, my father)." The same as the Hebrew ֱלֹהִים, Deus. In 2 R 31, line 11 of col. 2, we find another spelling of the word, viz. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 Ilu, which is explained by 𐎶𐎵 the usual symbol for a god. The same is repeated in line 20. But No. 754 of the Syllabary explains 𐎶𐎵 by 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 Ilu. The plural is sometimes Ilim 𐎶 𐎶𐎵, as in the name of King Ashur-resh-Ilim 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 father of Tiglath Pileser I. His name signifies "Ashur is the chief of the gods."—See R 15, line 42.
2. **Shamie.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Heaven.—B.N. 1, 13. Agrees exactly with the Hebrew שָׁמַיִם.
3. **Irtsit.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Earth.—B.N. 1, 13. The same as Heb. אֶרֶץ.
4. **Sarru.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, a King.—2 R 2, No. 330, where it is explained by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 which is the usual symbol for a king. The same spelling and explanation is also found in 2 R 31, line 9 of col. 2. The same is again repeated in line 17. This is the Heb. סֹרַר Prince, which is also written שָׂר. In Daniel viii. 25, שָׂר שָׂרִים is rendered in the authorised version "Prince of princes." The word was pronounced simply Sar. Indeed the single letter 𐎶𐎵 Sar expresses "King" in R 9, line 1, Ashur Sar kushat ilim; Ashur, King of the races of the gods.

5. **Sarrat.**  , a Queen.—2 R 48, line 34. Many examples in 2 R 60, viz. lines 3, 14, 17, 24, 25, 26.

We read on the Tablet 100—"Ishtar, queen of heaven and of the stars."            Ishtar sarrat shamami u (....); the last word being of doubtful sound. Perhaps however *shamami* is an adjective, meaning "heavenly." It occurs also in R 69, col. 3, line 54:—"The worship of San, chief of the gods, do thou establish in the hearts of the people"—where "hearts" have the epithet    *shamami*, meaning either "heavenly" or "pious."

(I took tribute from) Samsi, queen of the Arabians
             

often found on the grammatical tablets in the British Museum, saying that "King Ashurbanipal caused these *dippi sarruti* to be written for the promotion of learning—which no king had ever done before him"—*dippi sarruti* meaning "tablets of instruction."

In this word as in many others the Chaldee changes 𐤢 into 𐤠 , having 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠 *taruta* (instruction at school) for *sarrut*.

I have since found a remarkable confirmation of this explanation on a tablet 2 R 2, No. 370, where 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 *Dip Sarru* is explained to mean 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 *Dippi Rish*, "tablet of the commencement." In 2 R 60, line 34, the god Nebo, who was, like Hermes, the god of eloquence and learning, has the title *Banu sitri dip sarruti* 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 Author of the writings on the Tablets of Primary Instruction.

8. **Kha** 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 , and **Khu**. 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 , are the well-known symbols for a Fish and a Bird. They are very often coupled together by way of contrast. Those were probably their names in the Proto-Chaldean language. These words occur together in 2 R 40, lines 17 and 18 of col. 2, accompanied by an Assyrian version, as follows:—

9. **Nuni**. 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 , a Fish (oblique case); explained by 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 *Kha*. This agrees perfectly with the Heb. נִין *nun*, a fish.

10. **Itsuri**. 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 , a Bird; explained by 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 *Khu*. This is the oblique case; the nominative case or simple form of the word is *Isur* 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 . Numerous examples occur in the inscriptions, *ex. gr.*

11. **Ini Itsuri**. 𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 , Bird's Eye; the name of a stone. This name is found in a long list of stones 2 R 40. The corresponding Proto-Chaldean term is 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 𐤠𐤢𐤢𐤢𐤢 , of which the first sign means "Eye," the second "Bird," and the third is the syllable *na*, which I

take to be a case ending. Modern languages have similar names for stones, such as Cat's Eye, &c.

12. **Itsurish** (adv.). Like a Bird. *Itsurish ipparas* "he fled like a bird," $\text{𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$.—R 39, 57. For this in other passages we find *kima itsuri* $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$ (like a bird). For instance, in the Annals of Esarhaddon, line 45 of col. 1, "Sanduarri fled to the mountains, but I caught him like a bird," *kima itsuri*; which is contrasted with another statement in line 17, "King Abd-Astarte fled over the Sea, but I caught him like a fish," *kima nuni*. See also 2 R 19, line 40 of col. 2, *kima itsuri* $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$, which phrase is accompanied by a Proto-Chaldean translation, $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$. The last sign is *kim* (like unto), which always follows in this language, whereas in Assyrian *kima* always precedes.

Nunu itsuru, Fish and Birds, R 65, 19, where it is said these were offered to the gods. Thus written $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$ 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 .

Many birds are named on the Tablet 2 R 37, some of which I will add here.

13. **Kuku**. $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$ probably the Cuckoo, 2 R 37, line 4, and again line 54. This bird has not changed its note since the days of Aristophanes:—


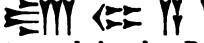


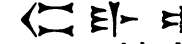
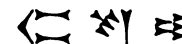
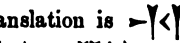


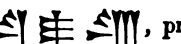
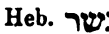
$\chi\omega\pi\theta' \acute{o} \kappa\kappa\kappa\upsilon\xi \epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\iota \kappa\kappa\kappa\upsilon!$ &c.

Opv. 505.

14. **Laklak**. $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$, the Stork, 2 R 37, line 8; rendered in the other column, which is probably in a different dialect, *lakkaku*, $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵}$. This bird was so named from the clattering of its bill. It is an onomatopœia or imitation of a natural sound. The Stork has that name in many eastern languages, which have been carefully brought together by Pott and Rödiger in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. 4, page 31 (Bonn 1841), from which I will make the following extract:—

"The Stork is called in Kurdish *lēgh lēgh*; in Bucharian

and another language *lagh lagh* (see Burnes's Travels, II. 148, of the German translation), so also in Tartarian (see Klaproth's Tour in Caucasus, II. 275): in Persian *legleg*: Arabic *leq leq*, ex sono quem rostro crepitante edit. Hindi *kaka kaka*; Albanian *keléke*. See Bochart's Hierozoicon, III. 88."

15. Ummi Mie. , literally "Water Mother," probably what we call the Water Hen, 2 R 37, line 56. It is also written  (Mother of Waters), same plate line 6; and in the Proto-Chaldaean version it stands thus: , which has the same meaning, since the first sign means *mother*, the second *water*, and the third *bird*.
16. Itsur Mushi.  i.e. Bird of Night, probably the Owl, 2 R 40, line 29; and again 2 R 37, line 31, spelt the same.
17. Itsur rabi.  (literally "the Great Bird"), 2 R 37, line 10, explained *pazpaz* or. *patch-patch*. This is unknown, unless it be the Hindi *petcha* or *pétscha*, an Owl, which Pott mentions in the same page of the Zeitschrift.
18. Itsur titsi. .—2 R 37, line 40. This may mean a Bird of Omen; for *titsu* is used for luck, lot, fortune. The Proto-Chaldaean translation is  which means *bird*, followed by  *gizi*. This Proto-Chaldaean or Accadian word  "a bird" also occurs in lines 41, 48, and 49, besides lines 32, 33, in which the commencement is broken off. It may therefore be considered as well established.
19. Nashru. , probably the Eagle.—2 R 37, line 9. Heb.  *aquila*, Arab. *id.* Syriac *nashra*.* This word is

* The Coptic has *nasher* (Tattam's Egyptian Dictionary, p. 315). Is this an ancient Egyptian word?

translated in the other language by 𐤀𐤃𐤅 𐤀𐤃𐤅𐤃 𐤀𐤃𐤅𐤃𐤀 *Eru*, or using Hebrew letters ערר (for 𐤀𐤃𐤅 often replaces the Hebrew ע). Now it is very interesting to observe how closely this corresponds to the old German *Aro*, an Eagle (see Graff's *Alt-hoch-deutsch Dictionary*, p. 432). He compares also the Gothic *ara* and Nord. *ari*. But the word *Aar* still exists in modern German, and its compounds *Fisch-aar*, a fishing eagle (*falco haliaetus*); *Huhner aar*, the hen-harrier. And it is well known that *Adel-are* (the noble eagle) has become *Adler*.

As regards Eastern languages, Pott says* that the Kurdish and two other tongues have *Alô*, an eagle.

Since writing the above I have found that 𐤀𐤃𐤅 𐤀𐤃𐤅𐤃 *Eru* is a Chaldee word for some kind of Eagle. ערר *gryphus*; avis rapax.—Schindler, p. 1379.

20. **Agammi.** 𐤀𐤂𐤌 𐤀𐤂𐤌𐤀 𐤀𐤂𐤌𐤃 , Reeds. Also a Marsh where reeds grow.—Bell. line 7. Heb. אגמי *agam*; palus, arundo: plur. אגמי.

21. **Apparati.** 𐤀𐤓𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤓𐤃𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤓𐤃𐤁𐤃 , Rushes.—Bell. line 7. This is the Chald. *aparat*, אפרת, a rush (see Buxtorf, p. 197).

“He hid himself *kireb agammi u apparati*, among the reeds and rushes: and his lurking place could not be found.” (Account of the escape of Merodach Baladan, on Bellino's Cylinder.)

22. **Shanat.** 𐤱𐤏𐤏 𐤱𐤏𐤏𐤀 𐤱𐤏𐤏𐤃 , a Year.—2 R 12, line 14. Also R 16, 27, spelt in the same way; where “the harvest-time of the year” is spoken of. Another spelling is *Sanna*, 𐤱𐤏𐤏𐤃𐤀 a year, Bell. line 49, which passage I have translated “during sixteen years,” &c. The Heb. שנה *annus* agrees exactly.

23. **Arakh.** 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤀 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤃 , a Month.—2 R 12, line 15. This word agrees entirely with the Heb. ירח *irakh* or *yarakh*, a month.

* *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, p. 31.

star is called הַיְלֵל in Isaiah xiv. 12. Considered as a goddess, her name among the Arabians would be הַיְלֵלָת, which is nearly identical in sound with Ἀλλὰτ.

Herodotus adds, that the Arabians called the sun *Orotal*. With respect to this important passage I have a conjecture to offer, which perhaps is new. I think that *Orotal* is undoubtedly the Chaldee word אֲגֻרְמַל "a dish of gold" (Ezra i. 9). If the G in this word were pronounced gutturally it would sound as nearly as possible *Orotal*. But in order to make this clearer I will add, that the Greek Δίσκος (whence the English *dish* and A. Sax. *disk*, and Swedish *diskar*, dishes) meant originally a round plate; but afterwards came to mean anything flat and circular, as a quoit, a disc, the disc of the sun. So in Persian the same word (*kāsah*) signifies a round *dish*, cup, saucer, &c., and also the disc of the sun or moon. The word *tasht* in the same language possesses the same two meanings. On this subject I will make a short quotation from a former work of mine (English Etymologies, p. 211). "Several nations seem to have remarked an analogy between the light of the two great luminaries and the colour of the two precious metals, gold and silver. This is partly, no doubt, fanciful and poetical, but nevertheless it is remarkable enough that it should exist at all: such a coincidence being entirely casual and fortuitous in its nature. The *silvery* light of the moon is quite proverbial. For this reason the moon in India is *chandra*, from *chand*, silver. And in Persian poetry she is "the silvery orb," *tasht-i-simin*. The sun is sometimes called in Persian *Zartushti* or *tasht-i-zer*, the golden orb (*zer*, gold; *tasht*, a disk). And in honour of the sun, I conceive, was named the celebrated philosopher *Zerdusht*, whom the Greeks have called *Zoroaster*, retaining the first part of his name, but altering the second into Ἄστρον, equivalent in their language to the Persian *tasht*, an orb or disk."

Supported by these analogies, it does not seem a rash supposition that the Arabians may have called the sun *Orotal*, with the meaning of "the golden disc."

It may be added, that the first Zoroaster was evidently mythical (probably a mere name for the sun himself). Berosus informs us (as quoted by Syncellus) that Zoroaster was the first king of the Babylonians (Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, Vol. 1, p. 195). And so also the Sun was fabled to have been one of the primæval kings of Egypt.

26. **Tahu or Tahhu.** 𐎲𐎶 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵𐎶, Darkness. This translation is only offered as *probable*. It rests on the following grounds: On the Tablet 2 R 32, line 19, *Lilatu*, the night, is rendered by the word *Tahu* (written as above). This is further confirmed by the Tablet 2 R 25, line 25, where *lilatu* is rendered *tahatu* or *takhatu* 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵𐎶, which only differs from the former word by the addition of the servile 𐎶 so usual in Hebrew. Now I think that this may *possibly* be the word 𐤆𐤇𐤆, which is found in Gen. i. 2, where it is said "the Earth was *tahu* and *bahu*," or "*tohu* and *bohu*." If so, the meaning would be "the Earth was *darkness* and *emptiness*."
27. **Abnu.** 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵, Stone.—Birs N. 20. The other cylinder has the variant spelling *Abnam* 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵𐎶. This word agrees exactly with the Heb. אבן, a stone.
28. **Kaspa.** 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵, Silver.—2 R 58, line 67 of col. 2. This agrees entirely with the Chald. כסף silver.
29. **Khurassu.** 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵, Gold. This follows the preceding word, *ibid*. The oblique case is *Khurassi* 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵, as in the phrase "a sceptre of gold."—2 R 19, line 27.
This word is evidently the original of the Greek χρυσος. It also agrees entirely with the Heb. 𐤆𐤇𐤆 gold.
30. **Zamat.** 𐎲𐎶𐎵 𐎲𐎶𐎵. The name of a stone exceedingly prized by the Assyrians. It is mentioned continually, but it is very difficult to say what it was. Various conjectures have been offered, but I do not see that any proofs have been

brought forward, and therefore I shall venture to suggest a different solution. The first difficulty is found in the transliteration of the word, for the sign 𐎶𐎶 has so many different values that they cause perplexity. I find a passage in 2 R 19, line 27, which says "In my right hand I held a sceptre of gold and *ukni* stone;" while the P.C. translation in line 24 has, "in my right hand a sceptre of gold and 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 stone." Now if we turn to the reverse of the tablet, lines 47 and 48, we read "I took possession of a *quarry* (or *mine*?) of three (*specified*) sorts of stone." The third is the 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 in Proto-Chaldean, which is translated *uknie* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 in Assyrian, the same as before. Therefore I think there is considerable probability that *ukni* was the true Assyrian name of the stone. Now we find in Hebrew a word not unlike this, namely, אֲבִנִּים or in Syriac ܐܒܢܝܢ , also ܐܒܢܝܢ (Buxtorf), which has the signification of phiala, crater, scyphus, &c., according to Schindler and others. The LXX render it *Κρατήρ τορευτος*. Now supposing for an instant that this may be the same word with the Assyrian *ukni*, let us consider of what kind of *stone* which could be *τορευτος*, or shaped by the turner's art, cups, goblets and vases, were ever made by the ancients? The answer will perhaps be—the onyx stone; for that precious stone was much used for the smaller kind of vases, insomuch that *onyx* is used absolutely for a "vase" for that reason. Nardi. parvus *onyx* (Hor.). Unguentum quod *onyx* modo parva gerebat (Martial).

Commentators are agreed that *onyx* (when large masses are spoken of) means *alabaster*.* Pavements were even made of it by the wealthy and luxurious Romans:

Totâque effusus in aula
Calcabatur *onyx*.—LUCAN.

Et tua centenis stat porticus alta columnis,
Calcatusque tuo sub pede lucet *onyx*.—MART.

* The vase of the ancient king Naram Sin, found at Babylon, was of alabaster. See the article *Alabaster* in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, with the figures of Vases.

This precious material *ovvξ*, *ovvχos*, *unguis*, is said to have been so called from its being transparent like the nail. This may be so, and yet, perhaps, such a name for the stone may have been *suggested* to the Greeks and Romans by the native name *ukni*, which is not unlike *ungue*. Admitting, however, that such conjectures are uncertain, let us proceed to enquire what was the Hebrew name for the onyx, the value and great estimation of which are sufficiently shown by the passage in Genesis ii. 12, "The river Pison compasseth the whole land of Havilah. The gold of that land is good; there is bdellium and the onyx stone." The original Hebrew is שֹׁהַם. It is probable that this was pronounced *sam*, *sama*; or else *sham*, *shama*; and if we add the usual feminine ending, the letter נ, it will become *samat* or *shamat*. My conjecture therefore is, that this was the precious נִינְיָם *zamat* stone.

We have seen that the Bible calls Havilah "the land of the onyx stone." There is a passage in the Annals of Esarhaddon (R46, col. iv, 10) which greatly resembles this in character: "The land of Bikni, *which is the land of the zamat stone*." This land, according to the same inscription, bordered on the further Media.


31. **Bul.** 𐎲𐎠𐎵, *Life*.—*Ex.* Vallanu-ya as *bul* sar makhri: Before my time, during the *life* of the late king.—R 50, col. i. 7. Marduk rahim 'bul-su; Marduk who loves (or cherishes) the king's life.—2 R 38, col. iv. 53.
32. **Bullut.** 𐎲𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵, *Life*.—2 R 16, line 44 of last col. In this passage, *bullut* the life (of the king) is opposed to *mat sarri* his death 𐎠𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎠 (in line 42). The Proto-Chaldean translation is curious: 𐎠𐎠 (king) is rendered 𐎠𐎠𐎵 *bel*, lord. *Death* is rendered *durga* 𐎠𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎠𐎵, and *Life*, *tili* 𐎠𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎠𐎵. The latter is frequent in Assyrian.

Bulhut signifies "alive." Beh. line 67, in the account of a battle, "I captured 4182 of them alive," *bulhut* *uzzabbit*.

33. **Bulluā.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (plural), Living.—Used only in the Achæmenian inscriptions. "Ormuzd made the Earth ... and the lot of all men living therein;" nisi as libbi bullua. See the Art. *Tuki*, No. 39.
34. **Bullul.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, to Live.—2 R 38, line 48. Bul-su as tuki lu-bullul; may he live a life of good fortune!
35. **Bul.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, a Year.—Occurs frequently on the Obelisk. *Ex. gr.* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 "In my fifth year." The plural of this word seems to be *palie*, 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 "Grant, O Sun, *labar palie-ya*; that my years may be prolonged!"—R51, col. ii. 20, of the Senkereh Inscription.
36. **Balat.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, Life.—Senk. col. ii. 18. "Grant me *balat tami rukuti*, a life of prolonged days!" Birs N. col. ii. 20, "Grant me *baladam dara* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 a long life!" Another spelling of this word is *Balathu* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 Nabonidus says (R 68, 22) "Grant me *balathu tami rukuti*; a life of long days!" From this form of the word the adjective *bulthut* "alive" is easily derived. We also find the participle *Bal* "living," for some remarks on which see the end of the article *Mut*.
37. **Napishtu.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, Life.—Bell. line 7, Napishtu ekhir; he saved his life. It also means the Soul. Bell. line 19, Napishtu val etzib; "Not one soul escaped." On one of the bulls this phrase is changed for "*Edu val etzib*," not one escaped. Chald. 𐤍𐤍 *unus*. In other passages also I think that *napishtu* signifies *one* or *alone*. Napishtu is the Hebrew 𐤍𐤍 *anima*.
38. **Zi.** 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, Life.—The plural is always written 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣. Ana suzup zi-su, to save his life.—Obel. 79 and in many other passages. There is an inscription (R35) on the statues of Nebo, which some great officers of state presented to the temple of that god, *pro salute domini regis*. In line 8 we

read that they were dedicated "*ana ti* (for the health) of the King; and *ana ti* (for the health) of Queen Semiramis his wife; *ana ti zi-su* 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (for the health of their lives) the happiness of their years, the tranquillity of their House and of their people." The word *ti* I have translated "health," but perhaps it is the abbreviation of some longer word.

Zi (life) seems a non-Semitic word; it greatly resembles the Doric Greek ζην to live, ζη he lives.

39. **Tuki.** , Fortune, Good Luck (in the oblique cases; the nominative case is *tuku*).—I have already (see No. 34) given an example of this word—bul-su as *tuki* lu-bullul; may he live a life of Good Fortune!—2 R38, col. ii. 48.

So in the Inscription of Nabonidus (R 69, col. ii. 50) where the King says the long sought-for "foundation stone" of the temple was at last found "partly through my good luck (*tukri*), and partly through my ardent zeal."




But the very important and frequent use of this word in the Achæmenian inscriptions induces me to make a short extract from a former paper of mine on one of those inscriptions (R.A.S. Vol. 19, page 264). It begins—"Ilim rabu Ahurmasda, sha shamie u kiti ibnu ; sha nisi ibnu ; sha *tuki* ana nisi iddinnu ; sha ana Darius sar sha sarin madut ibnu." Of which I gave the following Latin translation :—"Deorum summus Oromasdes qui cælum et terram creavit ; qui homines creavit ; qui *fortunam cujusque* hominibus dedit ; qui Darii regem regum multorum creavit." And then, in order to justify my translation of *tuki* as "*fortunam cujusque*," I added the following note :—"Tuki. A great many conjectures have been offered respecting this unknown word. Some have translated "qui *vitam* hominibus dedit," but this differs too little in meaning from the preceding phrase "*qui homines creavit*." Others render it "who hath given food to men." And many other things might be suggested.

But if we consider *the sequence of ideas* we shall see that they are:—

1. Ormuzd is the greatest of the gods.
2. He created Heaven and Earth.
3. He created Men.
4. All their various fortunes are dependent on his will.
5. And he has willed that Darius should be king of the world.




Thus there is nothing superfluous in this solemn exordium, as the mention of "food" would assuredly be.






Tuki much resembles the Greek word *Tυχη*. I am in doubt whether the resemblance is accidental or not. There is some difficulty in supposing that this Greek word could be adopted into the Assyrian language; but on the other hand, there had been intercourse between the two nations long before the age of Darius.

There is a curious variation of this word in an inscription of Xerxes (Westergaard's C), where the phrases are exactly the same, but instead of *tuku* we find *dunku*   . But so also in Greek: compare *Tυχη* with *Τυγχαιειν*.

Westergaard's H has "Oromasda, who made Heaven and Earth and the Waters; who gave all their various fortunes to the men that dwell therein;" *sha tuki gabbi iddinu nisi as libbi bulluā*.

Westergaard's E says, "who gave their lot (*tuku*) to men, and gave royalty (*sarruti*) to Xerxes."

The inscription of Darius at Hamadan varies from the rest, and says "who gave all *prosperity* to men;" *sha gabbi nukhsu ana nisi iddinu*. The form *duku* appears to occur R59, line 66, where the king says that he was Marduk's vicerent upon earth. "Thou hast made me ruler of all men, to watch over them all, like thy own exalted providence;" *kima duku-ka billu*, which is written   , *duku*.

40. *Naru*.   , a River.—2 R50, col. iv. 5. It is there explained  , which is the usual symbol for a

river. This word is found in Hebrew, נָדָר, *flumen*. The oblique case is *nari* נָרִי, 2 R 16, line 19, as *nari tabbali*, to immerse in the river; perhaps from Hebrew טָבַל immersed. Ana *naru*; into the river.—2 R 10, line 6, spelt נָרִי נָרִי נָרִי.

41. **Idikkur.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (though possibly this should be read *Idiklat*), the River Tigris.—2 R 50, col. iv. 7. It is there explained 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, which is the usual name of the Tigris. *Idikkur* (or *Idiklat*) is the biblical *Hiddekel*, in the original Hebrew חִדְקֵל. This was one of the four rivers of Paradise. The LXX render it *Τυγρις*, in which almost all commentators have followed them. (See Gen. ii. 14.) According to Rawlinson in R.A.S. Vol. 11, page 159, the Tigris was called in ancient Persian Tigrá, and in the accusative case Tigrám. He says: "According to the consentaneous testimony of the Greek and Latin authors, the term signifying in the old Persian language "an arrow" was applied to the river in consequence of the rapidity of its current . . . and it is, no doubt, the same term which has been softened in modern Persian into *tir*."

He observes further, that the Chaldee name of the river is ܕܝܓܠܬ, but that Onkelos and Jonathan write ܕܝܓܠܬ.* He justly rejects Gesenius's opinion, that *Hiddekel* was a Hebrew word unconnected with *Tigris*.

In the Behistun Inscription, line 34, the Tigris has its usual name 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, but in the very next line it is called the *Diklat* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.

Strabo says that *Tigris* meant "an arrow" in the Median language: Μηδων Τυγριν καλουντων το τοξευμα.† Pliny says "quà tardior fluit *Diglito*; unde concitatur, à celeritate *Tigris* incipit vocari; ita appellant Medi sagittam."

* I may observe in passing, that this ܕܝܓܠܬ *diglat*, in the sense of "arrow" or "arrows," forms the first part of the name of Tiglath Pileser. That monarch's name, in Assyrian, begins with 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, which is the most usual term for "arrows."

† Ed. Kramer, Vol. 2, p. 46.

42. **Burattu.** 𒁹-𒂊-𒅗, the Euphrates.—2 R 50, col. iv. 8.

This name stands next on the tablet to Idikkur, the Tigris, It is explained by 𒂊 𒅗 𒂊 𒅗 𒂊 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗, which is the usual name of the Euphrates. But *Burattu* also occurs very often. This is obviously the Heb. פרת; whence the Greek name *Ευφρατης*.

43. **Ha.** 𒂊, Water.—Ha abbuslu, Bell. line 49; the water was dried up by the heat of the Sun; from Heb. בשל solis ardore coctus est (Gesenius). 𒂊 𒂊 𒅗 water of the river, *ex. gr.* 2 R 18, line 35, "Water of the Tigris and water of the Euphrates."

44. **Gatu.** 𒄀𒄁 𒅗𒅗 𒄀𒄁, the Hand.—Birs N. line 14. "He placed in my *hand* the sceptre of justice." Often written *Katu*, in constr. *Kati* 𒄀𒄁 𒄀𒄁, 2 R 17, col. iv. 68, and 46, line 46. In both places it is rendered by the P.C. 𒅗 Hand.

R 59, line 64, the king says, in his prayer to Marduk, "I am the creature of thy hand;" binut gati-ka 𒄀𒄁 𒄀𒄁 𒄀𒄁=𒄀𒄁

45. **Imnu.** 𒄀𒄁 𒄀𒄁, the Right Hand.—So in Heb. ימין dextra.

46. **Sumilu.** 𒅗 𒄀𒄁 𒅗, the Left Hand.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. שמאל sinister. 𒄀𒄁 𒄀𒄁 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗 Imnu, sumilu, pani, u arku: (*they dug*) right and left; before and behind (*in search of the foundation stone*).—Great Inscription of Nabonidus, col. ii. 54 (R plate 69). I am indebted to Dr. Hincks for this translation. I will observe that in the preceding line 51 𒄀𒄁-𒄀𒄁 *kun* seems to mean *now* (Chald. כען). The sense will be "Now I assembled my army and commanded them to search and dig." The next letter after *kun* should probably be corrected to 𒄀𒄁 "people."

These two words *imnu sumilu* occur together in 2 R 19, col. ii. 54. I carried (....) in my right hand, in *imni-ya* 𒅗 𒅗 𒄀𒄁 𒄀𒄁 𒅗𒅗, and I carried (....) in my left hand, in *sumili-ya* 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗 𒅗.

47. **Zida.** 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 (in P.C.), the Right Hand.—Hence Beth Zida (*spelt as above*), a splendid temple (or rather class of temples) continually mentioned in the inscriptions. .

The name means literally *domus fortunata*, because the right hand was always esteemed fortunate. *Zida* is probably the Arabic 𐤆𐤌𐤕 Fortuna bona: felicitas: fatum (and I believe the goddess of good fortune had that name). Schindler (p. 1231) also gives the adj. 𐤆𐤌𐤕, which he transcribes *said*, and renders *felix, beatus, fortunatus*.

I now return to the phrases quoted in No. 46, from 2 R 19. "In my right hand" is translated in Proto-Chaldean, *It zida mu* 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵; and "In my left hand" is translated, *It itbu mu* 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. *It* signifies "hand," as in Assyrian, and in Heb. 𐤍 *manus*; *mu* is an affixed pronoun, "my." *It mu*, my hand. See 2 R 10, line 20, where the P.C. 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *it bi* (his hand) is rendered in Assyrian *idi-su* 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. It will be observed that the P.C. word for the "left hand" commences with the sign 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, which is *it* or *id*. I therefore read it *itbu*. But Oppert, page 339, line 5, gives the value *kap* to this sign. If so, the "left hand" would be *kabbu*, which may be the word כַּבֵּה infirmus (Sch.), therefore meaning "the weak hand."

This new word *Zida* (the Right) may possibly help to explain the obscure Chaldee adverb *adar zida* 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, which occurs in Ezra vii. 23. Gesenius translates it *rectē*. He says it is a non-Semitic word, probably borrowed from the Persian or some other foreign language. Our authorised translation has "*diligently*." "Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be *diligently* done for the house of the God of heaven."

If the word comes from *Zida*, I think there are two ways in which it may be explained:—

- (1) It may mean "very rightly," giving to 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 the sense of *very* or *greatly*. For, so we find from *gazrin* 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 judges, the compound *adar-gazrin* 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 chief judges

(Dan. iii.; see Gesenius, p. 18); and from מֶלֶךְ king, אֲדָר מֶלֶךְ "great king," the god of Sepharvaim.

(2) Another supposition is that אֲדָר in this word was originally עֲדָר, which root signifies *ordinare*, to set in order; so that *adar zida* would be "in right order." "Whatsoever is commanded by the Lord, let it be done *in right order* for the house of the Lord."

48. **Annama.** אֵי אֵי אֵי, a Treaty of Peace.—2 R 65, 4.

A word formed *per metathesin** from the Heb. *Amāna*, a treaty. Gesenius says אֲמֹנָה *fœdus*. The root is אָמַן, as a subst. *fides*; *veritas*; as an adj. *fidus* (see the next No.).

49. **Mamitu.** אֵי אֵי אֵי, a Promise, Faith.—2 R 65, 4.

Mamitu as eli mitsri annama ana akhati iddinu; they gave a promise (or pledged faith) to one another, to make a firm treaty of peace. This word *mamitu* (pledge, promise) is easily derived from the Heb. אָמַן *fides*.

In line 7 we read that the above "promise" was duly performed, and that the kings of Assyria and Babylonia (or rather their successors) *annama ukinu*, established a firm treaty of peace.

50. **Shabati.** אֵי אֵי אֵי, Conspirators (*lit.*

"sworn men").—R 50, col. ii. 8, where it is said that the Babylonian conspirators were chained together in gangs. From Heb. שָׁבַע *jurare*. (Lat. *conjurati*, conspirators.)

51. **Akkhar.** אֵי אֵי אֵי, Foreign.—Alius, alienus. Heb. אֲחָר

alius. All the Achæmenian kings style themselves "the great king, the king of kings, the king of nations of every foreign tongue;" sha akkhar lishan gabbi. In their inscriptions the word is spelt אֵי אֵי אֵי or אֵי אֵי אֵי, or אֵי אֵי אֵי in the inscription of Hamadan.

* Such transpositions are common in Hebrew, for instance, שְׁמֹרֶה fo
שְׁמֹרֶה *Vestis*.—Gesen.

52. **Āu sha akkhari.** 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, an Idol, a God of the Foreigners.—2 R 4, No. 729. This is a remarkable gloss, inasmuch as it agrees exactly with the Hebrew phrase so frequent in the Old Testament אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים *Elohim akharim*, *Idols*; literally “other gods” or “foreign gods.”

The P.C. translation is Gú 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, which, therefore, signifies an idol in that language.

For *Ilu* see No. 1, where it is spelt in a similar manner.

53. **Kharran.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, a Road (the full form is Kharranu 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶).—2 R 38, line 25. Ana mat Illipi azzabit *kharranu* illamu-ya; I took the road straight before me to the land of Illipi.—Bell. l. 28. This phrase “*azbit kharran*,” I took the road, becomes in the *sha* or causative conjugation “*ushazbit kharran*” I made (another person) take the road. Of this I will give an example: R 40, 32—They had fled over the sea to the land of the Susians I brought back the fugitives in Syrian ships, and *I made them take the road* to Assyria; *ushazbit kharran* Ashur-ki.

54. **Darag.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, a Road.—Agrees exactly with the Heb. דֶּרֶךְ *derek*, via: iter.—2 R 38, line 25. I opened ways over lofty mountains and *amira duruk-sun*, I made with labour their roads 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶.—Opp. Khors. plate 1, line 15. I deduce *amira* from the very common word *mir* “work,” which is found in such phrases as “*ana epish miri suati*” to finish this work.

Another example of the Hebrew words דֶּרֶךְ a road, and דָּרַךְ a road, is the following, from the inscription of Tiglath Pileser, R 12, 56: *Arkhi iluti* by lofty roads; *durgi la pituti* through paths not opened (or not made practicable), *ushatik* I marched. Thus written: 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *arkhi*, and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *durgi*.

The printed text of the above passage has *tapituti*, but I think this must be a mistake (perhaps of the original scribe).

for *la pituti*, since the inscription of Sennacherib (R 40, 4) has *urkhi la pituti*.

55. **Urkuh.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, a Road.—2 R 38, line 24, where it is made equivalent to *Kharran*. This word seems to occur in R 59, col. ii. 21, where the king says "I traversed *Kharanam namraza*, dangerous roads; and *urukh zumami*, paths that were (...) (perhaps *arid* or *thirsty*, from 𐎶𐎵𐎶 *sitibundus*, thirsty).

This word *Uruk* agrees well with the Heb. 𐤀𐤓𐤕 via, semita; which is only used in Hebrew poetry. It is remarkable to observe how many *common* Assyrian words are *poetical* in Hebrew. The resemblance is perhaps still closer with the Chaldee ܐܘܪܝܬ, Syriac ܐܘܪܝܬ, a way, road, journey.

I will give some additional examples of the word. In R 40, 4, *urkhi la pittuti* roads not opened.

Opp. Khors. 11, line 110: The king of Ethiopia fled from the battle and took the road to a place of safety. Here "the road" is expressed by *urukh* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, but the verb "he took" is lost by a fracture. *Ashar la hari*, "a place of safety," occurs also on the Taylor Cylinder (R 37, 18). Another example is found in Opp. Khors. 12, line 114, *azzabat urukh-su*, which Oppert translates "secutus sum *viam* ejus." In the same plate, line 118, is a remarkable passage: "Dalta, king of Illipi, my faithful servant, had died," which is expressed by *illika urukh muti*, "had gone the road of death." Oppert also translates it "iverat *viam* mortis," except that he takes the verb for a plural.

56. **Nisi.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, Men.—R 59, line 64. . Thou hast given me *sarruti kishat nisi*, sovereign power over the races of men, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶. Same plate, col. ii. 29, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 in *nisi*; among men. In the great E.I.H. Inscription, col. i. 44, *Ana sutishur nisi* 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, "for the government of men."

This word answers, though not very closely, to the Syriac ܐܢܫܐ *homo*: ܒܪ ܢܫ *filius hominis*, i.e. *homo*. It agrees, however, more nearly with the Chald. ܢܫܝ *homines*.

57. **Ashat.** > 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, a Wife.—Agrees exactly with the Hebrew *ashat*, uxor, אִשָּׁה.
- Ashat-zu*, his wife > 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 is rendered in P.C. *dam bi* 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶, *Dam* signifying “wife,” and *bi* “his.”—2 R 8, line 28.
- In 2 R 36, line 43, “a wife” is expressed by the usual words *khirat* 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶, and *khirta* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, and to these is added *ashata* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
- Some tablets contain divine lists, and when the name of a god is followed by that of a goddess, *dam bi* “his wife” is frequently added (2 R 56; 2 R 59, &c.). But sometimes the scribe uses the Assyrian form, *dam zu*; thus, Zarpanita is said to be “his wife,” but the name of the god (probably Marduk) is effaced.—2 R 59, line 50.
58. **Shallut.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶, Women.—In 2 R 65, line 42, “men and women” are expressed by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶. But in 2 R 38, line 28, and again line 40, by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.
9. **Saklat.** Women, Wives.—2 R 38, line 42. Here “men and women” are expressed by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *Saklati*. This word is evidently the Chald. *sagla*, שגלָא, conjux; uxor. שגלָתָה “his wives.”—Dan. v. 2.
10. **Lubusta.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Dress.—Agrees entirely with the Heb. לְבוֹשׁ *vestis*, but especially (see Gesen.) *vestis splendida*. In 2 R 38, 34, the king says: I gave (*addinu*) four* talents (*tikun*) for a dress for Marduk and Zarpanita. Then with a noble dress (*lubusta rabita*), a dress of gold (*lubusta khurassi*) Marduk and Zarpanita I adorned them (*lu-rabbi sunuti*). He then names a great number of precious stones, which cannot easily be identified, such as *ini Milukha* (eyes of Ethiopia), &c. &c. Altogether I think nine kinds are enumerated, and then he adds 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.

* The commencement of this passage is somewhat injured.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, u abni il sha mu-su nashku; "and other stones whose names I have forgot." The last word is from Heb. נָשַׁח to forget. The termination in *ku* is like *kaptaku*, I am strong; and many other verbs (see Annals).

After mentioning the precious stones, he says (line 47): I gave them (*addinu*) for the *ashrat* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 of Marduk and Zarpanita. He then says: *Lu-zahin* (I adorned?) *mukkhī lubusti* (with woven dresses) *iluti-sun rabiti* (their great divinities). The verb *zahin* occurs frequently; always in the sense of adorning a temple: perhaps it is the Arabic زَعَن, which Schindler, page 497, renders "extulit laudibus." *Mukkhī* I would derive from 𐎶𐎵𐎶 to weave (Buxtorf, 1186). The rest of the passage relates to the crowns the images wore, and is of somewhat doubtful construction (line 52). *Agie garni tirati* (crowns of lofty...); *agie billuti* (crowns of royalty); *simat ilu* (crowns of divinity); *sha salimati malati* (for complete dresses, or, to complete their dresses). *Salimati* is probably the Heb. שלמת *vestis* (Ges. 964). *Malati*, Heb. מלל to complete.

61. **Ashrat.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Divine Images, plural of Heb. *ashra* אַשְׁרָה.—Gesenius says (p. 112) *Idolorum simulacra*. The word occurs in the preceding article; "I gave these splendid dresses to the *ashrat* (images) of Marduk and Zarpanita".

62. **Ini.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, the Eyes. Singular *inu* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.—But in tablet K, 214, it is written 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *Enu*, in the phrase *enu namirtu*, a far-seeing eye. In E.I.H. col. vii. 35, Nebuchadnezzar calls Babylon "Ir nish ini-ya sha aramu; the city, the delight of my eyes, which I have made glorious." Here 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 are *eyes*. But in same column, line 16, we are told that "former kings built palaces in the cities which were the delight of *their* eyes; nish ini sun."

In this second passage *ini* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 "eyes" shows how the Assyrians pronounced the symbol 𐎶𐎵𐎶, which they borrowed from the ancient P.C. language, but altered it by adding

two vertical strokes to signify the two eyes. So also they added two strokes to the P.C. signs meaning *ears*, *hands*, and *feet*.

Nish ini in the above passage is, I believe, "scopus oculorum;" something on which the eyes are steadfastly fixed. It is the Heb. סֵן *scopus*: also a flag, to draw the eyes: vexillum; signum latè conspiciendum (Ges.). There is a curious Litany in 2 R 17, prayers for protection against all manner of evils, including the "evil eye," *inu limutta* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵; see line 31. Here the P.C. Version renders *inu* by 𐎶𐎵 and "evil" by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. *Ini* agrees exactly with the Heb. עֵינֵי the eyes.

63. **Elib.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, a Ship.—The full form is *Elibbu* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.—2 R 2, No. 280, where it is explained by 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, which is the usual symbol for a ship. *Elibba* is evidently the Syriac word ܐܠܒܒܐ *navis*.

There are several examples of the word in 2 R, plates 46 and 62.

Elippi Ili 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, ships of the gods (which probably means the Arks of the gods), is rendered in P.C. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, by which we see that 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 was the plural of 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 a god, in that language.—See 2 R 46, 16.

I would call attention to the 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *elib* or ark of one of these gods in particular (see line 2 of the same plate), viz. that of the god 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, whom I believe to be a Syrian god, concerning whom there is a very curious tablet inscription, showing how his ark, or perhaps his image, was found floating down the river Euphrates.

By *siddi elippi* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, 2 R 62, 57, I understand "the side of a ship" (see article *Sidi*). In the same plate are mentioned the deck, and many other parts of a ship as yet uncertain. Also the various sizes of ships, varying from 60 *gur* down to 5 *gur*.


64. Babylon.—The well-known name of this city is introduced here in order to attempt to explain the construction of the name as it is given in the Cuneiform writing. It is admitted very generally that *Bab-ilu* signifies “the gate of god, or of the gods;” but it has been a great stumbling block to the Assyrian students to find the syllable *Ra* in the name, which is inconsistent with any reading of the word “Babylon.”




Now we see from the preceding article (*Elib*) that the old Accadian or Proto-Chaldæan plural of a god, was gods; consequently “the gate of the gods” was written in that language which the *Semitic* Babylonians pronounced *Bab-ilu*.

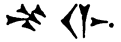


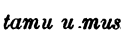




65. **Suanna.** the name of one of the principal parts of the City of Babylon.—E.I.H. col. vii. 25. In 2 R 50 there is a list of the towers (*ziggurat*) of Babylonia. Suanna is named first; Borsippa second. In the same plate there is a list of the *duru* (fortresses, fine buildings, royal residences, &c.). Suanna is again named first, and explained to be the same with *Imgur Bel*, a well-known fortress or fortified quarter of the city of Babylon. Next comes the often mentioned building *Nibit Bel*, which is explained to be the *Shalkhu* of Suanna: the word *shalkhu* often occurs in those inscriptions which treat of the king's great public works. In the third place comes the *Dur*, or palace, of the city of Borsippa. Now Babylon is not mentioned at all, which shows that it was identical with the preceding.

In Bell. line 14, Belibus is said to be the son of the (*high priest?*) of the temple of the seven planets in Suanna city.

66. **Immu.** Day.—This is the Heb. יָמִים *dies*. In 2 R 25, 25, it is explained by the more common word *tamu*, a day. The word occurs again in a very important passage concerning the Sacred Bulls, carved in stone, which stood at the gates of the palaces (Opp. Khors. 21,






















line 190): "May the guardian bull, the protecting deity (*ilu musallimu*) watch over them by day and night!" *Immu u musha kireb-sun lishtapru*, . This is said of the palaces, which were thus supernaturally protected. Or it may be thus translated: "May they keep guard within them day and night!" Other copies of this passage, instead of "day and night," have *darish*, "for ever," or "continually."

Lishtapru is the optative of the T conjugation of the verb  to watch, *ex. gr.* Psalm cxlv. "The eyes of all  watch thee, and thou givest them their food." Nehem. ii. 13, "And I was  looking intently, at the walls of Jerusalem."

67. **Mushi.** . Night.—This important word was discovered by Dr Hincks in a very curious little tablet K, 15, which some palace functionary, perhaps the chief astronomer, sent to the king to inform him of the exact day of the Equinox. It runs as follows:—"On the sixth day of the first month, the day and night are equally balanced: twelve hours of day, and twelve hours of night. May Nebo and Marduk be propitious to my lord the king!" Thus written:    *tamu u mushi*, the day and night,    *meshkulu*, are balanced (Heb. ).

artedi, I rode all night, until the dawn of day; *naru Thurnat etibir*, I crossed the river Thurnat; *as bikhar sahati*, with the early dawn, I reached the city Ammali, the stronghold of Arastu, &c. &c.

Here we have   night;    the dawn;   early morning. Heb.              

70. **Arda.** $\langle \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \gg \text{Y} \rangle$, a Servant.—2 R 10, col. ii. 15.
71. **Ardut.** $\langle \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \gg \text{Y} \rangle \gg \text{Y} \rangle$, Homage, Prostration.—
This and the preceding word are probably derived from the Heb ירד to fall down. *Epish arduti-ya* $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \gg \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$ to do homage to me.—R 45, 36. *Imisu ardu*, he refused to do homage.—Opp. Khors. 8, 73. This is from the Chaldee verb מנחם *rejecit, repulit, sprexit, contempsit.*—Schindler, 969.
72. **Malku.** $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$, a King.—Malku banu-sun, the king their builder.—Opp. Khors. 21, 191. This word agrees entirely with the Heb. מלך , Rex.
73. **Malkat.** $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$, a Queen.—This word occurs very seldom. On tablet 100, line 5, the goddess $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$, who was one of the greatest in the Assyrian Pantheon, has the titles *Khirat Ashur* (wife of Ashur) $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$, and queen of all the gods, *malkat* $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$. The last syllable $\rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$ *kat* is not unfrequent; it occurs in R 20, 6, where the other copy reads $\rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$ *ka at*. *Malkat* is the Chaldee מלכת (Esther i.). In 2 R 66, 4, the goddess Beltis is called *Shurbut malikat* of the gods, spelt $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$, which corresponds to the title of Nebo in tablet 142, last line, *Shurbu malik ili rabi*, spelt $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$. Also in R 17, 2, the god Ninev is called *malik ili*, king of the gods (spelt in the same way).
74. **Nirarut.** $\rightarrow \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle \rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$, Assistance.—A very common word. *Ana niraruti-su allik*; I went to his assistance.—Opp. Khors. 8, 71.
75. **Asti.** $\rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$, a Throne.—R 18, 44. “In my first year I sat proudly on a royal throne;” *as asti sarti*. The other copy reads *as guza sarti*, which is the usual word for “throne.” Also in 2 R 46, 52, a tablet explains $\rightarrow \text{Y} \langle \text{Y} \rangle$ *asti* by the same word *guza*. All these words have the sign for “wooden object” prefixed.

76. **Minuta.** 𐎠-𐎡 𐎠𐎶𐎶. Number.—From Chald. Syr. ܡܢܢ numeravit. Minuta la isu; they had no number (or were innumerable).—R24, 43. Mu-anna minut 𐎠𐎶 𐎡 𐎶, a fixed number of years (or a term of years counted beforehand).—Black Stone of Esarhaddon, R50, col. ii. 12.

77. **Salam.** 𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶, Salvation, Peace.—Agrees with the Heb. שלם. The inscription found on the bricks of a temple, given by Oppert (Exp. en M. p. 330) says, "Sargina the king built this temple of the Sun and Moon in the city of Dur-Sargina, from its foundations to its summit, *ana ti-su* (pro salute suâ), *kin pali-su* (for the firmness, or security, of his years (or life); and for the (. . . .) of the city; and for the salvation (*salam*) of Assyria." See several examples of the phrase *ana ti su* 𐎠-𐎶𐎶 𐎠 pro salute suâ, in the article Zi, No. 38.

In an inscription of Ashurbanipal, K, 228, we read: "At that time he resolved to implore Peace from me; and he sent an ambassador to me." "He resolved" is expressed by *emuru* 𐎠𐎶 𐎡 𐎠𐎶𐎶; so that the Assyrians appear to have said עמר for the Heb. אמר statuit, constituit, voluit (Sch. p. 94). "To implore" is expressed by *ana shahal* 𐎶 𐎡-𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶. This is the Heb. שאל petiit, rogavit; so that the 𐎶 in this Hebrew word was pronounced *ha*, and not simply *a*. And "my peace," or "peace from me," is expressed by *sulmi-ya* or *salmi-ya* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎠-𐎠𐎶𐎶.

Since writing the above (which I translated from a photograph, the inscription itself being as yet unpublished) I have found my opinion fully confirmed by Oppert's translation of a similar passage in his Khors. inscription, pl. 11, line 111: "In former days his fathers never sent envoys (*rakbu-sun la ishburu*) to my fathers, *ana shahal sulmi-sun*, ad petendam pacem," so Oppert translates the last phrase; which fully agrees with my version.

78. **Salmish.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶, adv. Safely.—R16, 30. May the gods guard me *safely* in war and battle! *Salmish lattarruni*.

The verb is the optative of the Hebrew *natar* נָטַר custodivit.

79. **Ishbur.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, He commanded.—He sent a messenger with orders, or with a letter. This important verb is the Syriac ܣܒܪ nuntiavit. Chald. *id.* Castelli renders ܣܒܪ by nuntius, ἀγγελος.

R39, 41: Hezekiah sent an envoy to Sennacherib with tribute and homage; *ishbura rakbu-su*.

Rakbu-sun la *ishburu*; they never sent envoys.—Opp. Khors. pl. 11.

The king of the Moschi *sent* his envoy to do homage and pay tribute to me, when I was on the shores (*sidie*) of the Eastern Sea.—Opp. Khors. 18, 153. Here “he sent” is expressed by *ishbur*.

80. **Urumi.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Chesnut Trees.—In Hebrew עֵרֵם, which word occurs in Gen. xxx. 37. Gesenius prefers to render it “the plane tree.” At any rate it was some large and useful forest tree—see the next article.

81. **Titarrati.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Bridges.—R12, 69. “Where the mountain roads were difficult, I cleared a way with axes of bronze; *Urumi* trees of the mountain I hew’d down and made bridges for the onward passage of my army.” Here “trees of the mountain” are expressed by 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.

In the narrative of the defence of the city of Dur-Yakina, in Opp. Khors. 14, 129, Merodach Baladan dug a wide moat round his city, filled it with water, and then *cut down the bridges* which traversed it, *ubattika titarri* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.

82. **Irsi.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, Cedars.—Gusuri irsi rabi; great beams of cedar wood.—Opp. Khors. 18, 160. Timmi irsi sutakhuti (same meaning).—Khors. 19, 163. This is the Heb. אֵרֵץ a cedar tree; plur. אֵרֵצִים. In Syriac ܐܪܘܬܐ. It is the cedar of Lebanon, frequently mentioned in the Psalms. *Gusuri irsi* agrees with a Chaldee phrase in Schindler ܓܘܣܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܪܘܬܐ.

83. **Erit.** 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, Wood.—I have not found an example of the nominative case, which I presume to be as above written. In Opp. Khors. 16, 143, "Cedars and cypress trees all cut down in the mountains of Hamana, whose woods are excellent;" *sha erit-zun dabu* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶. This word was first explained by Oppert. It is the Heb. ער *sylva*, which the Assyrians appear to have shortened into ער. The formative T is added, as in *irtsit*, from ערץ "earth." The phrase is a common one, and is sometimes written *sha erit-zun khiga*, using the P.C. word *khiga* "good" instead of the Assyrian *dabu*.

84. **Ashlish.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *adv.* like a Tree.—From *ashal*, a tree. Agrees with the Heb. אשיל *arbor*. In Opp. Khors. 14, 131, we read of the destruction of the king's enemies, *ashlish unakkish*, I cut them down like trees. This resembles the curse in Tiglath Pileser's inscription, R16, 75, "May the gods *itizish likilmu su*! cut him down like a tree! (עץ *arbor*)" 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

85. **Nabatsi.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Logs of Wood, Broken Sticks, or anything broken with violence.—This is the Heb. נפץ, to break and smite a thing. To dash in pieces (like a potter's vessel), Psalm ii. 9, &c.

R12, 21: 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (*matti* of *pagri*), the dead bodies, *kuradi-sun* of their soldiers, *kima nabatsi* like logs of wood, *lu-ashrup* I burnt.






We read in Opp. Khors. 14, 130, a somewhat different passage. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 the waters; *nari-su*, of his rivers; *izrubu* 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, were choked; *pagri kuradi-su*, with the bodies of his soldiers; *nabatsish*, as if they were logs of wood (floating on the water). Oppert has *trunci arborum*. *Izrubu* appears to be the Hebrew *zereb* זרב *coarctavit*, and also passive *coarctatus fuit*. In the book of Job this verb is also applied to rivers, which get choked and narrow during the summer season, בעת "at what time;" *izrubu* יזרבו "they get narrow."—Job. vi. 17. Hence it is probable that when Sargina uses the

same verb *isrubu* concerning *river*, it means that "they grew choked or narrow." The Annals of Ashurakhbal, R18, 53, and again R20, 17, use the form *napatsi* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. The passage is, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 their bodies, *kima napatsi* like logs or fragments, *shadu* (a great heap of them), *lu-ashrup* I burnt. The parenthesis 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 occurs in other passages where the multitude of the enemy's slain is spoken of. *Ex. gr.* R24, 41, *rikhta-sun*, their bodies, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (a heap of them) I flung into the river Euphrates.












86. **Solomon.** 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. The name of the great King of Israel has not yet been found on the tablets. But the same name was borne by a king of Moab, who was contemporary with Tiglath Pileser II, and paid tribute to him. This was about 750 B.C., and, consequently, two centuries after the death of the great Solomon. See the interesting list of tributary kings in 2R67. The name of Solomon occurs at line 60.

87. **Moab.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶.—2R67, 60; see the preceding article. The Hebrew spelling is מואב, in which name the 𐎶 appears to have sounded *ha* (Mohab). Since writing the above I have found that Oppert (*Traité Babylonien*, p. 5) has already pointed out that the name of Moab occurs R38, 53, in the inscription of Sennacherib; at which time Kammuzu-natbi was king of the country. And, as he judiciously remarks, the first portion of this name contains the name of Camús, the god of the Moabites. He has not explained the second part; but I think the name certainly means "Camús spoke a prophecy," from the Hebrew verb 𐤍𐤏𐤔 to prophecy.—Sch. 1115. Gesen. gives several examples from Amos, Ezekiel, &c. Such a name may mean that Camús uttered a divine oracle at the time of this prince's birth; for we find similar names in Chaldæa, such as Ikbi-Bel, "Bel spoke;" Nebo-titsu-ikbi, "Nebo spoke good luck" (gave a lucky oracle), &c.

Moreover, Oppert has found the interesting name

Camúsu-sar-usur     , "Camúsu protect the king!" on a brick which he has published.—(Traité Babylonien sur briques. Extrait de la Revue Archéologique; Paris, 1866.)

I had, on my side, observed the name of this deity on another document (see the next article, Udumaia). I should observe that the name Moab is spelt exactly in the same way in the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Tiglath Pileser. The name of King Kammuzu-natbi proves, I think, that the Moabites spoke the Hebrew language. At least, it renders it probable. Has this argument been previously brought forward? In Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, art. Moab, I find the following: "Of the language of the Moabites we know nothing, or next to nothing. In the few communications recorded as taking place between them and the Israelites, no interpreter is mentioned. And from the origin of the nation and other considerations we may, perhaps, conjecture that their language was more a dialect of Hebrew than a different tongue."

88. **Udumaia.**      , the Idumæans, or People of Edom.—In 2R67, 61, the king of this nation pays tribute to Tiglath Pileser. His name is a remarkable one,      Cavús-malaka. Does not this mean "Cavús is king?" Cavús being probably their great deity Camos (in the authorized version Chemosh). In Numbers xxi. 29, we read: "Woe to thee, Moab! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh!" where the Targum has "People who *worship* Camos." LXX, *χαμωσ*, Vulg. Chamos.

Modern researches into the Phœnician language have shown that *malka* often means "a god" in that language. Hence the name Cavús-malka may mean "Cavús is the true god." Or perhaps it may be composed of two separate divine names, Cavús and Malka, the latter being identical with the Malkam (sometimes called Milcom) of the neighbouring Ammonites.

89. **Abdumilik.** אבדמילק (A proper name.)—
Opp. *Traité Bab.* line 24. עבד המלך may mean “servant
of the king;” but more probably “servant of the god,”
according to the Phœnician use of מלך. And since this man
named his own son Abd-Hammon, it is likely that by מלך
he understood Hammon. This fact is not without importance,
since it makes it probable that the Ammonites, whose great
idol was Moloch (always with the article המלך), took their
name from Hammon, the great deity of the Egyptians. I have
not found the Hebrew עבד “servant” in Assyrian, except
in proper names. The Assyrian verb is עבש.
90. **Abdi milkutti.** אבדי מלקטי the name of a King of Sidon.—R 45, line 50, and also line 40
in the margin. עבד מלכת “servant of the queen.” By
the “queen” is meant the great goddess of the Sidonians.
The name is differently given in the other copy, and I have
given reasons elsewhere for the conjecture that this second name
of the king was Abd-Ishtarti, “servant of Astarte.” The
Greek author Menander mentions a king of Tyre of that name.
See p. 14 of my translation of the Inscription of Esarhaddon,
in R.S.L., and the articles *maliku*, *malikat*, in this Glossary,
Nos. 72 and 73.
91. **Subibulti.** סובבולטי, a Necklace.—Subibulti
sha tsuri-sha, the necklace of her neck (tablet 162).^{*} Derived
from the Hebrew *subab* סורב, to encircle. For example, in
Gen. ii. 13, the river Gihon is said “to compass the whole
land of Ethiopia,” while in line 11 the river Pison “compasseth
(סבב) the whole land of Havilah.” Gesenius renders סבב
by circumdedit: cinxit. The same sentence of the tablet
contains the next word, *tsuri*.

^{*} When I made my translation of this curious tablet in the Transactions
of the R.S.L., I was not acquainted with this word.

92. **Tzuri.** 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆, the Neck.—This is the Hebrew צוּר *tzur*, collum; also written צוּרָר. I will add another example from the Michaux inscription (R, plate 70): “May the gods impose grievous burdens upon his neck!” *tzuri-su* 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆. Here the second letter is rendered *uv* by Rawlinson (No. 70) and by Oppert (No. 57). It is often, however, a simple *u*. Another example is found in 2 R 18, col. ii. 45. *As tzuri-su*, around his neck, let him hang holy images; (last part doubtful) written 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆. We also find 2 R 51, 6, *ana tzuri-su*, upon his neck (spelt the same).
93. **Gadu.** 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆, Good Fortune.—Although this word is at present doubtful, yet it is worth while to propose it as an explanation of the passage R 64, col. x. 4, where the king says: “In thy name, O supreme Marduk, I have built this temple; may its Good Fortune never grow old! Bit ebusu; gadu val lulibur!” The last word is in other passages written *lilbur*; it is the optative of the verb *labar*, to grow old. Gesenius says: “*Gad*, fortuna: Fortunæ numen à *Babyloniis* cultum; i.e., Jovis sidus in toto Oriente pro fortunæ auctore habitum.—Isaiah lxx. 11.” Which verse of Isaiah is to this effect: “Ye have forsaken the true religion of Jehovah, and have prepared a table for Gad (לִגְד) and a drink offering for Minni (לִמְנִי).” There is also another well-known passage in Gen. xxx. 11: בָּגַד or בָּא גַד. The LXX follow the first reading, and render it ἐν τυγχῇ. Gesenius says “benè LXX Τυχῇ.”
94. **Lala.** 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆, or sometimes 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆, Splendour, or perhaps Good Fortune.—In Neriglissar’s inscription, R 67, col. ii. 33: “In thy name, O Marduk! I have built this temple; may its splendour endure! Bit ebusu: lala-su lusbu!” Perhaps from the Hebrew הִלָּל *splenduit*. But considering the similar passage quoted in the last number from Nebuchadnezzar’s great inscription, R 64, col. x. “Gadu val lulibur!

lala-sha lusbim," these two phrases, put in apposition, would rather incline me to translate *lala* as "good fortune," and as connected with 𐎶𐎵𐎶, the morning star (בן שחר), son of the dawn, Isaiah xiv. 12), which was emblematic of good fortune, and is itself to be derived from 𐎶𐎵𐎶 splenduit.—*Ges.*

95. **Mut.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, a Man, a Husband.—This word was first detected by Dr. Hincks (Grammar, p. 519). The whole of his remarks in this part of his grammar are important. It is a pity that he did not give a complete translation of all that remains of this "fragment of the ancient laws of Assyria," as he terms it. I will attempt, however, to explain a portion of it. See 2 R 10, the first twelve lines of col. ii. :—

<i>Takma.</i>	<i>A Penalty.</i>
Ashata mut-zu iziru	If a woman shall repudiate her husband
"Val mut-i atta" iktabi,	And shall say to him, "Thou art not my husband,"
Ana naru inaddu-su.	He shall drown her in the river.
<i>Takma.</i>	<i>A Penalty.</i>
Mut ana ashati-su	If a husband to his wife
"Val ashat-i atta" iktabi,	Shall say, "Thou art not my wife,"
𐎶𐎵𐎶 mana kaspā ishaggal.	He shall pay half a <i>mina</i> of silver.

Some of these words require explanation. *Iziru*, repudiavit, is here written 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶. I am fortunately able to give another example of this word, from Oppert Khors. 10, 95. "I deposed Hazor, King of Ashdod, who refused to pay tribute, and I raised his younger brother, Akhimiti, to the

throne. But the Syrian people rose in insurrection and repudiated his dominion." The verb in this passage is *iziru* 𐤀𐤆𐤌𐤓𐤕 𐤏𐤕𐤕. Oppert translates it *repudiavit*. This agreement is very satisfactory. *Iktabi* is the T conjugation of *ikbi* dixit; locutus est. *Ishaggal* from Heb. שָׁקַל to pay money.

The spelling is 𐤌𐤕𐤕 𐤌𐤕𐤕 *muti*, my husband. 𐤌𐤕𐤕 𐤌𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 *mutzu*, her husband. The former of these is of special importance, since the pronoun is contained, or hidden, in the last syllable, and does not, as usual, form a separate syllable 𐤀 (the vowel *i*). Concerning this, Dr. Hincks says (p. 518), "the affix of the first person attached to a theme which ends in a consonant is generally *i*. This affix is not represented by a separate character but by a change of the last character of the theme, which with this affix is the same as the second or third case. Examples are very numerous, but they appear to have been overlooked or set down as mistakes by others."




I will now give another example of the word *Mut*, from 2R10, col. iv. 4. *Ana matima mut libbi-su ikhutzu*; if any man shall think in his heart.









Concerning *ana* in the sense of "if," see that article.

Mut agrees well with the Heb. מִת, which Gesenius explains *Vir*, peculiariter *Maritus*. Example: Deut. ii. 34, מִתִּים וְהַנְּשִׁים, *virī et mulieres*. I think that this word originally meant a *mortal*, as in Greek and Latin we have *βροτος* a mortal; *αμβροτος* an immortal. And Callimachus says, *εδειμαμεν αστα μορτοι* "we mortals built cities." In fact, as Buttmann has shown, *μορτος* became *βροτος* because *μορτος* would have been unpronounceable to a Greek.

Now מִת signifies *mortalis* in Arabic (Sch. p. 987), but in Hebrew מִת and מִת signify *mors*, *mortuus*. Something similar is seen in the connection between the old Persian *martiya*, homo, afterwards *mard*, and the Latin *maritus* = *vir*.

Should the above remarks be correct they afford an explanation of a very obscure passage in the inscriptions, which is repeated several times, in which one of the principal gods is described as "living in heaven *like a mortal*," which can only mean, I think, possessing the human shape; as the Greeks figured to themselves the Homeric gods the inhabitants of Olympus. I will annex some of these passages.

In R35, No. 2, line 2, Nebo is described as *Bal annu kima mut* . In 2R67, 67, some god is described as "chief of one hundred gods" (a common title), and also  *annu kima mut*; spelt exactly the same as before, except the first sign  instead of *bal*, which I cannot explain.

In R17, 2, the god Ninev is described as         *bulat annu kima mut.* *Bulat* means "living:" see Nos. 31 to 36 for other similar words compounded of *Bul*.

I will now give a rather doubtful example of the word *Mut*, from Opp. Khors. 14, 131. The king having taken the city of Dur Yakina and put many people to death, says, "imat *muti* aslukha." If *imat* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣 is an erroneous reading for 𐭠𐭣 *mat* (land), the sense may be "I despoiled or stripped the land of all its inhabitants." *Aslukha* is Ch. שָׁלַח spoliavit, denudavit, *ex. gr.* Targum on Gen. xxxvii., "they stripped Joseph of his tunic," *islukhu* אִשְׁלְחוּ.

98. **Takma.** ~~𐤔𐤓~~ 𐤔, a Sentence or Penalty.—This word occurs four times in 2 R, pl. 10, and has evidently been broken off in three other places. It seems to be always followed by the mention of some punishment inflicted. I therefore think it is derived from the root 𐤔𐤓𐤕 *hakim*, in the sense given by Schindler, p. 571, *judicavit: dixit sententiam: condemnnavit: multavit*. And as a substantive, *judicium: condemnatio: sententia*.

The social offences for which these penalties are inflicted

appear to be the following ; but it is probable that many others followed, and of a more varied nature :—

1. If a wife should repudiate her husband (line 4 on the left).
2. Or a husband his wife (line 10 on the left).
3. Or a son his father (line 23 on the right).
4. Or a son his mother (line 29 on the right).
5. Or a father his son (line 34 on the right).
6. Or a mother her son (line 41 on the right).

The latter ones are much mutilated ; but their meaning may be inferred from the analogy of the rest. The following one is, however, different :—

7. If a master shall maltreat his hired servant (line 13 on the left).

97. **Baru.** $\Xi\Upsilon$ $\Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$, a Son.—I propose this word with some hesitation, because I have only met with it once ; but that is in so clear a passage that I think I can hardly be mistaken. Besides, the word *Bar*, a son, is so very common a word in Syriac that it may reasonably be looked for in the Assyrian language, as likely to occur under certain circumstances. Now it will be seen by reference to the preceding article *Takma*, that Sec. 3 inflicts a penalty, “If a son $\Sigma\Xi\Upsilon$ shall say to his father $\Xi\Xi\Upsilon$ $\Xi\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$ (*atta*) $\Xi\Xi\Upsilon$ $\Xi\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$ \times \nearrow Υ \rightarrow $\Upsilon\Upsilon$ *Atta-mu nu (min?)* thou art not my father.” This is the P. C. version, and I have corrected the last sign to make it agree with the other texts. The Assyrian version is slightly fractured, but can be easily restored as follows: *Takma* (penalty). *Baru ana abu-su*, “*Val ab-i atta*,” *iktabi* ; “If a son shall say to his father, ‘Thou art not my father.’” (*The next lines are fractured and illegible*). 2 R10, col. iv. 23.

In this passage the important word is $\Xi\Upsilon$ $\Sigma\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ *Baru*, which admits of no other meaning than “Son.” In line 36 we find the corresponding penalty (though in a fractured

state), " If a father (*atta*) shall say to his son ॐ,
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ 'thou art not my son,' &c. &c.

98. **Elmi**, or **Imi**. $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \leftarrow\text{𐎶}$, an Eclipse.—This interesting word is probably derived from the Chald. עלם *elma*, occultatus fuit : absconditus fuit (Schindler, p. 1328). The character $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ frequently has the value *El* or *Il*, as in $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ Babel. $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ Arba-el (the city of Arbela), R45, 6. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ Hazael King of Syria, R46, 19. I have found some unpublished tablets in the British Museum which throw some light upon this word. The first of these which I will mention is marked as 88, and also as 67A. It bears an inscription of only two lines, very clearly written : $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \leftarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶} \leftarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ *Sin elmi itsakan*, "The moon is eclipsed." I conjecture that this was a notice sent by the chief astronomer to be delivered to the king immediately, while there was yet time for his majesty to witness the phenomenon himself. King Ashurbanipal seems to have felt interest and curiosity in all matters of science and literature ; witness the tablet which Dr. Hincks discovered, and which I have referred to under the article *Mushi*, in which the astronomer informs the king, with courteous compliments, on what day of the month the vernal equinox will fall. (These two tablets are, I think, from the same hand.)

The next evidence which I will produce is the inscription published by Rawlinson, 2R52, 7, which he describes as "date of solar eclipse."

In the third month of the year, "the sun was eclipsed."
 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Shemesh elmi ishkan*. The
 sign 𐎶𐎵 represents the syllable *ashk* or *ishk* (but I believe *only*
 in this verb). Examples of this usage are very numerous.

My third example shall be from the unpublished British Museum tablet 154, also marked 122*b* (it formerly bore the mark K 131):

"To the King of the World, my lord! Thy servant

Kukuru (*sends this*). May Ashur, the Sun, and Marduk be propitious to my lord the king (*in his journey*) from his kingdom unto the land of Egypt! I inform his majesty that in the month of *Su* there was an eclipse." ➤✱ <=Σ
Σ|| ➤✱ <=Σ ➤✱ elmi ishtunnu. (It will be observed that the same verb is employed in all the three inscriptions. It therefore requires examination. My opinion is that it expresses the Chald. סכן *agrotavit* valde, vel periculose. Periclitatus est).

I now proceed to the remaining part of this last tablet. The writing becomes indistinct; but after the words "there was an eclipse," follows "Five portions of the full orb" (perhaps "lost their light"). || ➤✱ EY <=EY MEY W (five parts were obscured) *ana malathu-sha*, "upon its fulness," i.e. "upon the full orb," from Heb. מלא, to be full. I cannot make out the two next lines, but then comes "*Sar lishalumi: sha elmi sha arakhi Su kishar ana pani Sar . . .*" "Let the king be at peace (i. e. of tranquil mind) since the eclipse of the month of *Su* portends good fortune to the king!" where I read <=EY <=EY-| *kishar*, and compare the Heb. words in Gesenius, p. 508, בֵּשֶׁר *benè cessit: prosperavit*, בִּשְׁרָה *prosperitas*, Psalm lxxviii. 7. Syriac כִּשְׂרָא *successus prosper*. A more complete study of this curious tablet is desirable. It is in one sense, however, very defective, since it does not state the day of the month. Nor does it say whether the eclipse was solar or lunar. There is a slight probability, however, that it was *solar*, because the writer invokes the sun to be propitious to his sovereign.

The month *Su* EY was, according to my reckoning, the fourth month of the year. I now come to the three lunar eclipses, which were first noticed by Dr. Hincks in 2R39, col. iv. 43, 52, 58, and upon which he wrote a short memoir, printed in the Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Berlin. I do not think that much can be deduced from them. In each case the eclipse is expressed by ➤✱ <=Σ. There is no

daybreak, or shortly before sunrise, the moon was quite darkened by that eclipse." But I understand that this passage is inaccurately printed in the lithograph ; so that it must remain doubtful for the present. In the large tablet, 229b, otherwise K 270, the word 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 occurs so often that it cannot mean "an eclipse," but some other kind of darkness.

99. **Zunah.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 , Cold.—This is the Heb. צנה *frigus*. We read in Prov. xxv. 13, כ צנה שלג "as the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so . . . refresheth the soul."

This word is found but rarely in the inscriptions. An example occurs in the Taylor inscription of Sennacherib, col. iii. 76 and following lines. The king is at war with the Tocharri, and marching through rugged mountain paths. He says: "In places that were dangerous for my palanquin (*ashar ana guza runuku*), I alighted on my feet, and then like a mountain goat I clambered up the lofty cliffs. Where my knees inclined to rest, I sat down upon some mountain rock ; and waters, cold even unto freezing, I drank to quench my thirst." This graphic description stands thus in the original (line 78): "Ashar birka-ya manakhtu ishaha, tsir abni shadi usibu. Mie, *zun* adi kassuti, ana zumi-ya lu-ashti." A few observations on these words may be requisite :—

Ashar, locus : but here it is an adverb (quo loco = ubi); *birkaya* my knees ; *ishaha* declined or sunk down ; *manakhtu* for repose. The verb *ishaha* is שחה "se inclinavit." *Manakhtu* is "repose," from Heb. מנחת *quies*, which is from the root נח *requiescere*. *Tsir* "upon," is a frequent preposition. *Mie* "waters," 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 in the original. *Zun adi kassut* : 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . "Cold, even unto freezing." The last word comes from the Chald. קשן *durus fuit* : *rigidus fuit*. Schindler gives a great number of examples of this word. The first part of this explanation I have taken from a paper of Dr. Hincks in the *Atlantis*, which he kindly communicated to me. The king says





he shared all the hardships of the common soldier. Cold water was his beverage, a rock his seat. He fared like an Alpine traveller in the present day, when thirsty and tired with climbing. Buxtorf, p. 1927, gives good examples of the word *Zunnu*.






100. **Shalgu.** ✠ ✠✠, Snow. — R40, 77, and R43, 43. Heb. שלג *nix*. This word was pointed out by Mr. Norris.
















101. **Parna.** ✠ ✠✠✠✠ ✠✠✠, a Median word, apparently signifying a Chief.—The Behistun inscription speaks of a Median general whose name was Vinta-parna (or Intaphernes). The Persian text has Vidafrana (Norris, R.A.S. Vol. xv. p. 192). Now the inscription of Esarhaddon, col. iv. 13, names two chiefs “of the distant Medians,” Sirep-parna and E-parna. This coincidence renders it probable that the so-called *Scythian* text at Behistun is really written in the *Median* language. The names Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes probably contain the same word; to which we may add Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and another of the same name, who fought at Marathon.

102. **Ephar.** ✠✠ ✠✠, Dust.—Heb. עפר *pulvis*. In 2 R67, 27, the king conquers the tribes inhabiting the coasts of the Persian Gulf, who, he says, had never submitted to any of his predecessors. They now submit, and offer tribute of precious articles, the produce of their own land ✠✠ ✠. First and most precious was the gold dust of their country, ✠✠ ✠✠✠ ✠✠ ✠✠ ✠✠ ✠. Such I believe to be a probable rendering of this passage.* Then they make an offering of their *Pearls*, for which the Persian Gulf has always been famous. These are called *nisikti* stones; and that *pearls* are meant is evident from the epithet added of *binut parti*, “productions of the sea” ✠✠ ✠✠ ✠✠ ✠✠✠.

* Is it certain that when gold of *Ophir* is mentioned in the Bible, *Ophir* is always the name of a country? May it not *sometimes at least* have meant gold dust עפר? Job xxviii. 6, says “the Earth has עפר of gold” (dust of gold).

103. **Ashmar.**  , a Spear.—In R, plate 7, the king slays a lion. “With my *ashmar* in my hand I deprived him of life (*ashkul rukhar-su*).” The verb *ashkul* is doubtful; if correct it may be the Heb.  *privavit*. The word *Ashmar* occurs again in the Nakshi Rustam inscription, line 28: “Then learn! that the spear of the Persian soldier reaches far!”
 *Sha amihu Paraya ashmar-su ruku illik!*

104. **Ru.** , a Sword.—R7, inscription C. Here the king says: “I killed another lion >  >  with a sword of iron   *mibi-ya*, in my hand? Compare this with the account of the death of Ursa, King of Urarda, Opp. Khors. 9, 77: “When Ursa heard that his city was captured, and that the image of Mazdia his god was carried off, “with a sword of iron in his hand he destroyed his own life” (*napišta-su usuti*). The words and the spelling here employed are exactly the same as those I have quoted from R, plate 7.

In R18, 49, we read: “The mountain rose up like a sharp-pointed upright sword of iron; even a bird of heaven could not have flown so high.” In this passage, *zikip* Heb.   is a sharp-pointed stake fixed upright in the ground. The next word is   “a sword of iron,” which completes the similitude. A modern traveller gives a not very different account of perhaps the same range of mountains. Compare this with the much earlier inscription of Tiglath Pileser (R11, 43): “Great mountains ( *shakuti*) which rose straight up like pointed swords” *sha kima zikip ru uthu*     . Here the letter *kip* is the same as before, but with a different disposition of the wedges,  instead of . The verb *uthu* is interesting: it appears to come from a root , whence Heb.  *Stylus*, and  *acuminatus*,

Ezek. xxi. 15, where it is an epithet of a sword. Nearly the same passage is repeated in R12, 14.

105. **Mitgar.** 𐎢𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶, Good Luck.—*Tamu mitgari*, on a lucky day. Opp. Khors. 19, 167, and very frequently in other inscriptions. I deduce this word from the Chald. and Syr. verb *tagar* ܐܓܪ *lucrificat: lucratus est negociando*, &c. Sch. 1962. N.B. The word “luck” is probably related to *lucrum*.
106. **Laban.** 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶, a Plain, a Flat or Level District.—R11, 45. The king says, “I advanced through an arduous country. Lofty mountains rose up before me, through which no chariots could pass. So I left my chariots in the plain, and then marched up the mountains.” *In labani lu-emid*, I left them in the plain, 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 *emid* is the Heb. העמיד the Hiphil of עמד *stetit*, and signifies *stare fecit* or *statuit* (see Gesen.). This word *laban* “flat” seems very important, as showing us the true etymology of the Hebrew *laban* לבן a tile or brick. It has hitherto been most unsatisfactorily derived by Gesenius and others from לבן “white,” as if bricks and tiles were always *white*! It may be said they are sometimes “light coloured;” but it may be replied that a thing could not reasonably have received its name from *laban* unless it were *conspicuously* white, and that were one of its principal qualities. The Moon is well named *Labnah* לבנה “the white,” and the epithet is often applied by Hebrew writers to “milk” and “snow,” and they use the comparison “whiter than snow.” But since, as I think, no writer ever said “whiter than a brick,” I think we must reject that etymology of לבן.

I am of opinion then that לבן “a brick or tile,” was so called from its *flatness*.

Babylonian bricks are described and figured in Rawlinson’s *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. iii. page 393: “The finest quality of brick was *yellow*. Another very hard kind was *blue*,

approaching to *black*; the commoner and coarser sorts were *pink* or *red*. The shape was always *square*, and the dimensions varied between twelve and fourteen inches for the length and breadth, and between three and four for the thickness." Hence we see that their thickness was only about a quarter of their length and breadth. They were broad and flat, like the stone flags of a modern pavement. Such a form the French would call *une plaque*, which is the same word as the English *flag* (= paving stone) and the German *flach* (flat), whence *Oberfläche*, a *surface* (viz. extension with little thickness).

These are only two or three of a whole host of words which in Greek, Latin, and modern languages express more or less the mixed idea of broadness and flatness, such as *latus*, *πλατύς*, *flat*, *platform*; Germ. *platt*, &c.

I now proceed to inquire further whether we cannot, by *analogy* from this word לבן, arrive at the true etymology of the Latin *lāter*, "a tile?"

It appears to me to come from *lātus* and *πλατύς*, being intermediate between them. *Latus* and *πλατύς* are the same word; a similar change is seen in *planus*, Spanish *llano*, old provincial Latin *lanus* (whence the city Mediolanum, "Middle of the plain," now Milano). Also *pluvia*, Span. *llover*, and many other words.

107. **Shabu.** 𐤱𐤤 𐤱𐤤𐤠𐤢𐤠𐤢𐤠, the Foot, *plur.* Shapi.—This meaning is quite clear from the passage in 2R17, col. iv. 69, which says: "their heads unto his head: their hand unto his hand: their feet unto his foot." Here the P.C. 𐤱𐤤 is rendered by the Assyrian 𐤱𐤤 𐤱𐤤𐤠𐤢𐤠𐤢𐤠 *kati*. Both are well known to signify the *hands*. And the P.C. 𐤱𐤤𐤠𐤢𐤠 (the feet) is rendered by the Assyrian 𐤱𐤤𐤠𐤢𐤠𐤢𐤠 *shapi*, which, therefore, must signify "feet."

This is fully confirmed by a phrase which frequently occurs: *iknusu shabu-a* "they fell down at my feet;" "they did homage to me, by prostration at my feet:" written

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.—R38, 44. *Ushaknis shabu-a* "I caused them to fall down at my feet." As to the origin and affinities of the word *shabu*, it seems evidently to come from the Chald. ܫܒܘ *calcavit*, also written ܫܪܒܘ.

108. **Hakkada.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, the Head.—This is a word of considerable obscurity; but I think that it is too important to be omitted, for several reasons, and therefore I propose it for consideration. In 2R19, col. ii. 14, some mythological creature, probably a serpent, is spoken of as having seven heads, *siba hakkada*. In the P. C. translation the numeral is expressed by 𐎶𐎶, and *hakkada* is translated 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Shak*, which signifies "head" in that language.

The same sign is employed for "head" in the Assyrian, and consequently assumes the phonetic power of *resh* or *riak*, Heb. ראש. The creature spoken of is called 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *tsir makkhi* in both languages, except that the P. C. omits the final 𐎶𐎶. The last word signifies "great," "finely grown," or "powerful," in Assyrian, where it is frequently employed as an epithet of bulls and timber trees, *ga makkhi*, *shar makkhi*, and *ur makkhi* "lions" (for I suppose a lion was simply *ur*, as in Hebrew נָר *leo*). Omitting the epithet *makkhi*, the name of the mythological creature will be 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (probably *Tsir*); but I am not aware what it is. Returning now to the consideration of the word *hakkad*, I find a strong confirmation in 2R17, col. iv. 66, where the P. C. column has "their heads" 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *reshdu* or *sakdu*, and the Assyrian column has 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (the last sign being broken off). Again, in 2R17, col. ii. 24, we find *hakkadi* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 answering to the P. C. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *shak* or "head." Another very clear example of this word is found in 2R46, 45, where *reshdu* (head) is explained *hakkadu* 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. Now with respect to the origin of this word *hakkad*, it seems that the Hebrew anciently possessed the word קֵד *kad* "the head," but at present we only find the

derived form קדקד *kad-kad* "top of the head" *vertex capitis*. Geesenius gives the following texts: Job ii. 7; Ps. vii. 17; Gen. xlix. 26; Deut. xxxiii. 16; Ps. lxxviii. 22. But the verb קד to bow the head, occurs frequently, and is reduced to קד in the tenses; יקד he bowed his head: *ex. gr.* 1 Sam. xxiv. David יקד bowed down נפשו with his face to the earth.



































I now find that Oppert also (Commentary, page 188, &c.) gives *kakkadi* as the Assyrian for "heads," expressing 𐎲𐎠 by *kak*, with a point under each *k*. The sound is likely to have been *hak*.


We have not proved *Tsir* (which means "long") to have in this passage the meaning of "serpent;" but should we eventually be able to prove that point, we should see that the Assyrian mythology contained "a serpent with seven heads." It is very remarkable that a seven-headed serpent is the ruling symbol of the great ruined temple lately discovered in Cambodia, whose folds extend over the roofs and pillars, and prove him to have been the *Genius Loci*; but in what age was that temple erected?

109. **Haggar.** 𐎲𐎠 𐎲𐎠, the Earth.—I have placed this article next to the last on account of their both beginning with the unusual syllable 𐎲𐎠 *ak* or *hak*. Oppert agrees with me in giving this value to it in some words. It is No. 49 of his list. Nakshi Rustam, line 5: "I am Darius, *sar haggar rukta rabita*, king of the vast and wide world."














Bell. 61: "My aqueduct extended *kasbu hakkaru* over a league of land" 𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶. *Mishakti hakkari* 𐎲𐎠 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶.—2 R67, 69. The word is very common.

110. **Ishazzu.** 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, Men call it (or call them).—On l'appelle: on les appelle. "Are called." An impersonal verb of great importance, very commonly used as a parenthesis. "I built before the gates *Bit Appati* like those of a Syrian palace, and which, in the language of Phœnicia, they call *Bit Khilanni*: Sha in lishan Martu-ki Bit Khilanni

11. **Diklat.**    . This word means, in the first place, the river Tigris (see No. 41). But it also appears to mean a kind of boat peculiar to that river, and so named after it. We read in the Behistun inscription, line 34, that on the advance of Darius the enemy crossed the Tigris: "as eli diklat usuzsu anakullua nari Mastiggar mali," i.e. "they fled on *diklat* (as people call them) to the other side of the river Tigris. "Upon which," says Darius, "we crossed (*nitibir*) the river Tigris, and defeated the enemy in a great battle, fought on the 26th day of the month Kan." This passage requires a few observations. *Mali* is the Heb. verb מלך elapsus est: aufugit.—Ges. 577. The parenthesis *usuzru* "they call them," or "men call them," Lat. (ut vocant) is very frequent. It only occurs when a foreign, or at least unusual, word is employed. I have treated of it in the last article (110). It is here written       . *Anakullua* is contracted from *ana aku ullua* "to—bank—opposite." The two latter words are not unfrequent, and  is very frequently *na*, though often confounded with *ma*, which has nearly the same form, and the scribes were not very careful to distinguish them. With the phrase *ana aku ullu* compare that used in R40, 31        *ana akha anna* "to the other side" (of the sea, I carried them). Compare also the seventeenth line of the Nakshi Rustam inscription. The Cimmerians who dwelt on the other side of the sea, "sha akhi ullua sha marrata," written               

112. Nu. , Not.—A Proto-Chaldean word, exceedingly common in that language, but very rare in the Assyrian.—The

following are, however, a few instances of it: Sargina's Palace had the name "Gabri nu isha," "has not a rival," equivalent to the modern name *Sanspareil* or *Nonpareil*. Opp. Khors. 18, 159. In the invocation to Ninev, R17, 1, it is said, "Sha as takhazi nu ishananu tibu-su," "whom in battle none could resist his onset." Here the other copy changes *nu* into the usual Assyrian negative *la* "not." In the Michaux inscription, R70, col. iii. 13, we read "Marduk bel rabu, aga nu bila," which may mean king without end, or, king everlasting. *Agu* is "a crown" (plur. *agie*); hence *aga* may be "a king."

113. **Nin.** , No One.—Annals of Esarhaddon, R47, 34. "A great building . . . which among the kings my fathers who went before me *none* had ever made, I accomplished;" sha as sarrin alikut makhri abi-ya *nin* la ebusu, anaku ebus. And in the tablet given by Oppert (Exp. en Mes. page 360), "sha as sarrin alik makhri-ya *nin* miru suatu ikhutzu," "which among the kings who went before me, *none* showed solicitude for this useful work" (See my translation in the Transactions of the R.S.L.). This word *nin*, nullus, and the preceding word *nu*, non (see No. 112), appear to have been borrowed from some Indo-Germanic language.
114. **Tansil.**    , Resembling.—This word occurs R36, 54. Bit Khilanni tansil baikal  Khatti; "I constructed *bit-khilanni* resembling those of a Syrian palace." Other texts repeat this passage with some variations, having   instead of *tansil*. Opp. Khors. 19, 161, reads   *tam-sil*, which is probably correct, for I think  sometimes sounded *tam* (for instance, when it meant "a day"). *Tansil* is evidently the Arabic *tamsil* "a resemblance." It is a verbal substantive from the root  to resemble, which is of common occurrence in Heb. and Chald. as well as the substantive  *similitudo*.





115. **Ishbi.** 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶, Herbs.—There is an interesting passage in the inscriptions of Khorsabad, where Sargina receives tribute from Ithamar, King of the Sabæans. The first article presented to him is *gold*. The second, *Ishbi kutra*. Oppert translates *ishbi*, in my opinion correctly, by “herbs,” regarding it as the Heb. עֵשֶׂב *herba*. Chald. עֶשְׂבָּא (Khors. 3, 27, and Commentary, page 78). But of the next word 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 he only says “groupe difficile à déchiffrer.” My conjecture is, that we should read 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *kutra*, frankincense; for I find that frequent mistakes have been made between 𐎶𐎶, otherwise 𐎶𐎶, which is *kut*, and the much commoner letter 𐎶 *kur*. *Kutra* may be compared with the Heb. קָטָר incense offered to the gods. Gesenius and Schindler translate the *verb* by suffivit: *adolevit*: and the *substantive* by suffimentum: thymiana. The same verb in Arabic means “to be fragrant.”—Ges.



This offering of “gold and frankincense” reminds us of that which the Magi offered at Bethlehem, “gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.”—Matthew ii. 11. The tribute of the King of the Sabæans, which he brought to the King of Assyria, is most appropriate and consonant to the testimony of history—*India mittit ebur: molles sua thura Sabæi* (Virgil).





So, three centuries earlier, the Queen of the Sabæans, commonly called the Queen of Sheba, brought a great tribute to Solomon. 1 Kings x. 1; “And she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare *spices* and very much gold and precious stones.” And again: “She gave the king one hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of *spices* very great store: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the Queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon.”



Nearly related to this word is the Assyrian *kutar*, the smoke of something burning, which is the Heb. קִטָּר.

If, however, the present reading of the text 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *kurra* should eventually prove to be correct, I still think that it may be the same word as *kutra* 𐎶𐎶𐎶. For we see that the letter T is absorbed and disappears before R in innumerable instances, as *pater, père: mater, mère: frater, frère, &c. &c.*




116. **Sarrut.**  , the Foundations of a Building.—Probably of same origin with No. 7 of this Glossary, *sarrut* "commencement." All from the Chald. שרר to begin. In R69, 20, Nabonidus dedicates several temples with the prayer "May their foundations   last as long as Heaven itself!" "kima Shamie sarrut-sun likun!" where the meaning of the word *sarrut* is determined by other passages which use the common word *ishda* "foundation," Heb. יסד. For example, in same plate, col. iii. 53, "kima shamie ishda-sun likunnu!" which also occurs on the previous plate 68, col. ii. 17.

117. **Shurru.**  , the Beginning.—This word seems to be another derivative from the same root שרר *inchoavit*. R9, 62. "In shurru sarti-ya," in the beginning of my reign.

118. **Sirikta.**    , a Gift, or Recompense.—From an Assyrian verb שרד "to give," whence we have the very common words *ishruku*, he gave: *ishrutuni*, they gave.

The word *sirikta* is found several times in the Babylonian inscriptions. R69, col. iii. 39: The king Nabonidus, having constructed many temples, prays thus: *Ana shatti* (on this account) may the gods grant me abundant years "*ana sirikta*" as a recompense. Here "years" are expressed by  .

In R68, 23: *Surkam*, grant me; *balathu tamu rukuti*, a life of long days; *ana sirikti*, as a recompense. Again, in R52, col. ii. of Rich's cylinder: *As shatta* (on that account) *surkam*, grant me; *baladam dara*, long life; *labar palie*, and prolonged years of reign; *ana sirikti*, as a recompense. Again, in a short inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, published by Oppert, page 274, which is very like the last example.

119. **Sapari.**   , Shavings.—From Chald. ספר to shave or clip. "The tribe of the Bukudu I swept away like shavings," *kima sapari ashkhup*.—2R67, 13. He goes on

to my, line 15, "I swept the whole land of Chaldea" *khukarish* $\rightarrow\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{K}$ $\rightarrow\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{K}$, which seems to mean "very closely," or "in a searching manner," from Chald. דקך.

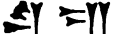




120. **Dikha.** YYK $\rightarrow\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{K}$, the Front: also *adv.* in Front of: "I cut down (*akush*) YY YYY the fine trees which grew in front of his palace, *dikh dur-su*. Not one of them was left!" YY YYY $\rightarrow\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{K}$ $\rightarrow\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{K}$.—2 R 67, 24.






Valtu tami tsiri dikhi haikali ibakhu "from extreme old age the front wall of the palace was split and rent."—Bellino, line 48. In the remarkable escape of Merodach Baladan (which was probably in the night time) from the besieged city of Dur Yakina, we read (Opp. Khors. 15, 132): *Edish ipparsidu*, he escaped alone; *dikhi dur-su izbatu*, clinging to the front wall of his palace; *kima suratsa*, like a lizard (or reptile); *eruba misussu*, and reached a place of refuge.

A few remarks on some of these words.—*Dikhi* is spelt YYK $\rightarrow\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{K}$. *Izbatu*, this verb is frequently used in the sense of clinging closely, or embracing; as "they embraced my feet;" "I embraced, or clung to, the knees (?) of the statue of Marduk," &c. *Misussu* for *misu-su* "his refuge;" *su* (his) being an enclitic without any accent, which is thrown on the preceding word. MS or MS means discessit: remotus fuit (Sch. 984). *Eruba* pervenit: a frequent verb. Pervenit locum remotum.

121. **Suratsa.** SY SY SY , a Reptile.—In Opp. Khors. 15, 132, it is probably a lizard; which runs up and down walls with amazing agility. See the preceding article. Heb. שרץ *saratsa*, a reptile.

122. **Shurus.** SY SY , the foundation-tablet of a Palace or City.—To carry off this as a trophy was considered a great exploit of a conqueror. The meaning of the word seems identical with *timin*, as Oppert was the first to point out

(Commentaire, page 194). When Sargina took the city of Dur-Yakina, he says (Opp. Khors. 15, 134): *Timin-su assukha*, I carried off the foundation-tablet. But where the same event is alluded to in the inscription on one of the bulls, Sargina is called *Nasikh shurús ir Dur-Yakini*, he who dug up the foundation-tablet of the city of Dur-Yakina. The verb *nasikh* , as Oppert has well pointed out, is the Chald.  eruit, extirpavit (Sch. 1128): and *assukha* is the first person of the preterite of the same verb. The same phrase is used on another occasion, namely, in the barrel inscription, R36, 25, where Sargina is called *Nasikh shurús*  *Hamatti*, he who dug up the tablet of the city of Hamath. It was, therefore, probably his usual practice when he conquered a city of celebrity. Oppert thinks *shurus* is the Heb.  *radix*. It may, however, be a word derived from  *shurru* "the beginning" (See No. 117). In that case, *shurus* will stand for *shurú-su*, "the first stone of it," by a very common abbreviation, and the syntax will be as usual, "I carried off its first stone (of) the city Dur-Yakina."

123. **Dahututi.**  Appurtenances of a thing; all that belongs to it.—Opp. Khors. 5, 39. Vallutzun, King of Manna, made a treaty with Ursa, King of Urarda,* and ceded to him twenty-two cities, *ki dahututi*, "with all that belonged to them." Another spelling appears to be *tihuti*. On a very ancient stone in the British Museum, one hundred pieces of silver are named as the price of a chariot "with all its appurtenances," *adi tihuti*. The origin of the word may be seen in Schindler, page 352:  *etiam*  *vel*  "habens; possidens rem aliquam, et eâ præditus:" plur. fem.  "habentes." Hence we may translate "cities *ki dahututi* (with their possessions)," Oppert has "cum omni possessione," which appears to me correct. And hence also *dahut* is a "gift," being something offered to a person for his own possession, as in the following example:

I have made for them : *nish kati-ya liram* !—R16, 25. The Hebrew word corresponding is *nisha* מַעֲשֵׂה, as in Exodus v. 4 ; “ Wherefore do ye hinder the people from their *works* ? ” and in Ezek. xlv. 1, “ The six days of *work*,” as opposed to the Sabbath. מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי אָדָם “ the work of men’s hands.” Both *nish* and *nish* are legitimate derivations from עָשָׂה, to make. In R63, 35, Nebuchadnezzar calls Babylon “ *nish ini-ya sha aramu*.” Considering that the same verb, *rama*, is employed in both passages (*aramu* and *liram*), I think that *nish* 𐤒𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍 must have the same meaning in both, and, therefore, “ *nish ini-ya* ” (the work of my eyes) must be a *phrase*, meaning the work in which my eyes delight : or, which I cherish as my eyes : or, doat upon : or some equivalent phrase. Sometimes 𐤒𐤍 𐤍𐤏𐤍 means “ carved work,” or “ sculptured images,” as in R70, 21, “ He carved on this stone tablet the *images* of the great gods.” Perhaps, however, this is the Syriac *nisha* ܢܝܫܐ, Heb. ־ן *signum*.

127. **Lanni.** 𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤍, Residence.—In Latin, *commoratio* ; as when one dwells for a time in a city not his own. This obscure word occurs in Opp. Khors. 15, 135, and I will attempt an explanation of it. It appears that certain inhabitants (probably merchants) of Babylon, Borsippa, &c., were dwelling in Dur-Yakina, the capital of Merodach Baladan’s kingdom, when that city was taken and burnt by Sargina, who treated these foreigners with kindness. The passage is : *Sha in lanni-sun in girbi-su kamu tsibitta-sun*, who in *dwellings* (or offices, hostels, places of business, lodgings, &c.), within that city, had placed their affairs.

Lanni is from the Heb. *lun* לון to reside, generally for a short time ; but in other passages, for an indefinite time : *ex. gr.* Isaiah i. “ Justice will *dwell* in it ” יָלִין. Job. xli. “ In collo ejus *manebit* robur ” יָלִין. Psalm xlix. 13, “ Homo in honore non *permanebit* ” יָלִין. Hence also מְלוֹן an inn : a lodging, a lodge (in a garden of cucumbers).

The remainder of the phrase, *kamu tsibitta-sun*, merits attention. *Kamu* "they had placed," from the same root as the Arabic *makam* "locus;" *tsibitta-sun* their affairs. This is the Chald. and Syriac word *tsibut* צִבּוּת *res, negocium* (Schindler, 1513).

128. **Nabali.** נָבָלִי (plur. of Nabala), a kind of Harp.—Greek *Naβλα*. Lat. *nablium*. Heb. נָבֶלָא *nabla*, which occurs frequently in the Psalms and other parts of Scripture, conjoined with the כִנּוּר lyre? lute? It seems to have had ten strings (decachordon), but Josephus says twelve.

This interesting word occurs in the list of tribute received by Tiglath Pileser II. from the Kings of Syria and Palestine.—2R67, 63. The words are *nabali tsibutat mati-sun*; "*Nabali*, which are the musical instruments of their country."

129. **Tsibutat.** צִבּוּת (plur. of Tsibut), Musical Instruments: see the last article.—This word is given by Schindler, page 1517, thus: צִבּוּת *tsibut*, omne genus instrumenti musici.



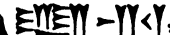




130. **Tila.** תִּלָּא, Alive.—תִּלָּא as libbi-sun *tila* val etzib. Not one of them escaped alive.—R19, 108.

131. **Dimaski.** דִּמַּשְׁקִי, Damascus.—R35, 16. "I besieged Mariah, King of Syria, in Damascus his capital city." The name of this monarch appears to be simply the Syriac *Mar* "dominus;" unless it be *Mar-iah*, "Iah is Lord." Compare the Syrian king Iahu-luhu, "Iahu is with him," in Esarhaddon's inscription.

Damascus is named again in line 21. No city in the world has preserved its ancient name *without interruption* for a longer time than Damascus.






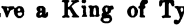



132. **Palasta.** פַּלֶּסְטָא, Palestine.—R35, 12, where it stands next to אֲדָמָא, *Udumu*, the land of

Edom, on one side ; and to the "great sea of the setting sun" on the other side.

133. **Mimfi.** , Memphis, the capital of Egypt.—
"He quitted Memphis his royal city and escaped in a boat"
(tablet in the British Museum).
134. **Gimirraya.** , the Cimmerians.
Unpublished inscription of Ashurbanipal, K 228, "He sent to me as his Envoy a certain Cimmerian, who was a Nobleman in his own country, and whom he had taken prisoner in a battle."
The name of the country itself is Gimirri ,
Nakshi Rustam, lines 14 and 17, or   in the Behist. inscription, line 6, where it was first observed and explained by Sir H. Rawlinson.
135. **Iahu-khazi.** , Ahaz, King of Judah. The name Iahu-khazi signifies "Iahu is my possession (or my treasure)," from Hebrew  "a possession." The final vowel *i* should not be overlooked, since it is the pronoun "*my*." Iahu = *Iaw* of the Greeks,* which is the same as Jah or Jehovah. In 2R67, 61, this King Iahu-khazi (who is there called the King of Judah), is named as one of those who paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser II. But we know from 2 Chronicles, xxviii. 20, that Ahaz was the king who paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser : therefore Iahu-khazi was Ahaz. No doubt the name Jeho-ahaz (who was a different king) corresponds more nearly to the Assyrian name. Indeed it agrees with it exactly. But I am disposed to conjecture that Ahaz was originally named Jeho-ahaz, and that the Assyrians knew him by that name only ; but that when Ahaz lapsed into idolatry, and no longer worshipped Jehovah, he dropped that holy name, being reluctant to bear it "while making molten images for

* See Diodorus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Hesychius. The name *Iaw* is very common on the Gnostic gems and amulets.

136. **Baal.** אֱלֹהֵי בַּעַל, the name of a great deity of the Syrians.—He is distinguished from the *Bel* אֱלֵי of the Assyrian mythology by the aspirate אֱ which always occurs in his name. So the Hebrews have both בַּל and בַּעַל. Examples of the name: In 2R67, 56, the king elevates a man named Idi Baal to be *nigab* (sovereign ? or perhaps high priest ?) over the land of Egypt. The name means “Baal is with me.” *Idi* אֱלֵי is “my hand,” but Gesenius has explained that בְּדִי (in manu meâ) is merely a Hebraism for “mecum.” In this name *Baal* is written אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֵי אֱלֵי אֱלֵי.

In the next line to the above-named Idi-Baal we have Sibitti-Baal the King of Gubal (the *Byblos* of the Greeks). The latter part of his name is written . The meaning of Sibitti-Baal is perhaps "Host of Baal," i.e. the starry firmament, or the heavenly host, or perhaps the angels. Heb. צבא exercitus, צבא יהוה or צבא השמים meaning the sun, moon, and stars.—See Gesen. 851, for a copious account of this subject. *Sibitti* is spelt . In R 38, 44, we have a King of Sidon named Tu-Baal  . In R 48, 2, we have a King of Tyre called simply  or *Baal*. In line 6 of the same plate a King of Arvad called Kilu-Baal   which may also mean "Host of Baal," or "Army of Baal;" Heb. צבא exercitus. Here it is important to observe that the name of Baal has the sign for "divinity"  prefixed to it. So it has also in 2R67, 60, where a King of Arvad bears a name which is possibly Nidinta-Baal (gift of Baal), but the first two syllables are broken off. The name of the god is written . The name of Baal was very ancient; for we find in the Annals of

Ashurakbhal, two hundred years earlier than Sennacherib, the name of a certain prince called Ammi-Baal, or "Baal is with me" עמיבעל. — See R 20, 12. Here the name of Baal is written אֶל־בַּאֲלִי in one copy, but in the other the last letter is אֶל־בַּאֲלִי li.

137. **Ishtar.** אֶשְׁתָּר, the name of the great goddess of the Assyrians.—It has also the general meaning of "a goddess." The plural is *ishtarat* "goddesses." Opp. Khors. 20, 176, אֶשְׁתָּר אֶשְׁתָּר the gods, אֶל־בַּאֲלִי and, אֶשְׁתָּר אֶשְׁתָּר אֶשְׁתָּר the goddesses, *asibut Ashur-ki* who dwell in Assyria. This word *ishtarat* is plainly the Heb. עֲשֵׁתָרוֹת *eshtarot* or *ashtaroth*, "goddesses;" as in Judges x. 6, "And the Children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim בעלים (false gods) and Ashtaroth עֲשֵׁתָרוֹת goddesses), and forsook the Lord and served not Him."

But when עֲשֵׁתָרוֹת was used in the singular, it meant the great goddess of the Phœnicians and Philistines, *Astarte*, in Greek Ασταρτη. Her statue had horns, to signify that she was the moon. From hence a city received its name and was called *Ashtaroth Karnaim* "the horned Astarte."—Gen. xiv. 5. But she had also the simpler name of *Ashtara* עֲשֵׁתָרָה whence the city called "the temple of Ashtara" בֵּית עֲשֵׁתָרָה, contracted into בעֲשֵׁתָרָה, took its name (see Gesenius); it was a city of the Levites in the tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan, and is named in Josh. xxi. 27, which in 1 Chron. vi. 71, is changed for the more usual *Ashtaroth*. This circumstance proves that *Ashtaroth* is the same goddess with *Ashtara* עֲשֵׁתָרָה, and the latter name is clearly identical with the Assyrian *Ishtar*. In Bellino 35, Nineveh is called "the city beloved by Ishtar;" and in the very same line, *ishtar* with a plural sign אֶשְׁתָּר אֶשְׁתָּר (to be read *ishtarat*) means "goddesses" in general.

138. **Assurita.** אֶשְׁרִי אֶשְׁרִי אֶשְׁרִי, a Ship of Assyria.—The word has this meaning in 2 R 46, col. iv. 2. The symbol for

"a ship" 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is added. In the same passage, ships of other nations are mentioned in the same way, for instance, *Milukhta*, explained "a ship of Milukha = Ethiopia."

Secondly. *Assuriti* means "the Assyrian goddess." This can hardly be doubtful when it is considered that the word is written the same as the "ship" above mentioned (see the passage from K 223, at the end of this article). Lucian has a treatise "de deâ Syria;" and it is probable that he so called the goddess, not merely because the Syrians worshipped her, but because he had heard her invoked by the *name* of *Assuriti* (Syria and Assyria being often viewed as the same name by the ancients). This interesting name of a goddess, *Assuriti*, occurs in the very ancient inscription of Tiglath Pileser I.—R12, 36. The king relates how he captured twenty-five foreign idols, and then he says: "I gave (*ashruk*) these deities to various temples of the gods in my own country;" naming, among others, the temple of Ishtar 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Assuriti* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 or "Ishtar of Assyria." This goddess is named once more in the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser, R14, 86, where the king relates how he built and dedicated several new temples in the city of Ashur 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 which was his capital. The first he names is the temple of "Ishtar *Assuriti*, my lady;" the spelling is somewhat different from the former passage, being 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶. A slight doubt remains whether the name means "Ishtar of Assyria," or "Ishtar of Ashur" (that is, of Ashur *city*). For we know from other inscriptions that there was an "Ishtar of Nineveh" and an "Ishtar of Arbela," who were not viewed as absolutely the same divine persons, but rather as rivals.

On the tablet K 223, we read: 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 "of his god Ashur," 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 "and his goddess," 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Assurita* (the last sign being almost effaced). Here 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is used in the general sense of "goddess."

139. *Dimu.* 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎶, Repose, Tranquillity.—"They dedicate this statue to Nebo, for the health of the king and queen, the

happiness of their days, the length of their years, and the
 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *dimu* "tranquillity" of their house and of their
 people.—R35, No. 2, line 11. The Assyrians make a very im-
 portant use of this word, having chosen it to express "sunset."
 The Mediterranean Sea is called by them "the great sea of the
 setting-sun," and "sunset" is expressed by *dimu shemsi*
 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 "the repose of the sun" or "his
 rest." It was the popular belief that when the Sun set, he
 reposed during the night, and awoke in the morning "like a
 giant refreshed." The deities of Olympus also required sleep:

"Th' immortals slumbered on their thrones above;
 All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of Jove."

A conclusion of great importance seems to follow from this
 Assyrian phrase *dimu shemsi*, namely, that we have the same
 verb in the famous passage of Joshua x. 12, שָׁמַשׁ דָּוָם
Shemesh dum! Sun, stand thou still! a phrase of which the
 Hebrew lexicons give but an imperfect account, because the
 verb דָּוָם is nearly lost in Hebrew except in the sense of
silence; insomuch that certain modern commentators have
 proposed to translate "Sun, be silent!" that is (as they main-
 tain), the *oracle* of the Sun on Mount Gibeon was commanded
 to be silent; an explanation quite untenable, and opposed
 to the author of the book of Jasher, who, writing about the
 time the book of Joshua was written, understood that "the
 Sun *stood still* in the midst of heaven." But we now see that
 the verb דָּוָם was applied to the Sun by the Assyrian writers
 with the sense of *rest* or *repose*.

END OF THE FIRST PART.



*Sacred Alphabet of
the Eastern Laos*

*Sacred Alphabet of
the Western Laos*

*Common Alphabet of
the Western Laos*

*Alphabet of the Brahman
in Cambodia*

Xieng Khrua Alphabet

Shan Alphabet

k	kh	g	gh	ŋ	ch	chh	j	jh	ñ	ɛ	th	d
က	ခ	ဂ	ဥ	င	စ	ဆ	ဇ	ည	ဋ	ဌ	ဍ	ဎ
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဆ	ဇ	ည	ဋ	ဌ	ဍ	ဎ	ဏ
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဆ	ဇ	ည	ဋ	ဌ	ဍ	ဎ	ဏ
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဆ	ဇ	ည	ဋ	ဌ	ဍ	ဎ	ဏ
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဆ	ဇ	ည	ဋ	ဌ	ဍ	ဎ	ဏ

Vowels

Sacred Eastern Laos

Common Western Laos

Sacred Western Laos

a	ā	ɛ	ē	u	ū	ɪ	o
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဆ	ဇ	ည
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဆ	ဇ	ည
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဆ	ဇ	ည

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Xien

Part of h

က ခ ဂ ဃ င

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ART. II.—*Remarks on the Indo-Chinese Alphabets.*
By Dr. A. BASTIAN.

IN the Ultra-Indian peninsula different layers of nationalities may be distinguished, being successive arrivals from different quarters. In most cases it is difficult to determine with exactitude the time of their respective settlements; but, as a general rule, the later conquerors have driven the former possessors of the soil into the hills, appropriating to themselves the more fertile lands on the banks of the rivers; and it may be readily assumed that the inhabitants we now find in the valleys of the Menam and Irawaddi are the most recent immigrants. History shows this to be the case. Whenever, in the course of events, the empires stretching along the great rivers became weakened by luxury or broken up by internal dissensions, the rude and warlike tribes of the surrounding mountains, watchful of the growing weakness of their former masters, and the decay of their defences, have burst from their forests and made slaves of the populations of the towns. This phenomenon, not unknown in other parts of the world, has been frequently repeated in the histories of Assam and Burmah, of Siam and of Kambodia; and it is by keeping before our eyes these continual revolutions that we may collect the *disjecta membra* of arts and sciences from the different quarters to which they have been scattered, and arrange them under one comprehensive aspect, where each of them occupies its natural position.

Apart from the people of the mountains, among whom savage aborigines are mixed up with refugees from oppressed kingdoms, we may divide the Indo-Chinese nations, according to the languages spoken by them, into four or five main branches—the Thai (Siamese), the Myammas (Burmese), the Annamese (Tunquinese and Cochin-Chinese), the Mon (Talaing and Peguan), and the Khmer (Kambodian).

1. The Thai race constitute the most important stock in

the very heart of the peninsula. All the different tribes, known as Shans by the Burmese, or as Laos by the Siamese, belong to it; and they have, through the Ahom, extended their influence as far as Assam. The Siamese themselves are only a sub-division of the Laos, their nearest relations; and during the reign of the old princes of Mogoung, the Shans were rulers in many of those provinces which afterwards formed the nucleus of the Burmese empire.

2. The Burmese and Arracanese, the chief representatives of the Myamma race, are allied to the Singpho, the Kachars, the Manipuris, and the majority of those tribes which inhabit the countries extending to Bengal and North-western India.

3. The Tunquinese and Cochin-Chinese, in their geographically secluded country, stand in a nearer connexion with the Chinese than with the other nations of the peninsula, from whom they are separated by the mountainous barrier which is washed by the Mekhong, and filled with an unknown multitude of various tribes, designated by the general name of Kha in Siamese and of Prom in Kambodian.

4. The Mons or Talains, who line the coast opposite to Kalinga and Telingana, formed the ancient channel by which Indian arts and institutions found their way into Pegu.

5. The Kambodians (the Khmer, Khom or Khamen) are still considered by the surrounding nations as their original teachers in religion and science.

With the exception of the people of Annam, who follow the Chinese, all the other Indo-Chinese nations have received their alphabets from India, and have adapted them to their monosyllabic tongues by the introduction of the tones or accents, which are so remarkable a characteristic of the Chinese language. Most of these alphabets have adopted in their arrangement the Sanskrit divisions into the several classes of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials. In the forms of the letters they have adopted a cursive and more flowing character, which imparts an external resemblance to the alphabets of Southern India, the Tamil and the Telinga, and more especially the Singhalese.

The Pali alphabet of the Trai-Pidok is used everywhere in

the peninsula in writing the sacred books ; and the variations which the letters have undergone among the different nations who have adopted them, do not deviate much from their primary form. The Mon possess only this one alphabet in their literature ; but among the Thai tribes, another class of alphabets has been formed for ordinary use, which is traceable more directly to Sanskrit than to Pali influence. The prototype of these alphabets is that of the Siamese, who use it for all the common purposes of their vernacular idioms, and make use of the Pali letters only in their religious books. The Shans, although they speak a dialect cognate to the Siamese, have given preference to the Burmese alphabet, which is the only one they use ; but they experience much difficulty in its application, because of its unfitness for expressing the sounds of the language. The Southern Laos have therefore imitated the Siamese in adopting, together with their sacred alphabet, another for common use ; and this common alphabet has been brought to greater perfection by the Laos Pung-dam (the black-bellied Laos), than among the white Laos (the Laos Pung-khao). But in Zimmay or Xiengmai, from its proximity to the Burmese frontier the Pali alphabet is chiefly used, even for ordinary purposes. In Viengchan the letters of the vulgar alphabet are called Akson (Akshara) Lao-xai (letters for missives), to distinguish them from the Akson Lao-khom. The Kambodian alphabet claims to be the common source from which all the different forms in the peninsula took their origin ; and in Siam, as well as through the whole of Laos, the religious books are mostly known by the name of Nongsü-khom (Khamen or Khmer), as having been brought by the earliest missionaries who issued from the convents of ancient Kambodia. But even among the Kambodians there are traces of another alphabet, which at present has nearly become obsolete, giving way to Pali forms, or supplanted by the alphabet now used in Siam. The alphabets of the Burmese and Peguans are nearly identical, and differ only in the methods of spelling. The Peguan alphabet appears to be anterior to that of the Burmese, and is based on that of the Toungthoo (or at least on that of

the former possessors of Tathung). According to the Rev. Dr. Mason, the Tounghthoo speak at present a dialect nearly allied to that of the Pwo-karen. In an old book which I saw at Bangkok, and which pretended to give the veritable Xieng of King Phra Ruang, the Peguan letters had even at that early date attained very nearly their present shape, whereas the Burmese alphabet bore a greater resemblance to the so-called Khom alphabets, which (according to Leyden) recall the Sinhala Pushpākshara of Ceylon. These have preserved (even in writing the vernacular) the reduplication and subscription of consonants, to teach the rules of which the Pali letters are represented in the primers under two aspects—first as unconnected, and then as joined with the abbreviated forms. On the decline of learning, the illiterate readers, forgetting the right application of these consonants, jumbled them together, and many Pali words, which at first sight are unintelligible, become quite clear when the consonants and vowels are placed in their right positions.

A peculiar alphabet was in use among the Tsiampa before their once flourishing kingdom was destroyed by the Cochin-Chinese. The race is now almost extinct; and as European travellers had never previously visited the country, nothing of their literature has become known. I happened to fall in with a colony of fugitives, settled near Lawek, the former capital of Lower Kambodia, and I had the good fortune to see their vernacular alphabet, of which they gave me a copy at my request. As they have been converted to Islam, all their productions on religious subjects are written, as a matter of course, in the Arabic character; and this is the case generally with their ordinary writings. These people have been often mistaken for Siamese (both being called Siem by the Chinese, although their names are written with different characters), and this error has given rise to much confusion in the conclusions drawn by European writers from the Tonquinese records. The Arabic letters of their sacred books they call Akson Chwea or Xava, because they have received them from the Malays or Khék. Their vernacular books are sometimes written on palm-leaves, but the more modern ones

on a rough kind of paper. The Cham, settled at Battabong, showed me printed books in their peculiar alphabet, purchased from Cochin-Chinese traders, who bring them for sale, although they themselves do not understand them. An alphabet given to me by a Shan of the Yuns, who live at Küntun, near the frontier of Yunan, may probably resemble that of the Quantos, the ancestors of the Tunquinese, before the wild Yiaochi were civilized by the Chinese colonists. The old Ahom character, which has been supplanted by the Burmese alphabet, is now intelligible only to Pandits.

During my stay in Further India, I took from the very first a particular interest in the Brahmans, who are frequently met with in Burmah as well as in Siam and Kambodia, partly wandering about as cowherds or begging alms, partly employed as astrologers and diviners in the royal courts. In visiting their houses, I soon got sight of books peculiar to them, and easily obtained copies of the alphabets in which they are written. Of the different Laos alphabets, some were collected by missionaries, who allowed me to copy them; and others I had written down for me by Laos priests, who, for the benefit of their travelling countrymen, live in convents at Bangkok and other towns of Siam and Kambodia.

The Kambodians pretend to have received their alphabet by direct importation from Langka, on the arrival of Buddhaghosa; but the same claim is raised by the Arracanese or Rakhaing, who allege that the famous apostle brought it to their shores. Another candidate for that honour is the ancient town of Thatung, in the country afterwards called Pegu, when Hongsavadi was built by the Talaings or Raman. The rock inscription at Ramree mentions not only the arrival of Buddhaghosa, but also of still earlier missionaries; and the Burmese themselves acknowledge that they built the pagodas in Pagan after the model of those they saw at the conquest of Thatung.

The Indo-Chinese nations have mostly borrowed philosophical and scientific expressions from the Pali, with which language the era of their civilization commenced; but for such terms the Siamese frequently possess two words, one of

which appears to have been directly taken from the Sanskrit, and the other to be derived through the medium of Pali, in the same way as in the modern languages of Europe we find technical terms still retaining distinctly their Greek origin, and others which came to us after passing through the Latin. As it is not so easy for monosyllable languages to assimilate the complex Sanskrit words as the simplified forms of the Pali, these are naturally preferred in speaking Siamese; but the Sanskrit root will be recognised in writing, as those words are generally encumbered by a long tail of mute letters, which have been "killed" by the sign of Thanthakhath written over them, but which, if pronounced, would give the sound as it exists in Sanskrit.

The common numeral figures are called Lek-vat by the Siamese, to distinguish them from the more elegant forms of the Lek-pachong. When used in calculations, the tua-lek (full-bodied numerals) are shortened to the hong-lek (the tail of the numerals), in which nothing remains of the full body (tua) but the extreme lines, drawn in different directions. The principal arithmetical rules are contained in the book Sut-lek (the accomplishment of numbers), which boasts of an august origin, having been composed by Phrom (Brahma) in the Pathomma-klab (the first or Lotus-kalpa). The mathematical work of Tamrah-lek or Chot-lek, which treats of land-measuring, is jealously kept from the common people by those magistrates who have got possession of a copy. The Burmese have borrowed all their ordinal numbers from the Pali, whereas the Siamese have formed their ordinals from their own cardinals. But in some cases, when a ceremonial language is employed, the latter also use the Pali terms, not only for the ordinals but also for the cardinals. It is always observed among the Siamese, that men of any education affect to have forgotten the terms of the vulgar tongue, and employ Pali expressions in preference; and in course of time words really get quite lost by this fondness for pedantic phraseology. The language of the present Kambedians is so rapidly getting intermixed with Siamese words by the people affecting to imitate the speech of their

Siamese masters, that it has often been mistaken for a dialect of Siamese.

The Indo-Chinese people, in writing out their alphabets, usually begin by the well-known invocation, "Namo Phut-thaya," "Namo tassa bhagavato," etc. etc., followed by an enumeration of the short and long vowels. The latter are, therefore, styled the Namo, whereas the series of consonants is called the Ka-kha after the first letters of the alphabet. The alphabetical arrangement of the letters is followed by the combinations of consonant and vowel, as in Devanagari alphabets. In Siamese the different combinations of vowels and consonants are distributed over nine tables, the last of which is the longest, and rather difficult for beginners. In the Khyoungs a separate spelling-book is added for those who wish to study Pali.

The peculiar Siamese mode of denoting the vowels has been developed gradually; in the oldest rock inscription, that of Sukkhothay, the vowels are still written in a line with the consonants on the same level. The accentuation also can be shown to have passed through different phases, till it arrived at its present complicated arrangement, which is due to grammarians of the last century. In the Kamphi-hon (the text-books of astrologers), the vowels are converted into a kind of diacritical signs, being no longer written as distinct letters on a line with the consonants. The chief, and almost the only difference, between the spoken tongues of the Laos and of the Siamese consists in the circumstance that the former know nothing of the tones,—the artificial display of which constitutes the delight of a Siamese speaker. The number of influential Chinamen in Siam may have contributed to bring them into fashion. Next to the Chinese, the Siamese language is richest in tones; whereas they are more sparingly used by the other Indo-Chinese nations, the Burmese, for instance, having only two tones,—the light and the heavy. In the native Hokkëen (Fo-kien) pronouncing dictionaries, the Chinese characters are classed under eight sections, in accordance with the number of tones. Of the Kam-bodian language, neither grammar nor dictionary has ever been

published, but in a manuscript grammar which I found at the house of a missionary in Battabong, it was said: "*Lingua Camboica sat facilis est ad loquendum, utpote plane est carens tonis, ut sunt in Sinica, Annamitica et Siamitica, attamen paullisper dura videtur et agrestis in pronuntiatione.*" In a Siamese book, which celebrates the discovery of the holy Phrabat on the rock near Naphaburi, and which was probably written about that time (1601), accents very seldom occur, and my moonshee, who pointed out the fact, stated the same to be the rule in the works of that period.

A natural consequence of the elaborate system of accentuation is the accumulation of euphonic and expletive particles, because our oratorical or emphatical intonation must necessarily be inadmissible in the speech of a Siamese or a Burmese, where the modulation of voice will at once change the meaning of any particular word, instead of giving a colouring to the spirit of the entire sentence. In a lucid treatise on the tones, which circulates in manuscript at Bangkok, the late Rev. Mr. Caswell says in regard to this:—"In Siamese, difference of orthography without change of sense occurs more frequently than change of tones without change of sense." We, on the contrary, often intentionally, change the orthography to distinguish to the eye two words of like sound (such as beech and beach), but we leave the tone entirely at the option of the speaker. In Siamese the emphasis influences the prosody.

There is a great variety of secret modes of writing both among the Burmese and the Siamese. Some of these may have been employed for political purposes or in the mysteries of religion; but most of them are nothing more than an idle game with letters and ciphers, without use or meaning. A Burmese savant gave me a list of sixty-six of these ciphers with long names attached to them. Sometimes the rounded forms of the Burmese letters have been made angular to give them a strange look, after the manner of the kyook-tsa or the so-called square Pali, which is, in fact, merely a graphic variation of the ordinary writing. This square alphabet is employed in writing the Kammavâcha, and it may be seen in Lassen and Burnouf's "*Essai sur le Pali*," and in Latter's

Grammar. The square form of the letters arose, no doubt, from attempts made to engrave the Burmese letters on stone, when it was found more easy to cut them in straight lines than in circles. In this way the character would get its name of *kyouk-tsa* (stone-writing); but now, being found only in the ancient inscriptions of ruined pagodas, it has acquired an odour of sanctity, and is looked upon by the people as something peculiarly sacred and mysterious. In like manner the alphabet of the Siamese stone-inscriptions, which are supposed to embody the mysteries of the *Sinlaprasat* (various sciences) has an aspect of stiffness, which is naturally lost when the characters are traced on a softer material.

The Sanskrit is at the head of a long array of occult languages in Burmah, and the first who spoke to me about it (a young scholar in Prome, just returned from the high school of Mandalay,) assured me that any one who was well versed in this wonderful tongue would have no difficulty whatever in understanding the language of birds. The specimens which he gave me were composed in a corrupt style of Sanskrit, and full of orthographical blunders.

The favourite and the simplest method of secret writing consists in replacing the letters by numerals, of which kind a specimen is found in *Latter's Grammar*, under the name of *Dû:-gaṇan*, where the consonants, with the exception of the third or fourth class, are represented by the first nine numerals. The substitution of vowels by numerals, instead of their usual symbols, occurs not only in the *Kyouktsa-gaṇan*, but also in other modes of occult writing. The *Paligaṇan*, which is used in Burmese, also means a numerical figure, and it occurs in Siamese in the form *gaṇan*, "to keep accounts." My informant, in giving me copies of these alphabets, added, that the *Dû:-gaṇan* was used in correspondence by persons who wished to conceal their meaning; and that the *Kyouktsa-gaṇan* was placed on the foundation-stones of pagodas to indicate in what direction the treasure lay buried. A more complicated illustration of the *Gaṇan-myo* is that called *Puṇṇā:-yeik-gaṇan* (the arithmetical writing of Brahmans), in which not only the

twenty principal letters, but all the thirty-three which compose the Burmese alphabet were represented by different combinations of numerals. Of the other sixty kinds, I will only mention two species of the Thinghya-gaṇan, one of which was said to represent the letters of the Ka-dû: and the other was the Tsun-katha-gaṇan, or the supposititious alphabet of the Kakhyens, north of Burmah.

In Siamese, the occult modes of writing, called Kho-lablük (profound objects) are mostly based on the same principles of replacing the letters by numerals, and the knowledge of them may become useful in deciphering inscriptions, because the dates, when written with letters (as is also frequently the case in Java) do not always possess their usual numeral powers, but sometimes those which they have acquired by the artificial arrangement of their substitutes. In the writing called Fonsen-ha (rains in great abundance), the consonants are replaced by regular combinations of numerals, but the vowels retain their usual form. The Sala-lek, on the contrary, replaces the vowels by certain combinations of numerals, leaving the consonants untouched. In the Rüsi-pleng-san (the mutations in the epistles of hermits), the writer transposes the letters of words according to a regulated system, which can only be read by one possessed of the key. A similar modification of the alphabet is that called Ko-kho-phalat-kan (the alternate changes of the letters in the alphabet); but the Thai-nabsam and the Thai-long follow a method of their own, which consists in multiplying the arithmetical powers of the letters by a number previously agreed upon. To this class belongs a vast variety of riddles, puns, rebuses, and anagrams, which form an inexhaustible source of amusement for the Siamese youths. A punster is highly valued among them, and still more by the Burmese girls, who are in the habit of putting their lovers to very severe tests of witticism. Another fund of equivoques exists in the different modes of accentuation; and the Siamese find a rich store of jokes and quibbles by intermixing the rude dialects of the peasantry with the polished pronunciation of the townspeople. The Siamese never lose an opportunity for a laugh at the people of Ligor (Nakhon Srithammarat or

Myang Lakhon), who speak the Siamese language with an even delivery, without any regard to the tonic accents. Nevertheless, it is Ligor that produces most of the actors in theatrical representations at Bangkok; but the intonation in the Lakhon (dramas) is in itself so peculiar that the irregularities of the provincial idiom become indifferent. In Burmah, also, the language of the stage is a language of its own, changing frequently the meaning of words and employing high-sounding and far-fetched synonyms, although not to the same extent as the language of poetry, or the Linga-tsaga. Whimsical vagaries, which it would be difficult to reduce to a system, are found in the style of books professing to teach the art of gold-making, which are mostly ascribed in Siam to a great adept in that science named Maha-thay. In Burmese translations of the Pitakat-thon-pon, sentences in Pali are regularly followed by the Anet or explanation in the vulgar tongue. Most of the Siamese translations have likewise a copious sprinkling of Pali; but Pali forms are carefully avoided in the Mon or Mantras, which consist of prayers for the use of women, because it would be a great sin (bab) if a female eye should fall upon the sacred character of the Nongsü-khom. They might even be injured and die by the innate power (Rith) of these holy symbols.

Those Kambodian priests who occupied themselves with reading (of whom, it is true, there are only a few) told me that originally letters had been divided into three kinds,—the Akson-xieng or xrieng, Akson-mûl, and Akson-mîng. Xieng means inclined, and the Akson-xieng were described as angular letters, in contradistinction to the Akson-mûl or khlom of the present day,—khloim being the Siamese, and mûl the Kambodian word for “round;” the Akson-mîng are the large-headed letters, which are now extant in the inscriptions of Lalai and Vat-ek. In the Siamese history of the Phongsavadan-myang-nya, it is related that Phra Ruang, or Phra Lung, the mythical king of Sukkhotay, invented the Xieng-phama, Xieng-mon, Xieng-khamen, Xieng-thay, etc.; and characters formed of straight lines were used in several parts of the Archipelago, among the Rejang, the Wugi (Bugis),

the Batta, etc. etc. The authentic forms of these ancient letters have been lost, and are of course unknown to the Siamese ; but the Siamese still give the value of " ancient " to the word *Xieng*, and employ it to denote several kinds of antiquated alphabets. Most of these are supposed to have been devised by *Maharaxakhrū*, which name, however, is no patronymic, and only means the King's great Guru, or teacher. In *Kambodia*, the word *Chieng* serves to distinguish the letters in ordinary use from the sacred letters. The *Laos* allude directly to *Phra-maha-anon* (*Rahanda* or *Ananda*) as the inventor of their modes of writing ; and they place *Phra-phuttha-khosa-chan* (*Buddhaghosa*) only in a second line among the later reformers and improvers of the *Akson-lao-xai*. Some innovations are attributed to *Nāgasena*, known as *Nāgārjuna* in his discussions with *Milinda*, king of the *Yonas* or *Janaka* ; and the *Laos* claim for themselves the name of *Janaka*, in accordance with their fancy of transferring the names of Western India to the transgangetic peninsula.

On entering the convent, the *Laos* boys are first taught the invocation of *Buddha*, the so-called *Namo*. After having learned the ten *Sila*, or precepts, they begin to read the *Akson-lao-khom*, and when these are mastered the *Akson-lao-xai*. The last finish is given by instruction in some cursive kinds of writing and by lessons in arithmetic, unless they prefer, by assuming the yellow robe, to enter upon the long and dreary road of Buddhistic theology.

In the Temple-court of the royal palace at *Bangkok*, three stone-inscriptions have been placed, which had been discovered on the sites of ancient cities. These have recently been copied by order of the king. They have not yet been translated. The oldest of them is that of *Sukkhothay*, which celebrates the auspicious reign of king *Ramkhamheng*, his deeds and institutions, with many details relative to the description of the capital and the extent of the kingdom. In my endeavours to decipher it, I applied to all those natives who were pointed out to me as particularly sagacious ; and although my questions were often asked in vain, I received from some of them valuable aid, and was able to avail myself of their sug-

gestions and corrections. Among the missionaries residing at Bangkok, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Chandler and his learned lady for the identification of the alphabet. The letters bear a more ancient type than that of the other two inscriptions, which have rather a religious than a political purport.

According to the inscription brought from Labong, in Laos, Somdet-bophit-maha-raxa-chao, king of Xiengmai, buried many relics enclosed in an iron chest, which was to last the 5000 years of the Phuttha-sāsana (Buddha's religion), invoking Phra-In (Indra) and Phrahm (Brahma), and founding the holy period. He made his parents partakers of the merits distributed, and accumulated thereby merits in such abundance that even oxen, elephants, and horses could profit by the opportunity, and proceed direct to Niruphan (Nibban).

The inscription found at Kampheng-phet (the city of the diamond-wall), near Rahaing, contains many details, which I hope may be useful in bringing some order into Siamese chronology, but I have not yet succeeded in making out the whole reading to my satisfaction; I therefore limit myself to a short summary. Phra-lüthai-rat, who, on his coronation in the town of Srisatxanalai-sukkhothay, received the title of Sri Suriya Phra Maha Thammarâxâthirât, buries in several places some holy relics which had been brought from Langka-thavib (the island of Ceylon), together with the seeds of the Phra-sri-maha-phot (the great Bodhi tree of felicitous blessedness). At the time of Phra-phutth (Phra-pen-chao, or the lord, who is the master), the life of man reached a hundred years; the king enters into a calculation how many years had elapsed to shorten it to the seventy years of the period of the inscription; and then being continually importuned, as he says, by questions about the duration of the religion of Phra-phutth on earth, he tries to satisfy the inquirers: he tells them that, after ninety-nine years, the knowledge of the Phra-pidok-trai will become imperfect; after a thousand years the observance of the precepts will be discontinued; in another thousand years there will be nobody left wearing yellow garments (not so much yellow cloth will be found as would suffice to be placed behind the ear), and after a thousand years more all the holy relics will fly through the air to

Langka, and having been collected there, will be burnt in the flames which rise up to Phrohmalok. Thenceforth all beings will go to Naraka until the arrival of Phra-sri-arimatheia, the believers in the Phra-phuttha-sāsana having died already after the second thousand. But the precise time of these events cannot be fixed, because nobody can compute the exact amount of merits accumulated by the pious actions of king Phra Maha Thammarāthirāt. These continual changes of the era make all historical events in ultra-India matters of much doubt and uncertainty unless they can be subjected to a certain control by counting them both ways, forwards and backwards.

King Ramkambaheng, who records on the stone-pillars of Sukkhotay the invention of the letters now called Nongsütēh-boran (writings of old) by the Siamese, is often identified with one of the representatives of Phra Ruang, a favourite name of frequent recurrence in Siamese history. Phra Ruang is to the Siamese the founder of their nationality, to him all their proud romances are referred, when the name of Thay, the "freemen," was acquired, and the yoke of the Kambodians was broken; but there are also some obscure traditions, considered as the most ancient, which are never written, but only handed down orally; and in these it is said that Phra Ruang belonged to the Khot Phrahmana, was of Brahminical descent, and that he reigned over the Lava. I must leave the reconciliation of these conflicting statements for another opportunity, and will only remark that the Siamese critics themselves distinguish generally two different personages as bearing the title of Phra Ruang. The first of these resided at Savankhalok, and abolished the era, introducing in its stead the Chunlo-sakkharat. He was the son of a Nāga or Nakh (a subterraneous serpent in dragon-like form), an expression which in further India, as once in Attica, expresses relationship to the aborigines of the soil. The second Phra Ruang is known also in Peguan history as the father-in-law of Chaofarua, who expelled the Burmese governor of Martaban, and founded an independent kingdom in that town. The date of Ramkambaheng must be assigned to a period anterior to the *time of the latter king*, so that his reign falls between the

two Phra Ruangs. The true history of the Siamese race in the valley of the Menam commences with the building of Ayuthia, and the modern part of the annals is therefore called the history of Ayuthia. Between this city and Pechaburi is situated the most ancient pagoda of Siam, the Pathommachedi, which the Siamese themselves acknowledge to have been erected before their arrival in that country. On its restoration by the now reigning king, some curious inscriptions were found in an old kind of Devanagari, resembling the stone records which exist in the province of Ligor and in other parts of the Malayan peninsula. At present the kings do not go so far as to record their actions on stone. They follow the general practice, and are satisfied with writing them on paper, at least in Siam, where the first king has become an author, and has composed books on Buddhism, history, and grammar. In Mandalay I saw one of the court-yards in the palace converted to a dwelling for stonemasons, some dozen of whom were engaged in cutting the Prajñāpāramitā of the Abhidhamma on massive stone-posts, which the king intended to place in lines along the highways of his kingdom. As it is not unusual, however, in those parts of the world to see many things begun with much parade which are never expected to come to an end, I fear that such has been the fate of this project also, which would have threatened Asoka's fame with a rival. The King of Siam has invented an alphabet, the letters of which he thinks adapted to the Indo-Chinese languages as well as to those of the Arian family: he has called it therefore Aryaka (Arekyamatthu). Some books have been printed in this character at Bangkok at the King's own press, and it was at one time studied eagerly by all those who wished to court royal favour. This same king, who holds the first rank in his kingdom, not only by his birth but by his learning, has composed a Pali Grammar, in which he abandons Kachchâyana for the system of Latin Grammar, which he has been taught by the French missionaries. It is written in usum Delphini for the princes entering the priesthood.

The alphabets collected in my travels are the following:—

1. Alphabet of the Thoungthoo or Pa-au.

2. Alphabet of the Shans.
3. " " Shans, as used in Mone.
4. " " Yuns (near Küntun).
5. " " Talains.
6. An older form of the Talain alphabet.
7. An antiquated form of the Burmese alphabet.
8. Xieng Khom.
9. Xieng Khrün (of Lakhon). [(Xiengmai).
10. Alphabet used by the Shans (or Laos) at Zimmay
11. Sacred alphabet of the Kambodians.
12. Vulgar alphabet of the Kambodians.
13. Pali alphabet of the Nongsü Khom (at Udong).
14. Sacred alphabet of the Western Laos.
15. Vulgar alphabet of the Western Laos.
16. Sacred alphabet of the Eastern Laos.
17. Vulgar alphabet of the Eastern Laos.
18. Akson Lao Khom (used in Viengchan).
19. Akson Lao Xai (used in Viengchan).
20. Alphabet of the Brahmans in Siam.
21. Alphabet of the Brahmans in Kambodia.
22. Alphabet of the Cham or Tsiampa.
23. Alphabet extracted from the stone-inscription of Sukkhotay. [vacha.
24. Alphabet of the Kyouk-tsa in the Burmese Kamma-
25. Letters of the alphabet invented by the first king of Siam under the name of Aryaka.

For comparison are added—1. The Burmese alphabet. 2. The Siamese alphabet of the present day. 3. A Siamese alphabet of the 17th century, as given by Loubère. 4. The Pali alphabet of the 17th century, as given by Loubère. 5. The Pali alphabet of the Siamese (Burnouf and Lassen). 6. The Singhalese alphabet. 7. The Javanese alphabet. 8. The Khamti alphabet, according to Brown. 9. The alphabet of the Ahom.

Three kinds of secret writing used by the Burmese (Punñā-yeik-ganan, Thinghya-ganan, and Tsun-katha-ganan)

Two kinds of sacred writing used by the Siamese (Fonsinha and Salalek).

The Siamese numerals in three different forms.

A kind of musical notes found in a book of chants at Bangkok.

Siamese verses with the metre marked by accents.

Specimen of the inscription at Labong.

" " Kampheng-phet.

Stone-inscription of Sukkhotay.

For comparison's sake is added the commencement of the stone-inscription of Ramree.

ART. III.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, Arragonese.*

By the Hon. H. E. J. STANLEY.

[Read January 9th, 1866.]

MOHAMED RABADAN was a native of Rueda on the river Xalon, one of those Moriscoes who were driven out of Spain, chiefly on the ground that they would not and could not amalgamate with the Spaniards, and that they clung to the Arabic language and customs, and were, and always would remain Arabs, foreigners in Spain and enemies of its people. It is possible that at the time of the expulsion some of the Moriscoes did not know Spanish, but it is yet more probable that the great majority of them knew nothing of Arabic; and the best proof of this is the volume written by Rabadan.

The Manuscript upon which these remarks are written is in the collection of the British Museum. It was brought to England by Mr. Morgan, H. M. Consul at Tunis, who wrote on the MS., "I bought this MS. in the town of Tessatore, about fifteen leagues westwards from the city of Tunis, sold me by Hamooda Bussesa Tabib. Septr. 27, 1719." Mr. Morgan says that there were twelve villages or towns in the province of Tunis where the people spoke Spanish, and in one of them Catalan, and that there were two old men who could read it. He says that these people knew by heart, and were in the habit of reciting, the poems of Rabadan. He also mentions another Spanish MS., dated 1615, by Abdul Kerim bin Aly Perez, which he had in his hands for a few days, and of which, unfortunately, he preserved no copy. However, he translated a portion of it, a most eloquent invective against the Inquisition. Mohamed Rabadan wrote in 1603 in Spanish for the instruction of the Moriscoes, who understood no other language. This fact, and the pertinacity with which the Moriscoes continued to use the Spanish language a hundred and twenty years after arriving in Africa, in the midst of an Arab population, show how ill-founded was one of the pleas for their expulsion.

Mr. Morgan published a translation of all of Rabadan's poems in two volumes in 1723, under the title of "*Mohamed-*

anism Unveiled; or, Discourse of the Light and Lineage of the Prophet Muhammad." His translation is not good; for besides shirking all the difficult passages, he is a very unfaithful translator, constantly adding words not in his text, and giving too English a form to the ideas of his author: he has, however, added some very good notes and interesting anecdotes in various parts of the work. He was the author of other works, one of which, on Barbary, deserves especial mention and praise. It is singular that these two books of Morgan's should have so completely fallen out of sight: it is owing probably to the smallness of the edition. Rabadan's poems were published by subscription, and most of the names in the list of subscribers seem to be extinct.

Though Rabadan describes himself as a cultivator, one who himself had followed the plough, his verse is pronounced by a most competent judge, Don P. Gayangos, to be composed in very elegant Spanish; and he frequently uses classical metaphors, and occasionally Latin terms, which show that he must have been familiar with good Spanish authors. Some of these, not common at the present time, are frequently used by Alonzo Azevedo in his poem on the "Creation," printed at Rome in 1615. At the same time the Arabic words, of which several are used which are now lost from the Spanish language, are so defaced that it is difficult to recognize them: the letter *jim* seems to have lost its pronunciation, and is never represented by *j* or *g*, but by the softer *ch*, as, for instance, *alchana* for *aljannat*, *chahana* for *jehenum*. Nearly all the Arabic substantives are employed with the Arabic article prefixed to them, and in addition to that the Spanish article *el*. In two places a fragment of Arabic construction has been preserved in the phrases, *conseguid lalchanesa*, instead of *conseguid al alchanesa*, "follow the funeral procession;" and *obedeced lalhalifa*, instead of *obedeced al alhalifa*, "obey the khalif." In these two instances, the Arabic preposition *l* to has been preserved instead of using the Spanish preposition; the *fathah* of the article has not, however, been changed as it should have been to *kesrah*, which seems to show a great disuse of Arabic as a spoken

language. These poems are not only interesting to the philologist on account of the Arabic words scattered over them, but also on account of some old Spanish words now obsolete, and some words from Catalan, such as *regada* for *vez*, "a time." The correctness of the relation of Mohamed Rabadan is very remarkable, considering the difficulties under which he laboured, and his complaint that he had "to seek for MSS. and papers in different parts of the kingdom, where from fear of the Inquisition, they were already lost and dispersed."

The principal portion of these poems is a history of the prophets, beginning with the Creation of the World, and going on to describe the Deluge. The cantos describing the Creation have an additional interest from the passages in it which are parallel to Milton; some of these are necessarily similar, from the subject matter, such as the explanation of Man's Free Will; in other cases there may be a common Rabbinical origin of the ideas of both poets. Rabadan frequently refers to the Hebrew commentary. In his description of the Universal Deluge, Rabadan sometimes uses the same words and phrases as in his description of the laying waste of the world before the Great Judgment, and he appears to draw a parallel between the two. A very large space is devoted to the history of Abraham, to vindicating "his purity and chastity," and to setting right the genealogies of Ishmael and of Isaac, which Rabadan says had become confused and intermingled in the minds of the Moriscoes, "on account of the common voice and opinion of the Christians, which with such certainty and assurance represented the just Ishmael, and all his family and lineage as null, depriving him of the palm of the sacrifice and giving it to Isaac, and making an imputation against the good Abraham and our leader by saying that on account of his lineage being bastard he could not be a prophet." The lives of the other prophets are then slightly sketched, and the poet enters more into detail in the history of Hashim, Abdul Muttalib, and the Prophet. One of the best cantos in the book is one describing the death of Muhammad, and the last time he appeared before the companions in the mosque at Medina: the scene in which

Muhammad asked if he owed any man anything, or had done any one an injury, in order that he might make restitution for it, so touchingly described by M. de Lamartine, is here related a little differently; but it is a proof how closely Rabadan has adhered to the texts or to the tradition, that the Newab of Oude, Ikbal ed-Dowlah, related the story of Uquexar to me, and to another member of the Society, almost in the very words of the Spanish poet.

There is a MS. copy of Rabadan in the Bibliothèque Imperiale of Paris, which does not appear to be as old as that in the British Museum. Many words in the Paris MS. are spelt in a more modern way than in the London MS., such as *perfecto* for *perfeto*, *Gibril* for *Chebril*, *lanzadle* for *lanzalde*, etc. etc. It is in some cases more correct, and contains some passages which are wanting in the London MS.; also Spanish words have in some cases been substituted for the Arabic words used in the London MS. The Paris copy does not contain the poem on the months of the year.

Nearly all the Arabic words to be found in this MS., and which are no longer used in Spanish, are either religious or legal terms, such as *almalaque*, "an angel;" *alcursi* and *alarx*, "the Divine throne;" *alcafara*, "expiation;" *acidaque*, "dowry;" *alquali*, "a woman's legal deputy." These words supply a further proof that amongst the Moriscoes the Spanish grammar and idiom had taken the place of the Arabic, for we find *halecar*, "to create," and instead of *makhhluk*, "a creature," *halecado*, and "creation," *halecamiento*; so also *azachdado*, "prostrated;" *taharado*, "purified;" *alhijantes*, "pilgrims."

Here follows the "History of the Day of Judgment;" or, as it may be called, a Morisco Divina Commedia: and a canto containing an account of the death of the Prophet. The account of the Creation and of the Deluge may appear in the next number of the Journal. It will hardly be necessary to give a translation of Rabadan's prose Introduction in the Journal, since the substance has in part been stated here, and the translation is to be found in Morgan, whilst the original is printed in the Spanish translation of Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature by D. P. Gayangos, vol. iv.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ISTORIA del espanto del día del juicio segun las aleyas¹ y profesias del honrado alcoran; contiene dos cantos.

CANTO PRIMERO.

Quando el sol pierde su lumbré
Y el color perfeto y claro,
Con quel suelo luze y dora
Vuelve ceniciento y pardo;
Quando aquellas hebras de oro
Que tanto tiempo asomaron,
Por el oriente no asomen
A los que estan aguardando;
Quando trocará su curso
El bello oriente dejando,
Y asome por el Poniente
Triste, perezoso y tarduo.
Quando la luna escuresca
Aquel claror plateado,
Y el color de las estrellas
Se ponga amarillo y lacio;
Quando el cielo azul y alegre
Torne fiero y colorado;
Quando la tierra tremole
Desde sus centros mas bajos;
Estas protentosas muestras,
Estos señales tan claros,
Que hará la tierra y cielo
Tan fuera de su ordinario?
Sera quando estan las gentes
En el mas pesimo paso,

Quando á su Dios desconozcan
Por conocer al pecado,
Quando los jueces que asisten
En lugar deidoso y santo
Imiten al axaitan
En sus juicios y tratos;
Quando los deudos se arriedren
A sus deudos mas cercanos,
Y de sus hermanos huigan
Como si fuesen estraños;
Quando los vicios se aumenten
Y suban de grado en grado;
Quando la virtud se pierda
Que no se le halle ya rastro:²
Quando la verdad enferme
Por no hallar en su rastro
Ninguno que la sustente
En desierto, ni en poblado;
Quando reine la mentira
Y gobiernen los engaños;
Quando la traicion conciba
Sus hijos de quatro en quatro;
Quando el logro permanezca
Y eche brotos de lozano;
Quando la luxuria estienda
Su semilla a todas manos:

¹ آية Verso del alcoran.

² Variante—Que no se halla della su bando.

Quando la invidia se ponga
 Entre el hermano y hermano
 Y entre los hijos y el padre
 Como si fueran contrarios;
 Quando el hijo no respete
 Al padre que lo ha engendrado,
 Y el padre al hijo permita
 Un vicio y otro pecado;
 Quando los soberbios ricos
 Se arinconen con sus algos,
 Y la pobreza produzga
 Sus hijos, hombres ingratos.
 Quando la avaricia tenga
 Sujetos los hombres sabios;
 Quando los viejos desmientan
 El madurez de sus años;
 Quando a los buenos persigan,
 Quando apremien á los flacos;
 Quando á los traidores honren
 Y sigan á los tiranos;
 Los malos sean jueces,
 Los buenos menospreciados,
 Los alimes¹ perseguidos,
 Los pobres desamparados,
 Las gentes envejecidas
 En los servicios mundanos,
 Como si en la tierra fuese
 Su vivir perpetuado,
 Unos fabricando torres,
 Y edificios fuertes y altos,
 Casas de fuertes cimientos
 Y muros costosos y anchos.
 Quando la malicia humana
 No quepa en cuestras ni llanos,
 Y los vicios se amontonen
 Por no caber de ancho y largo,
 Entonces quando estos males
 Lleguen al punto contado,
 Sera señal definido
 Del juicio que aguardamos,
 Y mas de los antedichos
 Indultos que serán tantos,
 Que los mismos, que lo vean
 Aun no podrán senblanzarlos;
 Iran viendo cada dia
 Un espanto y otro espanto,
 Que los propios maleficios

Los traerán paso ante paso.
 Quando dexé su caverna
 Aquel perro antecriado,
 Cuyos ahullidos asombran
 Al mundo de cabo á cabo.
 Quando a la gente dilubio²
 Sus jeneticos³ mandados,
 Para que por Dios le adoren
 Por voluntad ó forzados,
 Quando con el poderio
 Del que le dio tanto espacio
 Contra su proprio hacedor
 Haga tan grandes milagros:
 Digo que este mal nacido
 Por tanto mal engendrado,
 Hará que los cursos truequen
 Sus ojos⁴ á lo contrario.
 Las aguas hacia su cunbre,
 Los rios, fuentes y raudos
 Hará correr hacia arriba:
 Las fuentes contra sus caños.
 Resucitaran los muertos,
 Hará llover sin nublados,
 Hará que los aires paren,
 Y corran por su mandato.
 A los ciegos dará vista,
 Sanidad a los baldados,
 A los sordos el oír
 Los mudos que hablen claro;
 Sanará qualquiera herida,
 Tocandola con sus manos,
 Imitando al santo Ise,
 Por donde será llamado
 Este Almasih adachel⁵
 Amahador⁶ con engaños,
 Seran tantos y tan grandes,
 Sus diabolicos milagros,
 Sus castigos tan enormes,
 Con que vendrá amenazando
 Con aquel falso cridante
 Llamando al siniestro lado:
 Venid gentes adorad
 A vuestro Dios soberano:
 Que le adoraran las gentes
 De sus hechos embriagos.
 Digo los de poca fe
 Los torpes de pechos flacos,

¹ Sabios عالم.² Divulgue, MS. Paris.³ Hereticos, MS. Paris.⁴ Usos, MS. Paris.⁵ الدجال Dajal el ante-Cristo.⁶ El que alivia.

No los creyentes perfetos
 En la fé santa asentados ;
 Aquellos que en todo tiempo
 La unidad testificando.¹
 No podra entrar en Maca
 Por que le fue devedado :
 Tan poco en el al Medina,
 Ni la ensantecida Elbaitu.²
 Allah nos guarde y defiende
 De tan prodigos escandalos
 Como los que entonces vivan
 Veran deste infernal rayo.
 Y quando este engañador
 Esté en su trono mas alto,
 Y quando tenga á las gentes
 Mas ciegos y embaucados,
 Dezenderá el Santo Ise
 Por su Señor inviado,
 Y matará a este enemigo,
 Y acabará sus engaños,
 Despues morirá el buen Ise
 Y quedará sepultado
 En lalcoba de Muhamad
 Junto con él lado al lado.
 No hará en esto parada,
 Que aun esta amenazando
 Otro escandalo, otro fuego
 Tan fuerte como el pasado
 Quando se rompa el collegio,³
 Con que encarcelo Alexandro
 Los de Cud y Magud,⁴
 Y salgan a suelto bando.
 Saldran tan grandes y feos,
 Negros y desemejados
 Con tan diversos visajes,
 Tan langostados y tantos
 Que haran apocar las aguas,
 Fuentes, estancons y lagos,
 Y las demas provisiones
 De los demas halacados ;⁵
 Espantaran á las gentes
 La multitud destos tragos
 Y encerrarse-han en los fuertes
 De miedo de sus espantos,

Hasta que las cataratas
 Desciendan del cielo abajo.
 Y acaben estos Machuches
 Sin que dellos quede rastro.
 ; O criaturas del suelo
 Nacidas de padre humano,
 Engendrados en tal signo
 Que llegareis a este paso
 Recordad vuestros sentidos
 No vivais tan desouidados,
 Mirad que es malo el desouido
 Do el peligro está tan claro ;
 No os pinteis por ignorantes
 Procurad ser avisados,
 Mirad que los incurueños
 Van á par de los yerrados,
 Mirad que si esas señales
 Topan vuestros pesos faltos
 La pena será Chahana⁶
 Con que sereis castigados.

—
 Volvamos pues al principio,
 Que no es bien que tan de paso
 La señal del sol toquemos,
 Sino atento y muy despacio ;
 Que harán los hijos de Edam
 Quando mas desacordados
 Este espetaculo vean ;
 Y luego tras este tantos
 Que turbacion dara en ellos,
 Que tribulacion y que pasmo,
 Que haran unos con otros,
 Que caras iran mostrando,
 Que clamores, que gemidos
 Que gritos tan destenplados,
 Que vivir tan desabrido,
 Que inquietud, que sobresalto,
 Que llagas sin medecinas
 Que sueños tan quebrantados
 Que enfermedades tan solas,
 Que dolores sin amahos,⁷
 Que haran los incurueños
 Los torpes despreceptados,
 Los que pasaron sus vidas

¹ Testificaron, MS. Paris. ² Elbaitu, Jerusalem. ³ Coloso segun el MS. de Paris.

⁴ يا جوج و ماجوج Gog y Magog, pueblo que ha de salir del interior de la Asia. Los de Amon y de Moab, segun el MS. de Paris.

⁵ Halacados خلق criaturas. ⁶ جهنم Gehennum, Gehenna, el inferno.

⁷ Amahos, alivios, del verbo مسح - امحأ, borrar, anular.

Adormidos y asombrados;
 Que haran los melincosos¹
 Que guardaron sus pecados,
 Y de sus apenitencias
 Nunca toparon el quando,
 Que haran los homícidas,
 Que pensarán los avaros,
 Los adulteros y aquellos
 Que las tutelas menguaron;
 Que haran todos aquellos
 Que verán el sol trocado
 Por donde jamas salió,
 Despues que fue halecado.
 Que haran quando amanezcan
 Sin gracia del soberano,
 Que aunque repentirse quieran
 Entonces les sera en vano;
 Y no valdrán sus deseos
 Ni sus fines tendrán cabo,
 Ya no habrá decir mañana
 Que ya tarde recordaron.
 Dice Alhasan que las madres
 Que tendrán hijos bastardos.
 Despues que el Sol se trascurse
 Y asome por el ocaso,
 Que los batiran de sí
 Echandolos de sus brazos,
 Y les negarán sus pechos,
 Y el amor que siempre usaron;
 Ellos con la misma rabia
 Que se verán agenados
 Dirán tan grandes distinos,²
 Que cansa á deber nombrarlos,
 Maldigaos Allah enemigos,
 Dirán estos haramados,³
 Maldigaos la tierra y cielo
 Y todo quanto hay criado,
 Todo sea en daño vuestro;
 Y no menos acusamos
 A nuestros malditos padres,
 Sino que los avocamos
 Con las mismas maldiciones
 Y de aqui los albriciamos
 Con el fuego del falaque,⁴

Y sus tormentos en pago
 De los deleites malditos
 Que con vosotras gozaron,
 Renegamos de vosotros,
 Del uno y otro juramos
 De jamas ser vuestros hijos,
 Sino vuestros tormentarios;
 Renegamos de la leche
 Quen vuestros pechos mamamos,
 Yde los lomos traidores
 Donde fuimos goteados.
 O sumo y alto Señor,
 Y que penetrantes rayos
 En que coyuntura y tiempo
 Tan fuerte y necesitado
 Lazraran⁵ estos precisos⁶
 A los que los engendraron;
 Si serán de tu bondad
 Oidos ó desviados
 En tiempo tan peligroso
 Tanta maldicion y daño.
 Que diremos de las fieras,
 De los animales bravos,
 De los peces y las plantas
 Que todo será cambiado
 Las fieras serán enfermas
 Sus bravos corajes mansos,
 Y sin temor de las gentes
 Se vendrán a los poblados;
 Los peces ya corrompidos
 Surtirán a lo seco,
 Do inficionará a las gentes
 Su olor corrompido y malo;
 Las briznas del sol teñido
 Escalentarán los lagos
 Y vislumbren los ojos
 De los que lo están mirando;
 Todo tendrá contornado
 Todo sera trastrocado,
 Todo mudará su asiento
 De lo alto hata⁷ lo baxo
 El sol turbio y espantoso
 La luna turbia sin rayos
 Las estrellas amarillas,

¹ Negligentes, MS. Paris.² desatinos.³ حرام condenados.⁴ فلك cielo, firmamento.⁵ Maldeciran = laceraran. MS. Paris, Lanzaran estos precisos.⁶ Quizas, prescitos, condenados.⁷ حتى hasta.

El cielo acedo y morado
 Que podran sentir las gentes,
 Quando estos fieros prosapios¹
 En los movimientos vean,
 Insensibles entre tanto
 Que centella tan ardiente,
 Y que abismo de cuidado
 Quemará sus corazones,
 En los presentes naufragios
 Vozes daran espantosas :
 Iran corriendo y parando
 Temiendose de si mismo,
 Su sombra les dara espanto
 A flotar por los desiertos
 Por las cuevas y pantanos,
 Llamando á los mismos ecos,
 A la sierra vozeando :
 " Abre tierra tus cavernas
 Traga á estos desventurados,
 Que tu debes acogernos,
 Pues de ti fuimos criados.
 Abre madre tus entrañas
 Que no hallamos otro amparo ;
 No nos niegues tu acogida
 Que con tanta sed buscamos."
 Dice la tierra, no puedo
 Recogerlos ni ampararlos,
 Pues no quesiste ser buenos
 Quando os sobraba el espacio,
 Quando os llamaba la gracia
 Con tanto amor y descanso ;
 De vosotros la arredraste,
 Como yo á vosotros hago."
 Con los mismos apellidos
 Iran á la mar llamando
 " O mar entreabre tus aguas
 Y traga á estos desdichados,
 Pues nuestra Madre la tierra
 No ha querido sepultarnos ;
 Tu entre tus aguas y conchas
 Nos zahunde en lo mas baxo."
 La mar con horribles zeños
 Respondeles, " desviaos
 De mi vista que vosotros
 No sois mis contemporanos,
 No sois de mi natural,

Ni aunque quiera puedo daros
 Asiento, que me lo impidan
 Vuestras culpas y pecados."
 Estos seran los precisos
 Enduridos y obstinados,
 Que no quisieron curar
 Sus llagas con tiempo franco,
 Quando la gracia divina
 Los llevaba de la mano,
 Llamando y dandoles vozes
 Al puerto de su reparo ;
 No quisieron conocerse,
 No quisieron ser curados,
 No quisieron arrepentirse
 De su destinado estado.
 Estos seran los creyentes
 De nuestro Alcoran honrado,
 Los que el Alcoran leyeron,
 Los del alumna² escogida,
 Y sus mandamientos santos,
 Y no quisieron seguir
 Con lo que les predicaron.
 Estos son los pecadores
 Viciosos y destinados
 Desconocidos sin obras,
 Que su propio mal buscaron.
 Que de las otras naciones
 Alquefirinas³ no hablo,
 Que ya no habia rastro dellos,
 Todos en mal acabaron
 Por sus incredulidades ;
 Que como siempre negaron
 La verdad, nunca tuvieron
 Certidumbre de ser salvos ;
 Y como acabo Adachel,
 Todos fueron acabados.
 Solo la santa ley nuestra
 Pudo minar⁴ en su estado
 Pacifica y quietamente,
 Sin haber contrario bando.
 Y de aqui en muy breve tiempo
 Será del Señor mandado,
 Tome la espantosa trompa
 Tan fixa y puesta en los labios
 De aquel sin-par Israfil,
 Que desde que fué criado

¹ Prosapios, MS. Paris.² الأمة la secta, nacion.³ كافرين, infieles.⁴ Predominará, MS. Paris.

La tiene puesta en la boca,
 Para este efeto nombrado ;
 Pues en llegando el punto,
 Aunque alterado algun tanto,
 Sacudiendose sus alas,
 Sonará el cuerno zumbando,
 Que no quede en este suelo
 Quien no muera de su espanto.
 Aunque de su primer zumbido
 No se espantaran los sabios,
 Los almuedanes¹ y justos,
 Que Dios quiso señalarlos
 Sobre las demas criaturas,
 En dilatarles su plazo

Por espacio de tres dias.
 Mas antes que llegue el quarto,
 Sonará el soplo segundo
 Con tal vigor alentado,
 Que no quede en cielo y tierra
 Angel vivo, ni hombre humano :
 Solo los que el alarx² llevan,
 Y los almalaques³ quatro
 Que los amahará⁴ Allah
 Como a sus mas allegados,
 Y rendiran sus arohes⁵
 Al que se los hubo dado,
 Por la mano de su ciencia,
 Sin que nos toque otra mano.

CANTO SEGUNDO DE LA ISTORIA DEL DIA DEL JUICIO.

Despues de aquellos zumbidos
 Que desde los firmamentos
 Haran tremolar las tierras
 Y aun estremecer los cielos,
 Despues que no quede vida
 Con vida que tenga aliento,
 Ni alma en su cuerpo infusa ;
 Que no la vomite el cuerpo ;
 Despues de muerto Luzbel,
 Y perpetuado á los fuegos,
 Que al fin le alcanzó su plazo
 Que estaba sujeto al tiempo ;
 Despues que los almalaques
 Que sustentaron el peso
 Del alarx del Piadoso,
 Caigan en sus alas muertos,
 Despues que Chebril⁶ fenescas,
 Y Zarafil asi mesmo
 Que ya su trompa no suene,
 Ni Miqueil afine el peso ;
 Despues que Malac almanti⁷
 Concluya su cargo y cetro,
 Y guste el amargo trago
 Que á tantos sus manos dieron ;
 Despues que no quede cosa
 Entre la tierra y el cielo,
 Que no haya dado el tributo

A su verdadero dueño ;
 Despues que el terreno mundo
 Quede oscuro, negro y feo
 Sin sol, sin luna ni estrellas,
 Sin cometas, ni luzeros,
 Sin rios, fuentes, ni estanques,
 Sin caminos, ni senderos,
 Sin plantas, yerbas ni flores,
 Sin pobladores, ni pueblos,
 Asomarse-há el poderoso
 Sobre su poder immenso,
 Mirando al guerfano mundo
 Estas palabras diciendo.

“¡ O mundo ! que te creé
 Entre mi cielo y su cerco
 Tan adornado y alegre,
 Quanto ahora triste y negro ;
 O mundo dó son tus rios,
 Dó tus corrientes tan luengas,
 Dó tus mares, dó tus fuentes,
 Dó son las frutas que dieron,
 O mundo, dó son tus gentes,
 Dó son los que te siguieron,
 Dó son los que te poblaron,
 Y los que te enriquecieron ;
 O mundo dó son tus reyes,
 Dó sus mandos, dó sus cetros,

¹ مؤذن Muezzin, el que llama a la plegaria. ² عرش arsh trono de Dios.

³ ملائكة melaikah, angeles.

⁴ borraré de امسا, delere.

⁵ ارواح روح ruh alma anima.

⁶ جبرئيل Gabriel.

⁷ ملك الموت El angel de la muerte, la muerte.

Dó son tus emperadores
Y el poder de sus imperios;
O mundo dó son tus ricos,
Aquellos que no espendieron
Sus tesoros en servirme,
Dandoles yo mi sustento,
O mundo dó son tus jueces
Que mi justicia torzieron;
Donde esta aquel faldaje
Que puse en sus manos dellos;
Donde estan los que les dí
Mis gracias tendidas, y ellos
Sirvieron a otro Señor,
El suyo desconociendo?"
Esto dirá el Sumo Rey,
Y sus razones siguiendo,
Dirá: "Yo soy el Señor
Alto, poderoso, inmenso,
Solo soy en mi reismo,
Unico en todos mis hechos;
Ni hay ningun porque ni como¹
A lo que mando y deviedo."
Quarenta semanas dicen
Nuestros sabios despues desto
Questaran ansi las gentes
Como habemos dicho muertos,
Y para resucitar
Los arohes con sus cuerpos,
Lloverá quarenta dias
Agua sin parar momento,
De la mar jus² del alarx,
Que hara renacer los cuerpos
De la tierra, como nacen
Los granos con el tempero;
El angel de la bozina
Resucitará el primero
En el cielo, y en la tierra
Nuestro santo mensajero,
Mandaré el Rey poderoso
Al angel sople en el cuerno
Para que infunda á las almas
En el lugar dó salieron;
Sonará aquella bozina,
A cuyo sonido horrendo,
Resucitarán las gentes

Que fueron de carne y queso,
Vendran los cuerpos podridos,
Las venas, carnes y guesos,
Questaban en los abismos,
En las mares y en los centros,
Los que tragaron los peces,
Y los que deshizo el fuego,
Los que comieron las fieras,
Y rebataron los vientos,
Levantarse-han de las fuesas
Como langostas estrechos,³
Erizados como erizos,
Largos, flacos, macilentos,
Sacudiendose la tierra
Denzima de sus cabellos,
Sin conocer el oriente
Ni el poniente conociendo.
Todos de una misma edad,
De una estatura y un tiempo;
Asi los pequeños niños
Como los muy grandes viejos,
Todos de la edad de Ise
Quando se subio a los cielos;
Que fué a los treinta y tres años
De su santo nacimiento;
De la dispuscion de Edam
De do todos procedemos,
Que treynta codos tenia
Desde la planta al cabello:
Con diferentes libreas
Y con desiguales gestos,
Porque con sus propias obras
Irá cada cual cubierto.
No se alargará el vestido
A cobijar mas de aquello
A dó sus obras llegaron;
Lo demas irá al sereno.
O quantos gallardos ricos
Se verán en vivo cuero,
Y quantos desnudos pobres
Vestidos y muy compuestos.
Despues para que se junten
Todos en un mismo puesto
En donde han de ser juzgados
Será puesto ardiente fuego

¹ بي جون وجرا. y en Persano. بلاكيف

² Bajo, palabra antigua, en Catalan, joc, en Valacho jos.

³ Estrechos, está sin duda por apiñados que les venia la tierra estrecha.

En los contornos del mundo,
Y los irá reduciendo
A una parte y sitio llano,
Criado en el mundo en medio.
Limpio blanco y sin manzilla,
Que jamas lo corrompieron.
Que para juzgar a tantos
No sera el patio pequeno.
Mandar  que el sol se vuelva
Con tal calor y ardimiento,
Que crezca sesenta partes
Sobre la que alumbr  el suelo.
Y sobre los halecados
Distar  tan poco trecho,
Que dentro de las cabezas
Hara burbullir los sesos.
Chahanama descubierta,
Y la fuerza de su fuego
Arojar  las centellas
Siempre en su rigor creciendo,
Que con el calor del sol
Causar  tanto tormento,
Questordecera   las gentes ;
Y pensar n   este tiempo
Reventar sus corazones
Sus almas carnes y huesos.
Alcanzar  la fortuna
La pena y desasosiego
A las gentes este dia,
Segun que sus penas fueron.
Quando los infieles digan,
O si en este dia fueramos
Tierra o cosa insensible ;
O si nunca aca nacieramos !
Dir n los despreceptados,
Guay de nosotros ! d  iremos
Sacasen de esta pena,
Y echasen en el fuego.
Dize Alabber : ser  el llanto,
La congoja y sentimiento,
El calor y la fortuna,
Que quando se aprete en ellos
Este aladeb¹ de amargura,
Daran en buscar remedio,
Buscando los annabies²
De cuyas  lumas fueron,
Para que ellos intercedan

En que se acorte su ruego.
A Edam yran llamando
Diziendo, padre primero,
Rogad al Se or por nos,
Pues todos tus hijos fuimos
T  fue la primera criatura,
Y a quien los angeles fueron
Que te alzaron sobre nos :
En ti fue el primer resuello,
A ti por morada dieron
La gloria en que te holgases ;
Por tu gran merecimiento
Ruega que somos tus hijos
Que salgamos deste estremo
Y se acorte la justicia
Dando a cada cual su derecho.
El que haya de ir   la gloria
Mandales que vayan luego,
Y el que   la pena tambien
Y se tendr  por contento.
Escusarse-ha nuestro padre
A su memoria viniendo
Aquel primer desacato
Que a tanto mal fu  cimiento.
Acordarse-ha de su culpa,
De su misero destierro,
De su destino tan grande,
Y no podr  complacerlos
Viendose sin confianza
Para acometer tal ruego.
Prudencia grande en los hombres
Quando conocen el tiempo.
Despues desto iran a Noh
Con el mesmo affigimiento,
De quien ser n despedidos
Sin darles ningun remedio.
Lo propio responde Brahim,
Muse les dice lo mesmo,
Inviando los a Ise
Para que ruegue por ellos.
Iran con muy grande priesa
Y en altas voces diciendo
Ruega ad Allah,³ santo Ise,
Que sin carnal instrumento
Fuiste engendrado y nacido,
Lleno de tantos mysterios ;
Ruega al Se or por nosotros ;

¹ عذاب azab, castigo.

² النبي profetas.

³ Variante—O Roh Allah ; *aspiritu de Dios*.

Que si tú ruegás creemos
 Será oída tu rogaria,
 Porque fué tu engendramiento
 Resollo de tu Hacedor,
 Tan santo, limpio y sincero.
 "No es para mi esta empresa
 Ni tal suficiencia tengo,
 Les responde el Santo Ise,
 Porque su silla me dieron
 Las gentes de mi Hazedor,
 Y en su lugar me sirvieron ;
 Y no osaré yo pidille
 Este día ningún ruego.
 Mas yo os mostraré camino
 Por donde tendreis remedio
 Que en vuestro favor y ayuda
 Es hacer lo que yo puedo.
 Ios al santo Muhamad
 Ques a quien se cometieron
 Las rogarias deste día,
 Y las mercedes y premios ;
 El rogará por vosotros :
 Al Señor caminad luego,
 Que ninguno sino él
 Puede aquí satisfaceros."
 Agonizando en sus males,
 Estropezando y cayendo,
 Cansados y estordecidos,
 Con tantas voces y estruendos,
 Llegarán á su presencia,
 Y todos a un mismo tiempo,
 Le diran tales razones
 Con grande encarecimiento.
 "O Muhamad, ó Caudillo !
 El mejor que quantos fueron,
 Ante ab initio criado,
 De lo criado cimientó.
 A ti somos inviados
 De aquellos que ante ti fueron,
 Que en nadie habemos hallado
 A nuestro mal refrigerio ;
 Todos nos han despedido,
 Nadie sale a nuestro duelo
 Todos se han acobardado,
 A todos oprime el miedo :
 Solo a ti solo Muhamad,
 Solo a ti nos acorremos ;
 Todos á ti nos invian

¹ Quizas, blanco sefueño.

Para que nos remediemos ;
 Todos a voces nos dicen
 Que tu es el principal dello.
 Deste día tu al fin eres
 De tantos blancos sefueños,¹
 En ti es nuestra confianza,
 Ya no hay otro acogimiento
 Ya no nos queda otro auxilio
 A donde nos amparemos :
 Ya ves que se nos alarga
 El conto y preparamiento,
 No nos quieren tomar cuenta,
 Ni de nuestro mal sabremos
 El cabo ni aun el discurso,
 Adonde parar tenemos ;
 Ruega por nos o Muhamad,
 Que pues tu merecimiento
 Llega á tal punto que seas
 Llave de nuestro remedio
 Solo tu seras oydo,
 Solo a ti guardan respeto :
 Quando los demas caudillos
 Sus lenguas enmudecieron,
 Ruega al que te dió esas gracias
 Que acorte y limite el tiempo
 Y nos tomé residencia,
 Que sabe que mas queremos
 Ser echados en la pena
 Que tanto detenimiento."
 Levantarse-ha el escogido
 Sin ningún detenimiento,
 Y azechedado² al Señor
 Hara su rogaria, y luego
 Mandara el Señor que adreze
 Sus decretos para el cuento
 Y que prevenga su aluma ;
 Porque han de ser los primeros
 En el juicio, por causa
 Que han de ser testigos ellos
 Quando los demas Profetas
 Darán cuento con sus Pueblos.
 Mandará a Reduan que adreze
 La gloria con sus contentos :
 Y á Miqueil que adreze el peso,
 Y el fuego con sus tormentos.
 Dos tribunales, dos cortes
 Este día seran puestos,
 Donde seremos juzgados,

² سجد, postrado.

Todos por modos diversos.
 El uno á la diestra mano
 El otro al lado siniestro,
 El uno de paz y arahma,¹
 El otro de juicio estrecho.
 Serán al uno acogidos
 Los pecadores que fueron
 Cuidadosos de sus culpas,
 Y dellas se arrepintieron,
 Los nobles alcafarados,²
 Los penitentes sinceros,
 Y los que con ignorancia
 En algun crimen cayeron :
 Y ansi será el homicida
 Cargado de mil transgresos,
 Que moriria por la xara,³
 Conocido de sus yerros,
 Todos seran amahados,⁴
 Todos seran en el gremio
 De la piedad y clemencia,
 Sin pasar ningun denuesto.
 Al otro serán llevados
 Todos los que no quisieron
 Redemir todas sus culpas,
 Y apiadarse de si mesmo.
 Alli será el sodomita,
 El adultero, el blasfemo,
 El revolver de alchamas,⁵
 El mintroso, el azihrero,⁶
 El ingrato, el malicioso,
 El envidioso, el soberbio,
 El despiadado, el traidor,
 El escaso, el avariento,
 El vicioso, el ambicioso,
 El matador, el violento,
 El comedor de los algos
 Atutelados y agenos.
 Estos y sus semejantes
 Que desta vida salieron
 Sin redemir sus grivezas,⁷
 Todos seran en el puesto
 De la justicia de Allah.
 O tan desdichados dellos
 Que tribunal sera aqueste ?
 Que justicia veran estos ?

¹ رحمة rahmat, misericordia.

² شرع shára, ley santa.

³ الجامع mezquita, congregacion.

Que resolucion tan fuerte
 Sin ningun apellamiento.
 Alli se dará venganza
 A los que injuriados fueron,
 A costa de sus contrarios
 Hasta quedar satisfechos.
 Alli el que quitó la honra
 La volverá á colmo lleno :
 Alli pagará tambien
 El que tomó el algo ageno ;
 Todo sera en igualdanza,
 Todo por medida y peso ;
 Y al que le falten las obras,
 Pagará con el tormento,
 Descargando al injuriado
 Sus pecados, y al transgoso
 Los cargarán y sus obras
 Para el injuriado cuento.
 Que haran quando despleguen
 Las causas y sus procesos,
 Quando despleguen las cartas
 Con sus insultos tan feos,
 Quando vean sus pecados
 Al cabo de tanto tiempo,
 Que tan olvidados tenian.
 Y ansi seran manifestos,
 Alli seran publicados
 Como si en aquel momento
 Los hubieran cometido,
 Como y quando los hizieron.
 Alli seran emplazados
 Con sus amigos y deudos,
 Manifestadas sus tachas,
 Sus insultos descubiertos.
 Que hara el grave, el honrado,
 Quando en presencia de aquellos
 Que en este mundo lo honraron,
 Entitulado por bueno,
 Parezcan sus fealdades
 Que tanto guardó en secreto ?
 El algo mal caullevado
 Alli su torpe adulterio
 Alli la honra manchada
 Bajo de tanto credito.
 Que hará quando le vean

⁴ كفارة kafarat, expiados, penitentes.

⁵ aliviados.

⁶ سحر hechizero.

⁷ gravezas.

Tantos faltas y defectos,
Y sobre todas sus faltas
Las faltas de sus secretos.
Que harán quando su carta
Le den por el lado izquierdo,
Y quando por las espaldas
Le barenaren el cuerpo?
Que faz pondra el miserable
Que visajes, que meneos,
Que hará quando le intimen
Aquel infernal destierro?
Que será del homicida
Que enteró en el desierto
El cuerpo que no crió,
Quando le pidan por ello.
Que responderá el escaso
Quando le digan, que has hecho
La gracia de tus arizques¹
Tus atruches² y tus zepos,
En que, di, los empleaste?
Que el pobre, la viuda y guerpiano
Que a tu lado perecian
Por no querer socorrellos;
Fueron por ventura tuyos,
Fue mas tu merecimiento,
Pensabas ser absoluto
Y en tu avaricia perpetuo?
Estos serán los desnudos
Sin abrigo ni cubierto,
Y a quien la quemor del sol
Herirá de lleno en lleno;
Y quel otro miserable
Que fué tutor fraudulento
Que comieron la sustancia
Del atutelado guerpiano.
Que dirá quando le digan,
Que es de aquel ofrecimiento
Que asegures al difunto
Quando te encargues de serlo.
A! que día será este
De angustias y descontentos;
Día de lloros y espantos
De penas y de tormentos,
Día de llantos y voces,

De duelos y desconsueltos,
De lagrimas y sollozos,
De gemidos y lamentos:
Alli parecerá el malo
Como malo descubierto;
Y el bueno qual bueno honrado
Acompañado de buenos.
Alli se verán trocados
De lo que en el mundo fueron,
Premiados y castigados
Segun las obras que hicieron.
Alli verás hombres viejos³
Llenos de grandes contentos
Que en el mundo fueron pobres
Flacos, debiles, y hambrientos.
Alli los soberbios grandes
Enchiquecidos, pequeños,
Y los muy graves y honrados
Abiltados con desprecios.
Y en medio destas congojas,
Sonará una voz diciendo:
Tiende Melique la puente
Y afina Miqueil el peso.
Será pueste el azirate⁴
Largo, altísimo y estrecho,
Cortante como una espada,
Delgado como el cabello,
Tendido sobre Chahana
Deleznable, alto y sereno,
Por donde habrán de pasar
Los del tribunal siniestro.
Sobre el habrá siete puertas,
Siete puertas, siete apretos,
Que no los pasará nadi
Que tenga ningun defeto.
De alli serán despeñados,
Todos quantos no quisieron
Cumplir con la obligacion
De los divinos preceptos,
Alli los que defaltaron
En la azala,⁵ y sus deudos,
Los lanzaran en Chahana,
Los del ayuno, asi mesmo
Los del azaque,⁶ y elhach,⁷

¹ الرزق provision, nutrimento que da Dios. ² Atroxes, MS. Paris, granero.

³ Ricos, MS. Paris. ⁴ الصراط alsirat, puente sobre el infierno.

⁵ الصلوة essalat, las cinco plegarias.

⁶ الزكاة zekat, limosna obligada.

⁷ الحج Haj, peregrinacion á Meka.

Y los que no socorrieron
 A sus parientes y hermanos,
 Y aquellos que no aprendieron
 La ley del santo Alcoran,
 Y a sus hijos la instruyeron.
 O! que trabajos tan fuertes
 En este puente veremos,
 Que langostas, que visiones,
 Que hambres, y que desecos,
 Que cansancios, que calores,
 Que tribulacion, que miedo,
 Que largo será este paso
 Para los que mal sirvieron,
 Do seran envejecidos
 Sin llegar á salvo puerto:
 Que el que mal sirve, es muy justo
 Que lleve en pago tal premio.
 Pues quando se verán los tales
 En tan grande estrechamiento,
 Y á mas desto ser pesados
 En la balanza de un peso.
 Que hará el que alli se vea
 Sus males sin contrapeso:
 Que justicia tan estrecha
 Dó resulta tanto riesgo.
 Quando el espantoso dia
 Haya pasado dos tercios,
 Quando su ora¹ declina
 Al austruo deribamiento,
 Quando firmaran las cartas
 Con definitivos sellos,
 Aqui seran los dolores
 Los llantos y afligimientos:
 Quando se vean condenados
 Del Juez alto y verdadero.
 Quando el padre ve a su hijo
 Ir desterrado al tormento;
 Y quando el hijo á su padre
 Vea con el mismo duelo.
 Y quando marchen las tropas
 A los tormentos del fuego,
 Y conociendo sus culpas,
 Cada qual ira contento,
 Todos en una hilera
 Unos á otros siguiendo:
 Iran corriendo á la pena

Con la voz de un pregonero,
 Que les dirá con voz horrible;
 "Del Rey alto y justiciero
 Hallareis los transgresores
 Do pagareis vuestros hechos;
 Esa es Chahanama aquella
 Con que nuestros mensageros
 De nuestra parte anunciaban
 Y á vosotros prometieron:
 Esa sera vuestra madre
 Vuestro descanso y sosiego,
 La paga de vuestras obras,
 Y de vuestras culpas premio."
 Quando llegan a Chahana,
 Y vean sus grandes fuegos,
 Sus cadenas y prisiones
 Sus lagartos y culebros:
 Quando caigan todos de una
 A un golpe, y a un mesmo tiempo,
 Cada cual en su retrete
 En tan hediente aposento.
 Y quando se vean asidos
 De aquellos ministros fieros,
 Se veran tambien asidos
 De aquel dragon carnicero,²
 Que podran sentir los tales.
 No hay humano entendimiento
 Que signifique una dara³
 El dolor que tendrán estos:
 Su descanso será pena,
 Su huelgo desasosiego,
 Sus placeres pesadumbres,
 Su contento desconsuelo,
 Su comida será llora,
 Su bebida podre espeso,
 Su alegria será lloros,
 Lagrimas su pasatiempo.
 Oh! quantas caras hermosas
 Y quantos ojos tan bellos,
 Quantos rostros tan polidos,
 Y quantos gallardos miembros,
 Serán puestos en Chahana,
 Entre sus fuegos ardiendo!
 O! quantos hombres ancianos
 Tenidos acá por buenos,
 Alli se veran colgados

¹ Nona, MS. Paris.² Variante, MS. Paris—De las dragonales uñas
 De aquel dragon can cerbero.³ ذراع, dra, codo, ó draema.

De sus barbas, por muy reos.
 Quantos mancebos viciosos
 Seran en el mismo estrecho
 Colgados de sus copetes
 De sus barbas y pescuezos.
 Alli mugeres hermosas
 Asidas de sus cabellos,
 Ennegridas y abrasadas
 Por mal enplear sus miembros.
 Alli seran los leedores
 Del Alcoran verdadero
 Que no quisieron obrar
 Con lo que dél aprendieron.
 Alli los del azala
 Derogado junto dellos,
 Los que el ayuno gastaron
 Y el azaque no cumplieron
 Alli serán los quebrantos
 De los divinos preceptos
 Que con ambicion obraron
 Y no conforme a derecho:
 Todos llamando sus obras,
 Mas como menguadas fueron
 No les podrán ayudar
 Ni ser de ningun provecho.

Y lo que mayor condelma
 Y mayor afigimiento
 Les dará el verse mezclados
 Entre los que descreyeron.
 Esto tendrán por afrenta
 Que les dirán mil denuestos,
 Burlando de su creencia
 De sus obras y desuento;
 Estarán alli mezclados
 Hasta quel ardiente fuego
 Distile, acabe y consuma
 Sus faltas y sus defectos.
 Y quando Dios sea servido
 De dar a su mal remedio,
 Dará lugar que Muhamad
 Los llame y baxe a verlos.¹
 Baxará el santo Profeta
 Y Melique descubriendo
 La cubierta de Chahana
 Verá tanto desconsuelo
 Ellos mirando á su cara
 De humo y negro cubiertos,
 Le diran tales razones
 Socorro y favor pidiendo.

ORACION.

O Muhamad, nuestro amparo,
 Nuestro muro y defensor,
 Refugio de nuestras penas,
 Y en nuestras tinieblas sol:
 Pues para nuestro remedio
 Te creó nuestro Señor,
 Hoy de rogar por nosotros
 Te toca la obligacion.
 Hoy es el dia que debes
 Publicar tu gran valor,
 Que quanto mayor la culpa,
 Es la clemencia mayor.
 Ya sabes que te seguimos
 Sin verte, ni oir tu voz:
 Y aunque en las obras faltemos
 Tu dicho afirmamoslo.
 Echastenos en olvido
 En la fortuna mayor
 Al tiempo que no hay ninguno
 Que quiera rogar por nos,
 Solo á ti Muhamad toca

El ruego y la redencion:
 Questa señalada empresa
 A ti solo se guardó.
 Por la gracia que en ti puso
 El Señor que te invió,
 Recordador de su pena
 Y en su gloria alumbrador,²
 Te rogamos y pidimos
 Vayas á rogar por nos:
 Pues tanto tu ruego estima
 Tu Señor y nuestro Dios;
 Solo tu seras oido
 En este dia de hoy:
 Que a ti solo fue otorgado
 Lo que á tantos se negó.
 Ruega al Señor por nosotros
 Haya de nos compasion.
 Y que nos saque del fuego
 De Chahana, y de su ardor.
 Nuestro yerro conocemos
 Ques de mas merecedor;

¹ Variante, MS. Paris.—Llaman, y que baxe á verlos.² Albriciador, MS. Paris.

Mas quanto es mayor la culpa
Es la clemencia mayor.
Ya nuestras entrañas arden,
Nuestros corazones son
Brasas que de muy ardientes
Se resuelven en carbon.
Nuestras lagrimas se fueron
Consumidas del calor,
Y sangre viva vertimos
Y aun aquella se acabó.
Mira quen ti confiamos,
Por tu enternecido amor,
De donde te fuere apropiado
El nombre de amahador.
No en balde asi te llamaron,
Que la significacion
De tus benditos alharfes¹
Dicen tus obras quien son.
Habe piedad de nosotros

Caudillo apiadanos;
Pues la piedad y tu nombre
En un punto decendió.
Llorando el Santo Muhamad
Suplicará á su Señor:
Cuya peticion aceta
Será con muy grande amor.
Mas alcanzará que pida
Porque asi se le ofreció,
De darle mas que pidiese
Al tiempo que se engendró.
Libertará su familia
De tan grande perdicion
No solo á los pecadores,
Mas a quien jamas obró
Obra buena en su provecho;
Solo por que pronunció
La unidad de la creencia
Una vez mientras vivió.²

CANTO A LA MUERTE DE NUESTRO ANABI MUHAMAD SALAM.³

El que fué primer principio
De todos los hijos de Edam,
Y el postrero en las naciones
De la telada postrera;
El que dos mil años antes
De la fabrica primera,
Fue publicada su fama
Sobre las cortes supremas;
El que mereció su nombre
Estar sobre las estrellas,
Y con el de su Señor
Celebrado en cielo y tierra;
El que derribó, naciendo,
Los ydolos y sus setas,
Y arrancó la ydolatria
Mas perfida y mas soberbia;
El que fué solo al principio,
Y el que con solos quareinta
Hombres, sujetó á su yugo
Tantas naciones adversas,
El que siendo lego, supo
Todo el peso de la ciencia,
Y á los sabios enseñó
La salvacion verdadera;

Aquel por amor de quien
Hecha la luna dos medias,
Se le azaxdó y dividió,
Y volvió sana y entera;
Quien reverdecíó la palma,
Que de tantos años seca
Estaba, y sus secas ramas,
Dieron fruta dulce y buena;
El que con un vaso de agua
En la tierra mas desierta
Abebró⁴ tantos millares
De sus compañías de guerra;
Quien traspasó siete cielos
Y sus distancias tan luengas,
Y en todos le fué albriciado
Por el mejor que naciera;
Quien subió á par del alarx,
Ques lugar do jamas llegan
Angeles ni serafines,
Solo el Señor y su esencia;
El que habló faz á faz
Con su divina potencia,
Y lo hizo viso-Rey
Del mundo y de su herencia.

¹ حرف harf, letra. ² مَنْ كَانَ آخِرَ كَلَامِهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ دَخَلَ الْجَنَّةَ صلعم.
³ Abrevó.

Este es aquel por quien fueron
 Criados cielos y tierra,
 Angeles y tronaciones,
 Sol y luna y las estrellas,
 Las mares dulces y amargas,
 Sus honduras y cavernas,
 Tiempos, ventos y elementos,
 Signos, cursos y planetas.
 Este es el que denunciaron
 Por metafóricas señas
 Ciento y veinte y quatro mil
 Anabíes y profetas.
 Este invencible caudillo,
 Que desipó tantas guerras
 Por sus armas y persona,
 Con sus animosas fuerzas,
 Sobre una cama acostado
 Ríende todas sus proezas
 Al Rey que le encomendó
 Sus invencibles banderas ;
 Y para que de los triunfos
 De las batallas sangrientas,
 Y de todas las hazañas
 Hechas en tal adefensa,
 En su Señor y su alumna,
 Tocantes á su encomienda,
 Veán ceñidas sus cienes
 Con la debida diadema ;
 Quiere primero tomalle
 La última residencia
 Llamandole por el medio
 De la celebre ydichea
 Que traxo en su retaguardia,
 Una cuitada dolencia,
 Ministro que no se aduerme
 Ni se cansa ni empereza.
 Esta llegó con cuidado
 Y para que su respuesta
 Lleve cumplido recado,
 Dale voces por la puerta
 Mas cerca del corazón,
 Ques postigo por do llegan
 Mas presto las embajadas,
 Y responden con mas veras.
 Oyelas el gran caudillo,
 Y como que eran nuevas
 De parte de su Señor,
 El mensajero aposienta
 En sus entrañas, abriendo
 La puerta á la parte izquierda,

Que era su propio aposento
 Para tales diligencias ;
 Y como este mensajero
 Lo llamó con tanta priesa,
 Por que lo tiene encerrado
 En la parte mas estrecha,
 No pudo dexar de darle
 Gran pasión, por que al fin era
 Su cuerpo de sangre y carne,
 Sujeto á sentir tal pena ;
 Y como partir no puede,
 Si no que le dé licencia,
 El que lo invia á llamar
 Por mas y mas que lo estrecha ;
 El llamador cuidadoso
 No parte aunque se apareja.
 Viendo Fatima á su padre
 Junto á la cama se allega,
 Deshecha en lagrimas vivas,
 La mano le toma y besa,
 Diciendole ; “ amado padre,
 Que dolor es el que aqueja
 Tu corazón ? dame parte
 Desá pasión y esa pena,
 Que mis entrañas se razgan
 En ver tu persona puesta
 En tan congoxado trance,
 Como tu rostro me muestra.
 Dó está aquel color perfecto
 De tu cara hermosa y bella,
 Y brio de tu persona,
 Tu valencia y tus fuerzas,
 Tu habla dulce y sabrosa
 Tan trocada de lo quera ?
 Dimelo, padre querido,
 Ruegote no me suspendas.”
 El buen anabí responde :
 Con mil amorosas muestras,
 Por consolar á su hija,
 Le dice : “ ánima y esfuerza,
 Has de saber, hija amada,
 Que el Señor de la grandeza
 Cumple sobre mí su plazo,
 Y quiere que comparesca
 Ante su santo juicio,
 A donde habré de dar cuenta
 Del discurso de mis obras,
 Que tengo en el mundo hechas,
 Deudo sobre mi adeudado,
 Y quantos vida posean.”

En esto llegó al Hasan
 Y al Hussain que estos eran
 Hijos de Fatima, y nietos
 Del anabi, y como llegan
 Le besan la mano, y él
 Entre los ojos los besa:
 Diciendole, "amado aguelo,
 Despues que tú muerto seas,
 Quien há de ser nuestro amparo,
 Quien librará nuestras quexas,
 A quien nos allegaremos,
 Que nos dé con gracia llena?"
 "El Señor que os há criado
 De tan perfeta línea,
 Os librará de trabajos
 Y os guiará á la carrera
 De su verdadero din,¹
 Siguiendo lo que amonesta
 El muy honrado alcoram,
 Y lo que la Suna ordena;
 Mi bendicion os cobije,
 Y sobre vosotros sea
 La de vuestro Criador,
 Y su piedad inmensa."
 Ellos estando en aquesto
 Sienten que daba á la puerta
 El pregonero escogido,
 Bilel ibnu-Hamema,
 Que lo venia á llamar,
 Quen la mezguida le esperan
 Su sihaba² que la ora
 De la zala se presenta:
 Y como llegó Bilel,
 Viendolo de tal manera
 Casi fuera de si mismo,
 Le dice de esta manera:
 "O Muhamad ó Caudillo!
 Nuestro muro y fortaleza,
 A quien adelantaremos
 A la zala en tu ausencia."
 El buen anabi responde:
 "Vuelve Bilel donde queda
 Mi compañía muy querida,
 Y de mis partes les plega
 La paz y la salvacion,
 Y d^e quen mi nombre sea
 Abubaqri Sidiqi,
 Y en las cosas que se ofrescan

¹ دين religion,



El lleve la mejoría,
 Que mi voluntad es esa."
 Volvió Bilel muy llorando,
 Y como dió la respuesta
 Se levantó un alarido
 Que en la mesquida retruena;
 Al cielo suben las voces,
 Los gemidos y querellas,
 Pidiendo al Señor remedio
 Para su santo profeta.
 Era el sentimiento grande
 La vozeria y las quexas
 Que las oyó el anabi;
 Y le dieron tanta pena,
 Aquellos amargos llores
 Que sus compañeros echan,
 Que suplicó á su Señor,
 Por su piedad le conceda
 Gracia para ver su gente,
 La desdichada postrera.
 Sintió el alivio postrero,
 Y luego en pie se endereza,
 Afirmando sobre Ali
 Que estaba á su cabecera
 Que habia venido á verle,
 Quando Bilel dió la nueva,
 Entró en la casa de Alláh
 Haciendo tres reverencias
 Cumplidas, que siempre usaba
 Entrar con esta atencencia;
 El primer acato hizó
 A unas doradas letras
 Quel mihareb rodeaba,
 Muy preciosas, que con estas
 Daba fin á su azala;
 Queran de alabanza hechas.
 El segundo, se humillaba
 A la tumba do se encierra
 El muy honrado alcoram;
 Y la tercera obidencia,
 Hacia la alta bondad,
 Que le dé salud y fuerzas.
 Quando lo vio su Suhába,
 No hay lengua que decir pueda
 El alegría y contento
 Que les causó su presencia,
 Teniendo por muy creído
 Ser pasada su dolencia;

² صحابة compañeros.

Y que su Señor queria
 Darle la salud entera,
 Por lo que al mundo importaba
 De Muhamad la asistencia.
 Subióse al lugar que usaba,
 Y luego la sala empieza.
 Todos con grande contento
 La hacen con su profeta,
 Y despues que hubó acabado,
 Cobrando aliento se esfuerza;
 Vuelto á su amada compañía
 Questaba en azafes¹ puesta.
 Con voz demudada y flaca
 Lo que se sigue amonesta:
 "O compañía valerosa,
 Muzlimes de nobleza,
 Caudillos de la verdad,
 Defensa de la ley nuestra,
 Esforzada compañía,
 Cimientto de la creencia,
 Fieles compañeros míos,
 Con quien en la paz y guerra,
 Hé consolado mi vida,
 Y mi muerte se consuela;
 Sabed honrada compañía
 Que la compañía nuestra,
 Hoy se deshace, y se cumple
 Del Señor su gran promesa,
 Hoy se há cumplido mi plazo,
 Hoy manda que comparezca
 Ante el juicio de Alláh,
 Y de su gran residencia,
 Esta es jornada debida
 Á quantos vida posean,
 Que há de morir el que vive,
 Sin que vida quede esenta;
 Y pues al fin no se excusa
 Esta forzosa espartencia,
 Ni hay pasar un solo punto
 De la asignada carrera
 Por tantos siervos de Alláh;
 Oid lo que os amonesta
 Este doliente caudillo,
 En sus razones postreras.
 Lo primero, os encomiendo
 La fé viva y su defensa, .

¹ صف Lines.

² لاجنازة exequias, aqui la preposicion ل Arabe está conservada.

³ لالخليفة al califa.

Guardando los mandamientos
 Del alcoram y su regia;
 La Suna obedecereis
 Qual si fuera la ley mesma,
 Y sereis libres del fuego,
 Y de sus horribles penas.
 Visitareis al doliente,
 Acoseguid lalchanaza,²
 Y sereis acompañados
 De angeles en vuestras fuesas;
 Socorred á los mezquinos
 Con vuestros algos y fuerzas,
 Y ansi sereis socorridos
 En las partes mas estrechas;
 Amaos unos á otros
 Con las entrañas sinceras,
 Y el amor del Piadoso
 Será en las compañías vuestras.
 Defendereis vuestro din,
 Morireis en su defensa,
 Y obedeced lalhalifa,³
 Seguidle en la paz y guerra;
 No mateis si no en batalla,
 Ques crimen de culpa rea,
 No tomeis bienes agenos
 Ques afrentosa vileza;
 Obedeced vuestros padres,
 Y hará Alláh que obedescan
 Á vosotros, vuestros hijos,
 Os honrren y vos mantengan
 En la pobreza y vejez,
 Ques toda triste y desierta.
 Obedeced los mayores,
 Y al que la ley os enseña,
 Enseñad á vuestros hijos,
 Los criados y sirvientas;
 Perdonareis las injurias
 Los vituperios y afrentas
 Y ansi sereis perdonados
 De vuestras faltas y deudas:
 Y del tiempo que seido
 Vuestro caudillo y profeta,
 De falta de alguna cosa
 Que satisfacion os deba,
 Aqui estoy en la mezquida,
 Dó en vuestra misma presencia

Hago alcorben¹ de mi mismo,
Y mi persona sujeta
A la venganza de aquel
Que cosa alguna le deba,
Que desde aquí le perdono
Qualquiera cosa que sea,
En satisfacion y paga
De mi merecida deuda.”
Esto dixo el gran caudillo,
Y aguardando la respuesta
Estaba de su compañía,
Quando con muy grande quexa,
Dentre la gente salió
Un hombre llamado Uquexar,²
Y con semblante alterado,
La habla libre y resuelta,
Le dice: “ó gran mensagero,
Pues tu quieres que ansi sea,
Conjurote por tu padre
Que me debes una afrenta,
De la qual no te perdono
Hasta verla satisfecha,
Acuerdate, gran Muhamad
Que me diste una afrenta
Delante toda la gente,
Aquí, en esta parte mesma,
Por que tardé á la zala
Un día que estuve fuera
Del pueblo, con un verdugo
Me diste sobre mis cuestras
Un golpe del qual corrió
La sangre sin resistencia.”
Dixo Muhamad: “entonces
Yo te mando que aquí sea
Satisfecha tu demanda
Del modo que te convenga;
No dexes en mi persona
Cosa que en bien tuyo sea.”
Tomó el verdugo en la mano
El azelerado Uquexar,
Diciendo: “yá mensagero
Advierte que si te quexas,
Quando me diste no estaba
El aridel en mis cuestras,
En vivas carnes estuve,
Sin camisa ni cubierta.”
Quando esto vió su sihaba,
Sintieron terrible pena,
Muy lastimado de ver
Una tan grande crueza.

¹ قربان *sacrificio*.

Todos le ruegan llorando,
Diciendole, “ten verguenza
De usar tal crueldad,
Como la que agora intentas.
Toma venganza en nosotros
De la manera que quieras,
Dexa nuestro gran caudillo,
Ten duelo de su flaqueza,
No le hagas desnudar
Su persona tan enferma,
Que le causará mas daño,
Y se alterarán sus venas.
Rogamoste por Allah,
Que le respetes y tengas
Miramiento al mensagero,
Y á los que aquí te lo ruegan,
A quien tendrás por amigos
En las cosas que se ofrescan;
Mira que tiene parientes
De grande estima y nobleza
Que te pagarán la obra
Si quies absolverte de ella.”
Alhasan le está rogando
Casi postrado en la tierra,
Diciendo: “hiere en mi cara,
Venga tu intencion sedienta,
Arrancame el corazon,
Saca el alma en sangre envuelta,
Y no toques á mi aguelo,
Su persona flaca y tierna.”
“No lo mande Alláh, responde,
Que de quien nada me deba
Tome la venganza yo;
Ni quiero tal recompensa.”
Entre tanto el mensagero
Dexa caer de sus cuestras
Las ropas que le cubrian;
Aquellas carnes tan bellas,
Descubriendo, luego el sello
Que estaba en el medio de ellas,
A donde de si lanzaba
Claredad mas que una estrella.
Uquexar apercibido
Con el verdugo en su diestra
Para descargar el golpe,
Sin dar á ruegos audiencia,
En punto vió el claro sello,
Arroja el verdugo á tierra,
Y con lagrimas ardientes,
Mil vezes lo adora y besa,

عكاشه.

Refregando en él su cara,
 Con mil cariciosas muestras,
 Diciendo: "O santo Muhamad,
 Alláh no mande ni quiera
 Que tome venganza en quien
 Debo tantas obras buenas:
 Ruego al Señor que me sea
 Tanta merced concedida,
 En este mundo que vea
 Con mis ojos este sello
 Una vez antes que muera:
 Por que mi padre me dixo
 Que aquel que tal suerte tenga
 No veria de chahana
 Sus fuegos ni sus tinieblas.
 Y esto me dió atrevimiento
 Para emprender tal empresa,
 Perdoname mensagero,
 Sello de toda limpieza,
 Si he sido descomedido
 En cometer tal crueza."
 "Alláh es el perdonador,
 Dixó Muhamad, ó Uquexar!
 Tú seras con mí en la gloria,
 Sin ninguna detención,
 Por amigo y compañero
 En mi abrigo y encomienda.
 A vosotros mis compañías
 Por esta via y manera
 Os pido á todos perdon;
 Y el Señor de la nobleza
 Quede en vuestra compañía
 Y os encamine en mi ausencia."
 Y dando azalem¹ sobre ellos
 A su casa dió la vuelta.
 Siguiéronle su sihaba,
 Aquellos que siempre eran
 En su amada compañía,
 Que un momento no le dexan
 Hasta ver su despedida,
 O si acaso su dolencia
 Allah le dará parcida,
 Ques lo que tanto desean.
 En llegando á su morada
 Sobre su cama se acuesta,
 Alabando a su Hacedor,
 Dandole gloria inmensa;
 No pide salud ni vida,
 Mas que su Señor provea,
 Lo que mas en alabanza

¹ السلام la salutation de la paz.

Y en servicio suyo sea.
 Su hija Fatima llora,
 No hay quien consolarla pueda,
 Y allegandose á su padre,
 Con la habla triste y quieta,
 Le dice: "mi padre amado,
 Pues nos dices ques tan cierta
 Tu muerte, y que no se escusa
 Nuestra angustiada tristeza,
 Despues que tu seas muerto
 Di, quien nos mandas que sea
 El que tahare² tu cuerpo,
 Y adereze tu alchaneza?"
 Alzó el anabi sus ojos
 Volviendo á mano derecha,
 Y Abubaqri yçidiqri
 Que estaba á su cabecera,
 Diciendo: "amigo querido,
 A tí queda esta encomienda;
 Tahararas mi persona,
 Y a tí te encargo que seas
 Caudillo y adelantado
 En todo quanto se ofresca
 En mi nombre y mi lugar;
 Y mando que te obedescan
 Como á mi mesma persona
 Y como dellos se espera;
 Y los que hareis mi azalá
 Alláh os dará gloria eterna,
 Y seréis adelantados
 En la holganza perpetua,
 Y todos los almalaques
 Serán en compañía vuestra.
 Ellos estando en aquesto
 Llegó Fatima á la oreja
 A su padre, y le decia:
 "Sabe padre que á la puerta
 Está un hombre muy hermoso,
 De lindo talle y presencia;
 Dime si quieres que dentre,
 Y mira tu que respuesta
 Le daré, ques estranero,
 Y cierto que no me acuerdo
 Haberlo visto en mi vida,
 No parece desta tierra."
 Dijo el honrrado anabi,
 "O hija, baxa con priesa
 Y abrele la puerta luego,
 Y con cara alegre y leda
 Honrrale, y dile que suba

² طهر lavar, purificar.

A verme, y no le detengas;
 Estará en mi compañía,
 Que me importa su presencia;
 Sabe ques malac al-mauti
 Mensagero de la alteza
 Que viene por este aroh,
 Y al punto asignado llega."
 Entró el fuerte Azarayel,
 Y con grande reverencia
 Le saluda, y dice, "amigo,
 Escucha, santo profeta,
 El Señor que te crió,
 Te saluda y te consuela,
 Y me ynvia á que te llame,
 Y que si no te accontenta
 Yr conmigo esta jornada
 Al mismo punto me vuelva;
 Mira tú si eres contento
 Yr, por que de otra manera
 Manda Allah que no te lleve
 Sin tu gusto y tu licencia."
 Dixo Muhamad, entonces,
 Con cara alegre y contenta:
 "Con su gran misericordia;
 Quen mi vida tuve nueva
 De tanto gusto y contento
 Tan alegre y placentera.
 Obedece el mandamiento
 Del Señor de la potencia,
 Quese es el mayor regalo
 Que á mi gusto darse pueda:
 Y con voluntad graciosa
 Sin que otra cosa me tuerza
 Desisto de todo aquello
 Que me dió naturaleza."
 "Pues que tambien te parece
 Dice Azarayel, que sea,
 Partamos, ó caro amigo,
 Los dos juntos sin pereza
 Dó tu Señor nos aguarda,
 Con su rahma¹ y su clemencia."
 "Pues antes que nos partamos
 Dame lugar que yo vea
 Mi grande amigo del alma,
 Con quien en la paz y guerra
 Me solia aconsejar,
 Y consolar mis querellas."
 En diciendo esto Muhamad,

Al punto se le presienta
 Su fiel amigo Chebril,
 Consolador de sus queexas,
 Diciendo, "que quies amigo,
 Por que mi vista deseas?"
 "O mi amigo y compañero,
 Fiel remedio á mis tormentos,
 Si en vida me acompañaste
 Por que en la muerte me dexas?
 Albriciame, dulce amigo,
 De alguna cosa que sea
 En poder de mi Señor."
 "Desta jornada postrera
 Albriciote yá Muhamad,
 Que á recibir te se aprestan
 Los almalaques del cielo,
 Con ynumerables fiestas,
 Las alainas² amorosas
 Hermosas lindas compuestas,
 Cantando sonoras voces,
 Aguardando tu presencia,
 Defienden que no entre nadi
 En lalchana³ verdadera,
 Por muy justo que haya sido,
 Hasta que tu entres en ella,
 Con todos los de tu aluma⁴
 Que siguieron tus banderas."
 Chebril iba prosiguiendo
 Estas razones compuestas:
 Quando el anabi diciendo
 Aquella preciosa alea,
 Y quera bismi Rabica,⁵
 Dió la alentada postrera
 Recibiendo Azarayel
 Aquel alma limpia y buena.
 Entristeciése el adunia,⁶
 El sol la luna y estrellas,
 El cielo y sus almalaques,
 La tierra y quanto hay en ella.
 Murió este santo anabi,
 Dexando su fama eterna,
 Dia de lunes nombrado,
 Y en aquella noche mesma,
 Lo pusieron en su alcuba
 Con muy grande reverencia,
 A los sesenta y tres años
 De su vida limpia y buena.

¹ رحمة misericordia. ² حور العين Las Huries. ³ الجنة el paraiso.

⁴ الأمة la secta, la nacion. ⁵ بسم ربك ⁶ الدنيا el mundo.

ART. IV.—*Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of King's College, Cambridge.* By EDWARD HENRY PALMER, B.A., Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society; Membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris.

The books in the accompanying list are either in—I. Persian; II. Arabic; III. Hindústání; or IV. Hindí and Hindúí; and they are described in strict alphabetical order under each of those heads.

The following letter gives an account of the way in which the books came into possession of the College:—

King's College, 12th November, 1866.

DEAR MR. PALMER,—The manuscripts, of which you have been good enough to draw up the list, which I trust the Asiatic Society will print, came to us at the end of last century. The donor, Edward Ephraim Pote, was a son of Mr. Pote, of Eton, and was elected a scholar of this College in 1768. He took his degree in 1773, and seems to have entered the Civil Service of the East India Company very soon after that.

In his letter to the College, dated "Patna, 6th February, 1788," he says: ". . . from the time of my arrival in the East I have exerted my utmost endeavours to obtain some Asiatic writings worthy the acceptance of our societies; and have the pleasure to inform you that at length I have acquired a collection of Persian Manuscripts amounting to more than 550 volumes. I propose doing myself the honor of presenting one-half of these books to our College and the other half of them to the College at Eton. . . . I have been disappointed in my hopes of sending you these manuscripts by the ships of this season, yet I cannot restrain my desire of communicating the acquisition I have made . . ."

The collection, contained in eight chests, arrived in England in 1790; and by an agreement made between the Provosts of the two colleges, the chests marked A, B, C, D, were allotted to King's College, and the remaining four were sent to Eton.

A glance at your list will show that the books were arranged roughly in alphabetical order according to their titles, and in that order packed in the chests; so that, with very few exceptions, we have at Cambridge the first half of the alphabet, while those which fall into the latter half may be looked for at Eton.

I only mention these details with a view of showing that the responsibility of this mode of division (which has been the cause of amusement to many persons) does not rest with the donor; and that, therefore, if an examination of the two collections, such as that to which you have subjected ours, should make it appear desirable that some of the volumes might with advantage change places, there could be no possible difficulty in adjusting the matter.

But the most interesting circumstance about the collection is one which is not generally known. The books bought by Mr. Pote evidently formed part of the Oriental library of Colonel Polier, who is known as the first person who brought to Europe a complete copy of the Vedas. His seal, "Major Polier, A.H. 1181," occurs, as you remember, in a large number of the volumes, and his autograph, "Ant. Polier," in several. A full account of Polier and of his family is given by MM. Haag in *La France Protestante*, derived chiefly from information supplied by M. Dumont, the librarian at Lausanne.

Born at Lausanne, in 1741, Polier entered the service of the East India Company at an early age. He won the confidence and respect of Lord Clive and of Warren Hastings; but, through a great portion of his thirty years' stay in India, he was enabled to devote himself to Indian literature, solely by reason of that illiberal spirit of English jealousy which first resented and then cancelled the appointment of a foreigner to a post of military authority.

His biographers mention the fact of his return to Europe in 1789; and they further mention the choice collection of

manuscripts which he brought home: the Vedas, which he presented to the British Museum, and (besides a few others) forty-two volumes of Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit manuscripts which were obtained from his heirs, and are now in the Imperial Library at Paris. No mention, however, is made of the bulk of his library; but putting the facts side by side, there seems no doubt that the collection acquired by Mr. Pote in 1788 contains a large portion of Polier's library as he left it; and as such, as the collection of one of our earliest orientalists, it merits examination.

One advantage of the books having been thus early brought together is apparent; namely, that there are to be found here many small historical pieces which may serve to unravel the intricacies of Indian history during the sixty or seventy years before the rise of the English power, which it is almost hopeless to look for in any other collection. It is from this point of view especially that I hope to see good results arise from the publication of your catalogue. Yours very truly,

HENRY BRADSHAW.

E. H. Palmer, Esq.,
St. John's College.

I. PERSIAN.

40. ابواب الجنان *Abwáb ul Jinán*. The Gates of Paradise. A history of the Shí'a Sect by Moḥammed Rafi'a Vá'iz.
20. احوال بیبی جلیانا *Aḥwál i Bibí Juliáná*. History of Donna Juliáná. See "Histoire de Donna Juliáná," traduite par Edward Henry Palmer (St. John's Coll. Cambridge). *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*. Mai. 1865.
4. احوال راجهای جیپور *Aḥwál i Rájha-e Jaipúr*. Account of the Dynasties of Jaipúr.
18. اخبار الاخيار *Akḥbár ul Akhyár*. News of the Good. A Biographical Dictionary of Mohammedan Saints by Abú Moḥammed 'Abd al Káder.
6. اخبار جهانگیری *Akḥbár i Jahángiri*. Memoirs of Shah Jehangir by Moḥammed Šadík of Dehli.

25. اختيارات بديعي *Ikhtiyārāt i Badī'i*. Badī'i's Selections. A Dictionary of Medicines.
7. اخلاق بادشاهي *Akhlāk i Bādshāhi*. Royal Ethics. A work on Ethics by Sheikh Nihād ul dīn.
15. اخلاق المحسنين *Akhlāk ul Muhsinīn*. Ethics of the Beneficent. By Husain Vā'iz Kāshifi.
19. اخلاق الناصري *Akhlāk ul Nāṣirī*. "Ethics of the Victorious." By Kh'āja Naṣīr ul dīn Moḥammad of Tūs.
45. آداب عالمگیری *Ādāb i 'Ālamgīrī*. 'Ālamgīr's "Etiquette." A treatise on literature and art by Moḥammed Ṣadīq.
1. ارشاد السالكين *Irshādu 'l Sālikīn*. Direction for Novices. A treatise on the origin and doctrines of the Sūfī's by Yūsuf bin Sheikh Moḥammed, surnamed Nujm ul dīn.
203. (Part 2). استخراج التقويم *Istikhraj ul Taqwīm*. Deductions from the Calendar. A Persian version composed for Tippu Sultan.
35. اسرار الولايا *Asrār ul Anliyā*. Secrets of the Saints.
12. اعجاز خسرو *A'jāz i Khosrau*. "Miracles of Khosrau." A treatise on انشاء or letter writing, by Amīr Khosrau of Delhi.
33. اقبال نامه *Ikḥbāl Nāma*. The Book of Prosperity. A history of Shah Jehāngīr by Mo'tamid Khān.
31. (Vol. I.) اکبر نامه *Akbar Nāma*. The Book of Akbar. A history of the first sixteen years of the life of Shāh Akbar while a prince, and of the first eight years of his reign.
31. (Vol. II.) اکبر نامه *Akbar Nāma*. The Book of Akbar. From the 8th to the 15th year of his reign.
31. (Vols. III. and IV.) اکبر نامه *Akbar Nāma*. The Book of Akbar. From the 25th year to the 48th year.
29. ألفاظ ادويه *Alfāẓ i Adwiyeh*. Medicinal expressions. By Amīr al dīn Moḥammed 'Abdullah of Shīrāz.
26. انتخاب روضة الصفا *Intikhāb i Rauzat ul Ṣafā*. Selections from the Rauzat ul Ṣafā. (q.v.)

3. انشاء ابو الفضل *Inshá i 'Abul Fazl*. Epistolary models of Abul Fazl.
202. انشاء امان الله حسيني *Inshá i Amán ullah Husainí*. The Epistolary models of Amánullah Husainí.
36. انشاء مادھو رام *Inshá i Mádho Rám*. Epistolary models of Mádho Rám.
32. انشاء عبد الحی *Inshá i 'Abd ul Haiya*. The Epistolary models of Munshí 'Abd ul Haiya. A beautifully executed MS. in Indian Shikasta writing by the hand of the author.
22. انشاء ملا طغرا *Inshá i Mollá Toghrá*. The Epistolary models of Mollá Toghrá.
17. انشاء ملا منیر *Inshá i Mollá Munír*. The Epistolary models of Mullá Munír.
28. انشاء مولوي جامي *Inshá i Maulavi Jámí*. Epistolary models of Jámí.
44. انشاء ميرزا بيدل *Inshá i Mirzá Bedil*. The Epistolary models of Mirza Abdul Kádir Bedil.
27. انشاء ميرم و عبدالله *Inshá i Mirum va 'Abdullah*. The Epistolary models of Mirum and of Abdullah. Two works on the art of letter writing; the last incomplete.
21. انوار سهيلي *Anwár i Soheili*. "Lights of Canopus." The Persian version of Bidpai's Fables, by Husain Vá'iz Káshifi.
42. آينه بخت *Áina i Bakht*. The Mirror of Fortune. An universal history.
43. انشاء خانزاد خان *Inshá i Khánazád Khán*. Epistolary models of Khánazád Khán.
5. آئين اكبري *Áyin i Akbari*. The Institutes of Akbar. By Abul Fazl.
42. آينه شاهي *Áina i Sháhi*. The Mirror of Royalty. By Mohammed bin Murtazá.
56. برزوي نامه *Barzúyí Náma*. The book of Barzú. Being the Episode of Sohráb and Rustam, from the Sháh Náma of Firdausí.

65. برهان مآثر *Burhán i Madáir*. Evidence of History. History of the Sultans of the Deccan. (A rare work).
47. بهادر شاه نامه *Bahádur Sháh Náma*. The Book of Bahádur Sháh. A history of that monarch by Ni'mat Khán 'Alí. At the end of this volume are several separate works, *Sháh 'Álam Náma*: "Official Instructions;" *Extracts from Abul Fazl*, etc.
49. بهار سخن *Bahár i Sukhan*. The Spring-time of Eloquence. A collection of letters from various Sovereigns.
68. تاج المآثر *Táj ul Madáir*. The Crown of History. A history of the Ghaznavide dynasty.
48. بهار دانش *Bahár i Dánish*. The Spring-time of Wisdom. Tales by 'Ináyat Ullah.
58. بهجت المباهج *Bahjat ul Mubáhij*. "Joy of the Joyous." On the miracles of the Prophet, with an account of the twelve Imáms and of the fourteen Innocents, by Abu Sa'id Ḥasan ibn Ḥusain of the Shí'a sect, surnamed Sabzwári.
65. بیاض نثر *Bayáz i Naṣr*. Album of Prose. Containing extracts from—1. Akhlák i Náṣirí. 2. A series of Fā-ida's, or comments on passages from the Coran. 3. *Kitáb ul Fusús lil Mu'allim*, by Abú Náṣir ul Fazálí.
65. بیاض اشعار *Bayáz i Ash'ár*. Album of Poetry.
97. تاریخ الحكماء *Tárikh ul Ḥukamá*. History of the Sages.
116. تاریخ المعجم في آثار ملوك العجم *Tárikh ul Ma'jam fi dā'iri mulúk il 'Ajam*. The venerable history of the Kings of Persia.
105. تاریخ اعثم كوفي *Tárikh i A'ṣam Kúfi*. History of A'ṣam of Kúfa. A Persian translation of the history of Aḥmed bin A'ṣam of Kúfa, by Aḥmad ul Mustaufi. Vol. I.
- تاريخ اعثم كوفي *Tárikh i A'ṣam Kúfi*. Vol. II. Same as as the preceding.
112. تاریخ الفی *Tárikh i Alfí*. The History of the Thousand years (i.e. from the death of Moḥammed). Two vols.

71. تاریخ دلکشا *Tárikh i díl kushá*. The interesting History. A history of the reign of Aurangzeb by 'Ináyatullah.
313. تاریخ زین الاخبار *Tárikh i Zain ul Akhbár*. See "Zain."
76. تاریخ سیر *Tárikh i Siyar*. Biographical History. A history of Moḥammed by Mu'in ul Miskín, in three parts, viz.: 1. History of the Prophet. 2. Prognostications of him anterior to his birth. 3. Account of his miracles.
109. تاریخ سلاطین دہلی *Tárikh i Saláṭín i Dihlí*. History of the Sultáns of Delhi. (Second Part).
111. تاریخ خان مہابت جنگ *Tárikh i Alláh Vardé Khán Mahábat Jang*. History of Allah Vardí Khán, Nuwáb of Bengal.
77. تاریخ بدایونی *Tárikh i Badáyúni*. Badáyúni's History. i.e. the *Muntakhab ul tawárikh*, by 'Abd ul Káder Mulúk Shah, surnamed Badáyúni.
108. تاریخ بناکتی *Tárikh i Bináketi*. See "Rauzat ulí 'l'albáb."
110. تاریخ ترجمہ ابن خلیفان *Tárikh i Tarjuma i Ibn Khallikán*. See "Tarjuma."
79. تاریخ حضرت موسیٰ *Tárikh i Ḥaẓrat Músd*. History of Moses. By Mu'in ul Miskín.
94. تاریخ شہادت فرخسیر و جلوس محمد شاہ *Tárikh i Shahádat i Ferrokhsir va Julús i Moḥammed Sháh*. History of the martyrdom of Ferokhseer and the accession of Moḥammed Sháh. Two vols. Vols. I. and II.
80. تاریخ شیر شاہ *Tárikh i Shír Sháh*. History of Sher Sháh, by 'Abbás bin Sheikh 'Alí Mardání. Two vols. Vols. 1. and II.
73. تاریخ عالی فی سلك لآلی *Tárikh 'Álī fī silk i ladlí*. The "noble history" in a string of pearls, by Sheikh Moḥammed Sáliḥ.
89. تاریخ قطب شاہی *Tárikh i Kuṭb Sháhi*. History of Kutb Sháh.

102. تاريخ فرشته *Tārīkh i Ferishta*. Ferishta's History. A history of India by Moḥammed Kāsim Hindū Shāh (Ferishta). Vol. I. To the end of the reign of Sultan Kalīm Ullah, the last of the Bahmanī kings of the Dekkan.—Vol. II. From the Bijápūr dynasty (beginning with Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh) to the accounts of the Saints of Hindustān, ending with Sheikh Kabīr ul dīn Ismāīl.
81. تاريخ کشمیر *Tārīkh i Kashmīr*. History of Kashmīr. By Malik Hasan.
114. تاريخ گزیده *Tārīkh i Guzida*. The choice History. By Kāzwīnī.
67. تاريخ محمود شاهي *Tārīkh i Maḥmūd Shāhī*. History of Maḥmūd Shāh.
101. تاريخ نادر شاهي *Tārīkh i Nādir Shāhī*. History of Nādir Shāh. By Moḥammed Mehdī Khān Mīr Munshī of Asterābād.
84. تاريخ همايوني *Tārīkh i Humáyūnī*. History of Humáyūn. By Jauhar Āftābeh.
95. تاريخ وصاف *Tārīkh i Waṣṣāf*. An account of the reign of Halākū Khān, king of Irān, originally written as an appendix to the Jehān Kusha (a history of Genghiz Khān), by 'Abdullah of Shīrāz.
115. تحفة العراقيين *Toḥfat ul 'Irāqain*. A Present from both Irāks. A collection of poems by Khākānī.
82. تحفة المومنين *Toḥfat ul Mūminin*. The Gift of the Faithful. A Medical Treatise, by Mīr Moḥammed Wālid Moḥammed Dailamī. Two vols. Vols. I and II.
119. تحفة الهند *Toḥfat ul Hind*. A Present from India. An account of the languages, customs, religions, etc., of the people of India, written in the time of 'Ālamgīr by order of Prince Mu'izz ul dīn (Jehāndār), by Mīrzā Moḥammed ibn Faḡr ul dīn Moḥammed.
103. تذكرة الابرار والاشرار *Tazkirat ul Abrār mal Ashrār*. Memoirs of the righteous and the iniquitous. By Sheikh Darweza.

75. تذكرة الأولياء *Tazkirat ul Auliya*. Memoirs of the Saints.
A biography of holy men by Ferid ud dín 'Attár.
92. تذكرة الشعراء *Tazkirat ul Sho'arâ*. Memoirs of the Poets.
A brief biographical dictionary of celebrated poets by
Kh'âja Moḥammed of Shîrâz.
106. تذكرة دولتشاهي *Tazkirah i Daulat Shâhî*. Memoirs of
the Poets (*Tazkirat ul Sho'arâ*), by Daulat Shâh.
87. تذكرة سلطان شاه صفا *Tazkirah i Sulṭân Shâh Ṣufâ*. Me-
moirs of Shâh Ṣufâ. A general history of the Saints
of Persia, Asia Minor, and Arabia.
74. تذكرة شيخ محمد علي حزين *Tazkira i Sheikh Moḥammed*
'Alî Ḥazin. Autobiography of that author.
110. ترجمة ابن خلكان *Tarjuma i Ibn Khallikân*. A Persian
version of the biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikân
by Kabîr bin 'Owais bin Moḥammed al Latîfî.
50. ترجمة بېچ گنت *Tarjuma i Bich Ganit*. See Persian
versions of Hindî works.
90. ترجمة نهج البلاغة *Tarjuma i Nehj ul Balâghat*. Transla-
tion of the "Way of Eloquence," by Ibn Kâzî 'Abdul
'Azîz of Mecca. A beautifully executed Naskhi MS.,
having the Arabic text and Persian translation on
alternate pages.
107. ترجمة قانونچي *Tarjuma i Kânûnchî*. See "*Kitâb Kânûnchî*."
250. تشریح الافلاک *Tashrîḥ ul Aflâk*. Analysis of the Firma-
ment. A treatise on Astronomy by Bahâ ul dín.
31. تعريف كشمير *Ta'rîf i Kashmîr*. Eulogy on Kashmîr
(In verse).
103. تفسير حسيني *Tafsîr i Husainî*. A short running Com-
mentary on the Kōrân text, in Persian, by Mullâ
Ḥusain. — Vol. I. From beginning to the end of
سورة الكهف. — Vol. II. From سورة مريم to the end.
88. توزك جهانگیري *Tûzuk i Jehângirî*. Institutes of Jehân-
gîr, by himself. Vol. I.
88. توزك جهانگیري *Tûzuk i Jehângirî*. Another copy, with
introduction, by a later hand. Vol. II.

88. *توزك جهانگیری* *Túzuk i Jehángiri*. A small copy made from the original draft, with notes, in the King's own hand-writing; it extends to the second year of his reign.
96. *توزك بابري* *Túzuk i Báberi*. Institutes of Báber. Autobiography of that monarch.
93. *توزك تیموریة* *Túzuk i Tímúriya*. Institutes of Teimur. Translated from the Turkish by Abú Tálíb ul Húsainí. Vol. I.
93. *توزك تیموریة* *Túzuk i Tímúriya*. Another copy of the preceding. Vol. II.
104. *تیمور نامه* *Tímúr Náma*. The Book of Tímúr. Translated by Abu Tálíb ul Húsainí, author of a practical history of India to the reign of Feroz Sháh.
85. *تیمور نامه* *Tímúr Náma*. The Book of Tímúr. In heroic verse. By Hátifi.
129. *جام جم* *Jám i Jam*. The Cup of Jamshíd. A mystical poem (*masnavi*) by Rukn ul dín Isfahání, surnamed *Auhadí*. (See 362).
129. *جامع عباسی* *Jámi' 'Abbási*. The Collection of 'Abbás. A treatise on the ceremonial law of the Muslims, by Sháh Abbás.
134. *جذب القلوب* *Jazb ul Kulúb*. The Attractor of Hearts. Extracts from the *Wafá ul Wafá* (q. v.) by Sheikh 'Abd ul Hakk. The full title is *Jazb ul Kulúb ila' diyár il Mahbúb*.
235. *جريدة خط نستعلیق* *Jarída i khatt nast'alík*. Slip in Nestalík character. Seventy verses from the Sháh Náma, with portraits of Zál and Pílsam.
139. *جملة حیدری* *Jumla i Hyderi*. The Collection of Hyder. A metrical history of Mohammed.
130. *جواهر الصنای* *Javáhar ul Sand'i*. The Gems of Art. A treatise on the art of cutting, polishing, and setting gems.

132. *جواهر مصام Jarhar i Šamšām*. The edge of the unbending sword. History of India from the invasion of Nadir Shah.
131. *چهار عنصر میرزا بیدل Chehār 'Unšar i Mīrzā Bedil*. The four elements of Mīrzā Bedil. A collection of Fables, etc.
125. *چراغ هدایت Chirāgh i Hiddiyat*. The Lamp of Guidance. A dictionary, by Sirāj al dīn 'Alī Khān, of the poetical expressions in use amongst his contemporaries, forming a sequel to the Sirāj ul loghāt (q.v.)
138. *حبيب السير Ḥabīb ul Siyar*. The Biographer's Friend. Vol. I. Jazv. 1-4. II. Jazv. 1-4. III. Jazv. 1-4. IV. 1-2 of Vol. III. (Supplementary copy).
137. *حیوة لحيوان فارسي Ḥaiyāt ul Ḥaiwān Fārsi*. Animal Life; in Persian. Two vols.
148. *حاشیه میر بر شرح مطالع Ḥāshia i Mīr bar Sharḥ Muṭālī'*. The marginal notes of Mīr Syed Sherif al Jorjānī to the commentary on Sirāj ul dīn's Muṭālī' ul Anwār.
150. *حاشیه میر اکمل بر خیالی Ḥāshia i Mīr Akmal bar Khayālī*. The marginal notes of Mīr Akmal on the commentary of Khayālī (q.v.)
149. *حجة الهند Hujjat ul Hind*. Argument of India. Persian version of the story of Nal and Daman, by 'Omar Mihrābī.
151. *حدیقه حکم ثنائی Ḥadiqa i Ḥakīm Sanā'ī*. "The Garden" of Ḥakīm Sanā'ī. A collection of poems, with prose introductions, on various sufiistical subjects, with a preface and index by 'Abd ul Laṭīf.
157. *خغان نعمت Kh'ān i Ni'mat*. The Tray of Grace. A work on Cookery.
158. *خزائن الفتوح Khazāin ul Futūḥ*. The Treasures of Victory. A work on the metres of poetry by Amīr Khosrau of Delhi.
156. *خلاصة التواريخ Khalāṣat ul Tawārīkh*. Abstract of Histories. By Sanjān Rāi Mūnshī.

152. *خمسہ گنجوی Khamsa i Ganjaví.* The Five Poems of Nizámí. *Makhzan ul Asrár.* Treasury of Secrets.—2. *Khosrau va Shirín.* The loves of Khosrau and Shirín.—3. *Leilí va Majnún.* The loves of Leilí and Majnún.—4. *Haft Paikar.* The seven shapes.—5. *Sikandar náma.* Book of Alexander, containing both the *Ikbál náma* and the *Sherif náma.*
153. *خمسہ امیر خسرو Khamsa i Amir Khosrau.* The five poems of Amír Khosrau. 1. *Maṭla' ul Anwár.* The Dawn of Lights.—2. *Khosrau va Shirín.* The loves of Khosrau and Shirín.—3. *Hasht Behisht.* The eight Paradises.—4. *Leilí va Majnún.* The loves of Leilí and Majnún.—5. *Átna i Sikandart.* The Mirror of Alexander.
154. *خلاصۃ الخمسة لنظامي الكنجوي Khulāṣat ul Khamsa li Nizámí al Ganjaví.* Abstract of the five poems of Nizámí.
155. *خلاصۃ الاخبار Khulāṣat ul Akhbár.* Abstract of History. History of the world, but chiefly of Persia, to the invasion of Teimur.
182. *دانش آرا Dánish Árá.* The Adorner of Wisdom. A collection of Fables, etc., in prose and verse.
187. *دانش نامه جهان Dánish Náma i Jehán.* The World's Wisdom Book. A Treatise on Natural Philosophy.
184. *دُرّة التاج Durrat ul Táḡ.* The Pearl of the Diadem. A course of scientific instruction by Mahmúd bin Musliḥ of Shíráz, containing—1. Religion. 2. Mathematics. 3. Astronomy and Astrology.
162. *دستور العمل Dastúr ul 'Amal.* Official Instructions. By Rajah Ṭoṛal Mal.
185. *ده مجلس Dah Majlis.* The Ten Assemblies. An account of the twelve Imáms after the death of Moḥammed.
175. *ديوان انوري Diván i Anvarí.* The Díván of Anwarí. 1. *Kassidas.* 2 and 3. Ghazals.
179. *ديوان آهي Diván i Áhí.* The Díván of Áhí.
173. *ديوان جلال اسير Diván i Jalál Asír.* The Díván of Jalál Asír of Isfahán.

159. دیوان حافظ *Diván i Ḥáfiẓ*. The *Diván* of Kh'ája Ḥáfiẓ of Shíráz.
167. دیوان خاقانی *Diván i Kháqání*. The *Diván* of Kháqání.
163. دیوان سلیم *Diván i Salím*. The *Diván* of Salím. 1. *Kassidas* in praise of the Imáms. 2. 3. A *Maṣnaví* in praise of Sháh Jehán. 4. A *Diván* of Ghazals. 5. *Rubá'is*.
161. (Part 1). دیوان شاهی *Diván i Sháhi*. The *Diván* of Aghá Málík, Sháhi.
176. (Part 2). دیوان شفیعی *Diván i Shafi'i*. The *Diván* of Maulaví Akhend Shafi'i, *Athár*, of Shiraz.
170. دیوان صایب *Diván i Sáib*. The *Diván* of Sáib. Commonly known as *Muntakhab i Diván i Sáib*.
172. دیوان طالب آملی *Diván Tálib Ámulí*. The *Diván* of Tálib Ámulí. 1. *Kassida* in praise of Jehángír. 2. Ghazals and *Rubá'is*.
160. دیوان و تصاید عرفی *Diván o Kaṣáid 'Orfí*. The *Diván* and *Kassidas* of Orfí.
188. دیوان غزلیات *Diván i Ghazalíát*. *Diván* of Ghazals. By Moḥammed 'Alí Ḥazín. Forming Vol. II. of the *Kullíát*, pp. 95-559. (See 124).
177. دیوان غانی *Diván i Ghání*. The *Diván* of Ghání. By Moḥammed Ṭáhir Ghání. Miscellaneous Poems and Chronograms.
171. دیوان کمال اسماعیل اصفهانی *Diván i Kamál Ismá'il Isfahání*. The *Diván* of Kamál Ismá'il of Isfáhán.
178. دیوان معز فطرت *Diván i Mo'izz (Fitrat)*. The *Diván* of Mír Mo'izz, surnamed Fitrat. 1. *Kassida* and *Maṣnaví*. 2. Ghazals.
169. دیوان میرزا محمد بخش *Diván i Mírzá Moḥammed Bakhsh*. *Diván* of Mírzá Moḥammed, *Bakhsh*.
166. دیوان میرزا مظهر *Diván i Mírzá Muẓahhar*. The *Diván* of Mírzá Muẓahhar.
165. دیوان نظیری *Diván i Nazírí*. The *Diván* of Nazírí. By Moḥammed Ḥussain, Nazírí.

161. (Part 3). دیوان نعيم *Diván i Na'im*. The *Diván* of Na'im.
186. دیوان هلالی *Diván i Hilálí*. The *Diván* of Hilálí.'
181. دیوان یوسف بیگ شاملی *Diván i Yúsuf Bey Shámilí*. The *Diván* of Yúsuf Bey Shámilí.
189. ذخيرة الملوك *Zakhirat ul Mulúk*. The Storehouse of Kings. A treatise on the moral and political obligations of Sovereigns, by 'Alí bú Shiháb al Hamadání.
195. راجا ولی *Rájávalí*. The *Rájávalí*. A chronological account of the Kings of India.
195. رگ درین در علم موسیقی *Rág darpan dar 'Ilm i Músiqí*. The *Rág Darpan*. A treatise on Hindú Music, by Fakír Allah.
197. رماین بال میک *Ramáyana Bál Mík*. The *Rámáyana* of Vél Mík. A prose version in Persian, including the *Uttara Kánda*.
199. رساله خواص حیوانات *Risála i Kharwáṣ i Haimúnát*. Treatise on the peculiarities of animals, by Moḥammed 'Alí Hazín.
201. رساله خمس *Risála i Khams*. Five Treatises. 1. On praising God in prefaces. 2. 3. On the *Diván* of Sa'dí, called "catechetical treatise," *savál o javáb*. 4. 5. *Naṣīhat*, wholesome advice.
207. رساله عروض *Risála i 'Arúṣ*. Treatise on Prosody. By Saifi.
211. رساله كنز التحف *Risála i Kunz ul Tuḥuf*. The treatise "Treasury of Gifts." On Moḥammedan Music. By Naṣír al dín Túsí.
204. رساله محمد شاه مع ذكر خاندوران *Risála Moḥammed Sháh ma' Zikr i Khándúrán*. Epistle of Moḥammed Sháh, with a Memoir of Khándúrán. Contents: From the Invasion of Teimúr to Ferokhsír; account of the Lieutenancy of Sháh Jehánábád and occupation of Ját; account of Khándúrán and his ancestors; account of Moḥammed Sháh until the coming of Nádír Sháh and his return; memoir of Sa'dat Khán; of the death and funeral of Khándúrán.

200. رسالة معینة *Risāla i Mu'ayyina*. See *Risāla i Hai-āt*.
200. رسالة هیات *Risāla i Hai-āt*. Treatise on Astronomy. Translated from the original Arabic, entitled *Tezkira*, by Shams ul dīn, for the use of Shāh Mu'ain, and called *Mo'ayyina*, in honour of that monarch.
206. رساله هیات *Risāla i Hai-āt*. Treatise on Astronomy, by Mullá 'Alī Kúshchí.
205. رقايم كرايم *Raḳá-im i Kará-im*. The Noble Writings. Letters of 'Ālamgír, edited from his own dictation.
208. رقعات ابراهيم *Ruḳ'āt i Ibráhīm*. Letters of Ibráhīm on various subjects.
202. رقعات امان الله حسيني *Ruḳ'āt i Amán Allah Husaini*. See *Inshái Amán Allah Husaini*.
199. رقعات عنایت خان *Ruḳ'āt i 'Indáyat Khán*. The Letters of 'Ináyat Khán.
210. روضة الانوار *Rauzat ul Annár*. The Meadow of Light. A Manṣavi, by 'Orfí.
192. (Vols. I. to VII.) روضة الصفا *Rauzat ul Ṣafá*. The celebrated history entitled the Meadow of Purity. Six vols. Vol. VII. is a duplicate of Vol. VI.
192. (Vols. I. and II.) روضة الاحباب *Rauzat ul Ahbáb*. The Meadow of the Friends. History of Moḥammed and his Companions, in two vols., by Jamál ul dīn.
108. روضة الوالالباب *Rauzat ulí l Albáb*. The Meadow of the Intelligent. A historical work, by Bináketí.
216. زاد المسافرين *Zád ul Musáfirín*. Provision for Travelers. A work on Philosophy.
215. زبدة اللغات *Zubdat ul Loghát*. The Cream of Dictionaries. An Arabic-Persian Dictionary, by Moḥammed bin Husain al Sabzwárí.
212. زيج محمد شاهي *Zich i Moḥammed Sháhí*. Moḥammed Sháh's Tables. Astronomical Tables, compiled for that Sovereign, by Mahárájah Jay Singh Siwái.

214. *زيج الوغبيغي* *Zich i Ulughbegi*. Astronomical Tables, Compiled by Sultán Ulugh Bey, son of Tímúr, and king of Khorassan.
213. *زين الاخبار* *Zain ul Akhbár*. The Ornament of History. By Abu Sa'id ibn 'Abd al Haiya ibn al Zohhák ibn Maḥmúd al Kurdezi.
217. *سراير* *Sirr i Akbar*. The Mighty Secret. A translation of the Upanikhats (Upanishads), by Moḥammed Dára Shikoh; an abstract of the four Vedas.
223. *سراج الساجراج* *Sirdj ul Istikhráj*. The Lamp of Deduction. A compendious handbook to the use of the Calendar, by Feríd, astronomer, of Delhi.
125. *سراج اللغات* *Sirdj ul Loghát*. Lamp of Dictionaries. Vol. II.) See *Chiragh i Hidayat*.
14. (Part 2). *سوال جواب دارا بابا لال* *Sumál Jawáb i Dára bá Bába Lál*. The questions and answers of Darius and Bába Lál, by Abul Fazl.
219. *سياسة وسير الملوك* *Siyásat u Siyar ul Mulúk*. The government and character of Kings. A Treatise on the Art of Government, by Nizám ul Mulk.
253. *نام جهان شاه* *Sháh Jehán Náma i Tálíb Kalím*. A metrical history of Sháh Jehán, by Abu Tálíb, *Kalím* of Hamadán.
252. *شاه جهان نام* *Sháh Jahán Náma*. A prose history of Sháh Jehán, by Moḥammed Šálih, Kambo.
238. *شاه نام شاه اسماعيل* *Sháh Náma i Sháh Ismá'il*. The "Book of Kings." A metrical history of Sháh Ismá'il, the first of the Šúfi Sháhs of Persia, composed in imitation of Firdausi's Sháh-náma.
256. (Vols. I. and II.) *شبستان خيال* *Shabistán i Khiyál*. The "Night-room" of Reflection. A volume of witticisms and pithy sayings upon moral and religious duties, philosophy, etc. Vol. II. is a duplicate of Vol. I., and is called *Shabistán dar Nikát o Khiyál*.

251. شرح تهذيب المنطق *Sharḥ Tahzīb ul Mantīq*. Commentary on the "Refinement of Logic," by Toftazānī. In Persian, by Mīr Jamāl ul dīn al Shahrīstānī.
233. شرح زيج الغيبي *Sharḥ i Zīch i Ulughbegī*. Commentary on the Astronomical Tables of Ulughbeg, by 'Abd ul 'Alī bin Moḥammed Husain Barjandī.
250. (Part II.) شرح جهموني *Sharḥ Jughmīnī*. The Commentary of Moḥammed Mūsā on the *Mulakhkhas fil Haiāt* of Maḥmūd ul Jughmūnī (or Jagmīnī). (A treatise on Astronomy).
245. شرح هداية فارسي *Sharḥ i Hidayā Fārsī*. Persian Commentary on the *Hidayā*. Comment of 'Abd ul Ḥakḥ Sijadil Sāri Hindī on the *Hidayeh Sharḥ Beday'*, a work on Jurisprudence, originally written as a comment on the *Beday'* of Burhān ul dīn 'Alī Marghinānī, which last work is now obsolete.
247. شرح مطالع *Sharḥ i Muṭālī'*. Commentary on the *Muṭālī'* ul Anwār ("dawn of lights"). The *Muṭālī'* ul Anwār is a celebrated work on Philosophy, divided into two parts: (i) Logic; (ii) 4 divisions on various branches of Philosophy. The present commentary is on that part only which relates to Logic.
241. شرح مشنوي مولوي روم *Sharḥ i Maṣnavī Maulavī Rūm*. Commentary on the *Maṣnavī* of Maulavī Rūmī, by Mīr Moḥammed Rizā.
226. شرح وقایه فارسي *Sharḥ Waqāya Fārsī*. Persian Commentary on the *Wakāya* (a work on Jurisprudence), by 'Abd ul Ḥakḥ Sijadil Sāri Hindī.
257. شیرین خسرو نظامی *Shirīn Khosrū i Nizāmī*. The loves of Shirīn and Khosrū. A celebrated *Maṣnavī* by Nizāmī.
176. قصاید رکن الدین *Kaṣā'id i Rukn ul Dīn*. The *Kassidas* of Rukn ul Dīn, surnamed Auhadī.
100. (Vols. I. and II.) كتاب تسيير البخاري في شرح صحيح البخاري *Kitāb Tasyīr al Bokhārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ ul Bokhārī*. "Incentive to Bokhārī." A commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ ul Bokhārī*, by Nūr ul Ḥakḥ bin 'Abd ul Ḥakḥ of Delhi. The two vols. form rather more than half of the entire work.

107. كتاب قابونچي *Kitáb i Kánunchi*. The Little Canon.
An abridgement, in Persian, of the Canon of Avicenna.
123. مثنوي در زبان تركي *Maṣnavi dar Zabán i Turkí*. A
Maṣnaví in the Turkish language.
122. مثنوي طغرلي *Maṣnaví e Toghrá*. The Maṣnaví of Toghrá.
120. مثنوي غنيمۃ گنجاهي *Maṣnaví i Ghanímut Ganjáhi*,
See *Nairang i 'Ishk*.
121. مثنوي مولوي روم *Maṣnaví Maulávi Rúm*. The Maṣnaví
of Maulávi Rúm. Vol I. containing three daftars.
(The complete work is in two vols. six daftars).
124. مثنويات منجمۃ علي حزين *Maṣnavíát Munjamala i 'Alí Hazín*. The collected Maṣnavies of 'Alí Hazín. This
is one of four vols., and contains all the Maṣnavies;
for the Ghazals, see 188. It is the fourth volume of
the Kulliyát (or collected works), viz., pp. 648-772.
209. كتاب رياض الانشا *Kitáb Riyáz ul Inshá*. The book of
the Meadows of Epistolary Composition, by Maḥmúd
bin Sheikh Moḥammed ul Kilání.
77. منتخب التواريخ *Muntakhab ul Tawárikh*. See *Tárikh i*
Badáyúní.
81. منظوم تعريف كشمير *Manẓúm i Ta'rif i Kashmír*. See
Ta'rif i Kashmír.
203. مجموع احكام النجوم *Majmú' Ahkám ul Nujúm*. Collec-
tion of the Rules of the Stars. Treatise on Astronomy,
by Yahyá bin 'Alí al Maghrebi (al Andalúsi).
205. (Part 2). كلمات طيبات *Kalimát i Tayyibát*. Excellent
sayings, by 'Álamgír I., compared word for word with
his own dictation.
195. (Part 2). نشاط آرا *Nishát Árá*. Adornment of Joy.
A Treatise on Music.
88. ملفوظ جهانگيري *Malfúz i Jehángiri*. Dicta Jehángiri.
See *Tozak i Jehángiri*.
- 118 (119). نفحة الانس *Nufhat ul Uns*. The Odours of Friend-
ship. A Biographical Dictionary, by Jámí.

120. نيرنگ عشق *Nairang i 'Ishk*. The Magic of Love. The loves of Sháhíid and 'Azíz, by Mohámméd Akram "Ghanímat," of Ganjá.

II. ARABIC.

11. آثار البلاد *Áṣār al Bulád*. "Vestiges of Towns." A geographical work by Zacharya bin Muḥammad al Kazwíní.
24. آداب المتعلمين *Ádáb ul Muta'allimín*. "Etiquette for Students."
38. (Part 2). آداب باقيه *Ádáb i Bákiéh*. A Philosophical Treatise on the art of disputation, by 'Abd ul Báqí.
16. احكام الدين *Aḥkám al dín*. Precepts of Religion.
203. احكام النجوم *Aḥkám al Nujúm*. "Rules of the Stars." An Astronomical Treatise, by Yahyá al Mogribí. It is called in the preface كيفية الحكم علي تحاويل سني العالم "Particulars of the Rules, upon the alterations of the years of the universe." See No. 193.
30. احكام النجوم *Aḥkám al Nujúm*. "Rules of the Stars." An Astronomical Treatise, by Abu 'l Ḥassan of Kúfa.
23. احياء علوم الدين *Aḥyá e 'Uḥím il dín*. "Reviver of Religious Knowledge." A work comprising the entire system of Mohámmédan Theology. After the last of the four parts into which the book is divided, is the شرح عجائب القلب a comment on the third part.
2. اخوان الصفاء *Iḥwán ul Safá*. "The Brothers of Purity." A celebrated Philosophical Romance.
41. اشرف الوسائل الي فهم الشمايل *Ashraf ul Wasáyl ilá Fahm il Shamáyil*. The noblest of means towards understanding good qualities, by Ibn Hajríl.
46. اطباق الذهب *Aṭbák ul Zahab*. "Plates of Gold." By 'Abd ul Múmin bin Maḥmúd, commonly known as al Azaghání (Western).

9. اعراض و جواهر *A'ráz wa Jamáhir*. "Properties and Substances." A commentary on the philosophical work called *Mawákif ul Kalám*, or "Stations of Metaphysics," by Ḥomaidí.
39. اعلام الاخيار *A'lám ul Akhyár*. "Marks of the Good." An account of the Saints of the Sect of No'mán, by Kázi Maḥmúd bin Sulaimán of Kúfa.
34. ائق مبین *Ufq Mubín*. "The Perspicuous Region." A treatise on the Muslim faith, by Mír Bákir Damád.
13. اكر ثاودوسوس *Ukarr Tháúdusiús*. The Spherics of Theodosius. Translated into Arabic by Costa ibn Lúká of Ba'lbeq, by order of Abu 'l 'Abbás, son of Mo'tasim Billah.
70. انوار شرح مصباح *Anwár Sharḥ Mişbáh*. "Lights." A commentary on the *Mişbáh*, by Kh'ája Baksh Wálid Moḥammed Rizá.
70. انوار التنزيل واسرار التاويل *Anwár ul Tenzil wa Asrár ul Táwil*. The celebrated commentary on the Kōran, by Beidháwí. The Ḥáshía, or marginal comment, here consists of the Kashsháf, Zamakhsharí's Commentary on the Kōran.
8. ايماضات *Imázát*. "Flashes." This work, though mentioned amongst the contents of No. 8, is now missing.
51. بحر الجواهر *Baḥr ul Jamáhir*. "The Sea of Jewels." A Treatise on Medicine, by Moḥammed Yúsuf.
53. بدايع الخلق *Badd'i ul Khalk*. "Wonders of Creation." An account of the Creation, and various Muslim traditions.
59. بستان ابي الليث *Bustán Abi 'l Laith*. The "Garden." By Abu Laith. A work on Moḥammedan Jurisprudence.
- 65 (1). بياض مرثيه *Bayáz i Marthia*. "Elegiac Album." Elegiac verses in Arabic, Persian, and Hindústání. At the commencement is a *Khutba* (sermon in praise of the twelve Imáms), founded on the *Surat el Raḥmán*.

140. حاشیه تفسیر کشف *Hāshia Tafsiri Kashsháf*. A *Hāshia* or marginal commentary upon the *Kashsháf* of Zamakhsharí, by Sa'ad ul dín Toftazání.
146. حاشیه حلبی بر مطول *Hāshia i Halebi bar Muṭawwal*. The marginal comment of Halebi on the *Muṭawwal* of Mullá Sa'ad ul dín Toftazání.
147. حاشیه خیالی *Hāshia Khiyáli*. The marginal commentary of Khiyáli upon the commentary of Jārburdí on the *Kashsháf*.
140. حاشیه شرح ملا *Hāshia Sharḥ Mullá*. The marginal commentary of Hāfiẓ Sultán Moḥammed on the *Sharḥ* Mullá of Jámí.
141. حاشیه عبد الغفور بر شرح ملا *Hāshia i 'Abd ul Ghafūr bar Sharḥ Mullá*. The marginal comment of 'Abd ul Ghafūr upon the *Sharḥ* Mullá, i.e. Jámí's commentary on the *Kāfia* (sometimes called *Shāfia*) of Ibn ul Hājib, a treatise on Arabic grammar.
142. حاشیه ملا میرزا جان بر حکمة العين *Hāshia i Mullá Mirzá Ján bar Hikmat ul 'Ain*. The marginal comment of Mullá Mirzá Ján of Shíráz on the philosophical work called *Hikmat ul 'Ain*.
144. حصامي في اصول الشرع *Hiṣṣámí fi Uṣúl il Shar'*. The treatise of Hiṣṣámí on the Principles of Law, by Hiṣṣám ul Dín. In places it is filled up with a *Hāshia* and interlinear commentary.
145. حلبه الكميت *Halbat ul Kumait*. The Course of Wine.¹ A treatise on the use of wine, with the opinions of various poets, etc., on the subject, by Shams ul Dín and Jamál ul Dín ul Nuwáhí.
136. (Vol. I.) حياة الحيوان *Haiyát ul Haimán*. The Life of Animals. A Natural History, by Al Damírí.
137. (Vol. II.) حياة الحيوان *Haiyát ul Haimán*. The Life of Animals.

¹ The word *Kumait* means both "a dark-bay horse" and "wine."

183. داود حاشیه *Daūd Ḥāshīa*. The "David" Marginal Notes. A commentary on the Risālet ul Shamsiā.
190. ذخيرة الفقه *Dhakhīrat ul Fikḥ*. The Storehouse of Jurisprudence. Second half.
203. رسالة ابو معشر بلخي *Risālat Abū Mo'shar Balkhī*. The treatise of Abū Mo'shar of Balkh. See *Majmū' Aḥkām ul Nujūm*.
249. رسالة من علاقه شرح سلم *Risālah min 'Allāḩa Sharḥ Sullam*, Treatise in connection with the Sharḥ Sullam, by Kawām ul Dīn.
220. شرح زينجاني *Sa'adiya Sharḥ Zinjānī*. The commentary entitled the *Sa'adiya* (Happy) on the *Taṣrīf*, a work on Arabic grammar by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd ul Wahhāb ul Zinjānī, by Mas'ūd bin 'Umar ul Toftazānī.
222. سمر الفلاسفة *Samr ul Filāsafa*. The Philosophers' Nights' Entertainments. An account of the Philosophy and Philosophers of Greece.
242. شرح ابیات مطول *Sharḥ i Abyāt i Muṭawwal*. Comment on the distiches of Toftazānī's *Muṭawwal* (i.e. a poem composed in the metre *ṭawīl*), by Ḥussain bin Shihāb ul dīn, the Syrian.
232. شرح ارجوزه *Sharḥ i Arjūza*. Comment on the *Arjūza* (i.e. a poem in the metre *rejez*) of Abu Sa'id Moḥammed bin Aḥmad bin Rashīd. The commentary is divided into two parts, corresponding to the division of the poem, viz., الجزء العلمي *Al Juz'ul 'Ilmī*, the Theoretical Part. الجزء العملي *Al juz'ul 'Amalī*, the Practical Part.
243. شرح ارشاد النحو *Sharḥ Irshād ul Naḩw*. Commentary on the "Guide to Syntax," by Shihāb ul dīn, of Daulatābād.
227. شرح اشباه و نظائر *Sharḥ Ashbāḥ wa Naẓāir*. Commentary upon the "Likes and Equals" of Zain ul Nujm, a work on the doctrines of the Hanīfite Sect.

250. (Part 1). شرح اشكال التاميس *Sharḥ Ashkāl il Ta-sīs*. Commentary on the "Fundamental Forms" of Shams ul dīn of Samarcand, a work on *hindasa* (or geometry).
231. شرح اشارات نصرالدين طوسي *Sharḥ Ishārāt i Naṣr ul dīn Ṭūsī*. Commentary on the *Ishārāt* (Hints) of Naṣr ul dīn, of Tūs; a work on Logic.
133. شرح الكافية *Sharḥ ul Kāfiya*. Commentary on the *Kāfiya* (an Arabic Grammar, by Ibn ul Ḥājib), by Aḥmad bin ul Imām Assa'id ul Ḥasan ul Jārburdī.
234. شرح تجريد *Sharḥ Tajrīd*. Commentary on the *Tajrīd ul 'Akāid*, by Mullā 'Alī Kūshijī.
229. شرح حصن حصين *Sharḥ Ḥiṣn Ḥuṣṣain*. Commentary on the "Fort of Forts," a work on the religious duties of Mussulmans, by Moḥammed ul Jazīrī of Mesopotamia, by the author of the work.
236. شرح حكمة العين *Sharḥ Ḥikmat ul 'Ain*. Commentary on the *Ḥikmat ul 'Ain*.
237. (Vol. I.) شرح سديد شرح موجز *Sharḥ Sadīdī Sharḥ Mūjiz*. Commentary of Sadīd ul dīn Gazerūnī on the *Mūjiz ul Kānūn fil tibb* (epitome of the Canons of Medical Science), 'Alā ad dīn Abū 'l Ḥāzin Kuraishī.
237. (Vol. II.) شرح سديد *Sharḥ Sadīd*. The commentary of Sadīd ul dīn Gazerūnī on the *Mūjiz el Kānūn*.
249. (Part 1). شرح سلم *Sharḥ Sullam*. The commentary entitled *Ma'raj ul 'Ilm* (Ladder of Learning) on the *Sullam ul 'Ulūm* (Stairs of Science) of Moḥibb Allah Allahābādī. A treatise on Logic.
225. شرح عيون الحكمة *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al Ḥikmat*. The commentary of Abū 'Abdallah Moḥammed bin 'Omr bin Ḥusain of Shīrāz upon the "Sources of Wisdom," a treatise on medicine.
248. (Vol. I.) شرح قانون *Sharḥ Kānūn*. The commentary of Mullā Sadīd on the first volume of the Canon of Avicenna. See 237.

248. (Vol. II.) شرح قانون *Sharḥ Kānūn*. The commentary of Mullá Sadíd on the second volume of the Canon of Avicenna.
248. (Vol. III.) شرح قانون *Sharḥ Kānūn*. The commentary of Mullá Sadíd on the fourth volume of the Canon of Avicenna.
228. شرح كليات قانون *Sharḥ Kulliyát Kānūn*. The commentary on the *Kulliyát Kānūn* (Summary of the Laws), a work on Jurisprudence, by Mullá Moḥammed of Shíráz, by Kutb ul dín.
230. شرح ملا *Sharḥ Mullá*. The commentary of Mullá Jámí on the *Káfia* of Ibn Hájib. See *Háshia*.
235. شرح مواقف *Sharḥ Mawákif*. Commentary on the *Mawákif ul Kalám*, a celebrated work on Metaphysics, by Sa'id Sheríf Abu Ḥasan 'Alí ul Jorjání.
246. شرح نهج البلاغة *Sharḥ Nahj al Balághat*. Commentary on the "Road to Eloquence," a work on Theology, by Murtazá 'Alí, by Farḥ Allah, of Shíráz.
244. شرح وقايه عربي *Sharḥ Wakáya 'Arabí*. Arabic commentary on the *Wakáya* (see 226), by 'Abd Ullah bin Mas'úd bin Táj al Sháriḥ.
255. شواهد الربوبية *Shawáhid al Rubúbiyeh*. Evidences of Supreme Divinity. A treatise on Theology, by Moḥammed Šadr ul dín, of Shíráz.
254. شواهد النبوة *Shawáhid al Nabúwat*. Evidences of the Prophetic office, by Maulaví Jámí.
8. (Part.) صراط المستقيم *Širát al Mustakím*. The Way of the Upright. A work on the Calendar, by Moḥammed Bákir Dámád.
98. كتاب الضعفا والواعظين *Kitáb al Zu'afá wal Wá'izín*. The book of the Weak and the Preachers. An alphabetical list of authorities for the traditions, by 'Abd ul Raḥmán Júzí.
144. كتاب حصامي *Kitáb i Hişşámí*. See *Hişşámí*.

203. (Part 2.) كتاب سني العالم *Kitáb Saní ul 'Álam*. Years of the Universe. A work on Astronomy, by Yahyá al Mughribí.
37. (Part 2.) كتاب ضياء القلب *Kitáb Ziyá al Kalb*. The Light of the Heart.
249. (Part I.) معراج العلوم *Ma'raj al 'Ulúm*. The Stairs of Science. See *Sharh Sullam*.
8. (Part I.) نسخة التقريمات *Nuskhat al Taqrímat*. The Model Almanack, by Mír Mohámmad Bákir Dámád.
99. وفا الوفا باخبار دار المصطفى *Wafá ul Wafá bi Akhbár i dár al Muṣṭafá*. "Payment of a just tribute to the abode of the chosen apostle." History of Medína.

III. PERSIAN VERSIONS OF HINDÚ WORKS.

14. (Part 4.) ارجن گیتا *Arjun Gítá*. The Song of Arjuna, translated from the Sanskrit, by Abul Fazl.
61. بدايع العقول *Badá'i ul 'Okúl*. The Wonders of Wit. A Persian translation of the story of Vikramáditya.
62. (Vol. I.) بهاكوت نثر فارسي *Bhágavat i Naṣr i Fársi*. The Bhágavat, in Persian prose. Vol I.
62. (Vol. II.) بهاكوت نثر فارسي *Bhágavat i Naṣr i Fársi*. The Bhágavat, in Persian prose. Vol. II.
50. بیچگنت در علم حساب *Bichganit dar 'Ilm i Hisáb*. Persian version of the Bichganit of the Lílávati, a work on Arithmetic.
66. بیكت چنتامان *Bekat i Chintámani*. A Persian version of the "Bekat" of Chintámani.
28. جوگت باششت *Jog Báshisht*. A Persian version of the Yoga Vásishta.
221. سنگھاسن بتیسی *Singhásan Battisi*. The Singhásan Battisi, or Thirty-two Histories of a Throne. Translated from the Hindúí, being the Story of Rájah Vikramáditya.

IV. HINDÍ AND HINDÚÍ IN THE PERSIAN CHARACTER.

57. بهاكوت بهوتی *Bhágavat Bhúpatí*. The Bhágavat of Bhupatí, or Bhú Dev, in Hindí verse.
54. بهاكوت تورمال *Bhágavat Torāmal*. The Bhágavat of Rájah Torāmal or Todramal.
52. بهاكوت دیا رام *Bhágavat Dayá Rám*. The Bhágavat of Dayá Rám.
55. پدموات بهاکھا *Padmāvat Bhákhá*. The *Padmāvat*, a favourite Indian Legend, in the Brij Bháshá dialect.
53. پروده ناکت *Prabodh Nātak*. The Consolatory Comedy by Nand dās नन्ददास.
60. (Part 1.) پوٹھی بهاتی *Poṭhí Bhávatí*. By Daghrán (? Dulhá) Rám.
60. (Part 2.) پوٹھی چتراواتی *Poṭhí Chitrāvatí*. By Fāzil 'Alí.
196. رامین تلسیداس *Ramáyana Tulsí dás*. The Ramáyana, in Hindúí, by Tulsídás. First volume only, containing the first book, viz., the *Bála Kanda*.
- 14 (2). رام گیتا *Rám Gítá*. The Song of Ráma, by Walí Rám.
60. (Part 3.) ست سیا *Sat Sayá*. The 700 Dohas, by Bihárí.
224. سندر سنگار *Sundar Singár*. The Ornament of Love. A Hindúí Poem.
219. سہسررس *Sahasr-ras*. The Thousand Delights. A collection of Hindí Songs, compiled for Sháh Jehán by Náyak Bakhshí; with a preface in Persian.
60. (Part 4.) فاضل علی پرکاش *Fāzil 'Alí Prakásha*. History of Fāzil 'Alí, by Sukhdev, surnamed Kabi Ráj.
14. (Part 1.) گیان پوٹھی *Giyán Poṭhí*. The Volume of Knowledge. A Poem, by Walí Rám.
14. (Part 3.) مصباح الہدی *Miṣbāḥ al Hudá*. "The Lamp of Guidance," by Walí Rám.

URDÚ.

80. دیوان آبرو *Diván i Ábrú*. The Diván of Shaikh Najm ul
dín 'Alí Khán, Sháh Mubárak, *Ábrú*.
168. (Part 2). دیوان سودا *Diván i Saúdá*. Selections from the
Diván of Saudá.
274. دیوان میر تقی *Diván i Mír Takí*. The Diván of Mír
Takí.
164. دیوان ولی *Diván i Valí*. The Diván of Walí.
168. دیوان یقین *Diván i Yakín*. The Diván of Yakín.
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ART. V.—*Description of the Amravati Tope in Guntur.* By
J. FERGUSON, Esq., F.R.S.

HITHERTO our knowledge of ancient Buddhist architecture in India has been derived mainly from the rock cut examples. These, though most valuable for the purpose, from their number and immutability, have the defect of being all interiors, and we obtain little or no knowledge from them of what the external appearance may have been of the structural buildings which they represent. It is doubtful whether we ever shall know, in so far as the Vihâras or monasteries are concerned. These seem, like those of Burmah at the present day, to have been principally constructed of wood, and have perished by fire or decay; but our knowledge of the Topes or Sthûpas is daily extending, and we may hope soon to understand them and their arrangements with tolerable completeness.

One of the most valuable contributions towards this end was the publication by General A. Cunningham, in 1854, of his volume on the Bhilsa Topes: these being, so far as is now known, the oldest and most extensive group in India. Next in importance to them are the Topes at Manikyala, combined with those around Jelalabad. Of this group our knowledge is less complete; but those at Jamâlgiri¹ and Takht i Bashai² are certainly anterior to the Christian era, and strongly impregnated with the feelings of Greek, or rather Bactrian, art. The great Tope at Manikyala itself took its present form apparently about the seventh century, and is therefore beyond the limits of our present inquiry.

Of the Magadha Topes, that at Sarnath is now almost the

¹ The sculptures from this place were deposited by Mr. Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, in the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, and unfortunately perished in the fire there in December last. Imperfect representations of them will be found in the Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, November, 1852. These are so badly done as to be of little use as a means of comparison, which is to be regretted in this instance, as their similarity to some of those found at Amravati is most striking.

² These sculptures are deposited in the Lahore Museum. Photographs of them were kindly furnished to me by Donald Macnabb, Esq., Beng. C. S.

only representative, and it is more modern than the last named. Besides this there is one small tower-like fragment in the Giryek hill, in Behar, but of what age or what form is by no means clear.

The only other important group in India is that which forms the subject of the present paper. It is found at a place called Amravati, or more correctly Amarāvati, on the river Kistnah, about sixty miles from its mouth. It has only been as yet imperfectly explored, but from what we now know of it, there can be no hesitation in asserting that its sculptured details are more extensive and more interesting than those of any other Buddhist monuments in India, and of a higher class of art than has yet been found anywhere else.

The principal Tope at this place first attracted the attention of Colonel Mackenzie when on a tour of duty in the district in the year 1797. It seems that some two or three years previous to his visit the Rajah of Chintapilly, attracted by the sanctity of a temple dedicated to Śiva, under the title of Amareṣvara,¹ determined to erect a city on the spot, and on looking for building materials for his new capital opened this and several other mounds in the neighbourhood, and also utilized the walls of the old city of Durnacotta or Dharanikotta, which stood about half a mile to the westward of the site of the new city.² Many of the antiquities perished in the process, and large quantities of the stones were used by the Rajah in building his new temples and palaces, but several sculptured slabs still remained *in situ*. These attracted the Colonel's attention so strongly that he subsequently communicated an account of them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,³ and afterwards returned to the spot in 1816. Being now Surveyor-General of Madras he employed all the means at his disposal during the two following years

¹ Hence the full-length name of the place is Amareṣvarapuram. *Anglice*, Amresbury.

² These and many other historical particulars in this paper are gleaned from two letters communicated by Col. Mackenzie to Mr. Buckingham, published by him in the "Calcutta Journal," in March, 1822. They were afterwards reprinted in "Allen's Asiatic Journal," in May, 1823, and as the latter publication is generally accessible while the former is not, all my references to these letters will be taken from it.

³ See Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 272, *et seq.*

to the elucidation of the principal temple, which he now styles *Dīpaldinna*, and translates as meaning "Hill of Lights." The result of his labours are careful plans of the building and maps of the surrounding country, together with eighty very carefully finished drawings of the sculptures. These were made by his assistants, Messrs. Hamilton, Newman, and Burke, and are unsurpassed for accuracy and beauty of finish by any drawings of their class that have ever come under my inspection. Three copies were made of all these drawings. One was sent to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta; another was deposited in Madras, and the third sent home to the Court of Directors, in whose library it still remains. Unfortunately no text or description accompanies these drawings; and they have attracted but little attention, probably because of this deficiency, and the consequent extreme difficulty of understanding the form of the monument, or the position of the fragments.

At the same time, Colonel Mackenzie sent several specimens of the sculptures to the three museums just mentioned, and they have remained their principal ornaments to this day. But, except an attempt to translate two of the inscriptions, which appeared in Prinsep's *Journal* in 1837,¹ very little notice seems to have been taken of them.

Fortunately, however, when Mr., now Sir Walter Elliot, was Commissioner in Guntur, in 1840, he determined to follow up what Colonel Mackenzie had so well begun. He excavated a portion of the monument which had not before been touched, and sent down to Madras a large collection of the sculptures, where they lay exposed to the sun and rain for fourteen years,² till they were ultimately sent home to this country about the year 1856. Unfortunately they arrived here in the troublous times of the Indian Mutiny, and just in the interval between the death of the old East India Company and the establishment of the new Indian Council. There was no proper place for their reception, and the greater part of them were consequently stowed away in the coach-

¹ *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. vi. p. 218.

² *Selections from the Madras Records*, 2nd series, vol. xxxix. p. 195.

house of Fife house, where they remained buried in rubbish, till, accidentally, I heard of their existence in January last. By the zealous co-operation of Dr. Forbes Watson and the officers of his establishment, they were all brought out into the open air and photographed to a scale of one-twelfth the real size, and this was done so exactly that the photographs can be fitted together almost as well as the real stones could be. With these materials I set to work to restore the building; but though I had considerable knowledge of similar buildings, both older and more modern, I should not have succeeded had it not been that among the sculptures themselves there are numerous miniature representations of the building itself and of the different parts, quite sufficiently correctly drawn to be recognized. With all these aids I believe I can now assign the true place and use to at least nine-tenths of the 160 fragments the India Museum possesses, and feel very little doubt of eventually being able to recognize the position of all; but the process is slow and difficult, and requires more time and study than perhaps the value of the additional information now to be obtained would justify.

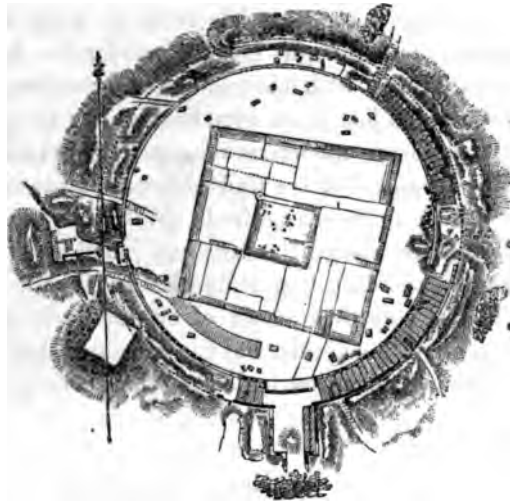
The Dīpal dinna, or Doop Mogasala¹ of Mokunti Maharaja, as it is more popularly called, consists principally of two concentric circular enclosures (Fig. 1). The outermost of these, measuring 195 feet in diameter, consisted of upwards of 100 pillars of octagonal shape, each of one stone, and about nine feet to nine feet six inches in height above ground and three feet in breadth. Over these was a lintel or cornice varying from two feet eight inches to three feet in depth; and below the columns—externally at least—a sculptured basement two feet high, making the total height over fourteen feet.² It is impossible

¹ Mogasala, in the Telinga language, signifies a court for public affairs, and the distribution of justice. "Doop," is Hindostani for sun, or rather sunshine; translated into architectural language this would be "Hypethral Basilica." This would perhaps be the best term that could be applied to it: but it involves a theory it is as well to avoid at present. See Asiatic Journal, vol. xv. p. 469.

² As a means of comparison it may be mentioned that the dimensions of the outer circle at Amravati are exactly double those of the outer circle at Stonehenge. The Indian example being 195 feet, the English 97½. The height of the outer rails are nearly the same—the Indian, 14ft. 6in., the English rail is about one foot higher, and of a more megalithic character, but of course infinitely ruder.

to be very precise, as the stones vary considerably in dimension in different parts of the building. Between each pillar were three intermediate rails, about three feet in height and width, and placed about two inches apart, as shown in the woodcut (Fig. 2) from a representation of it on the monument itself. Externally each pillar was ornamented with

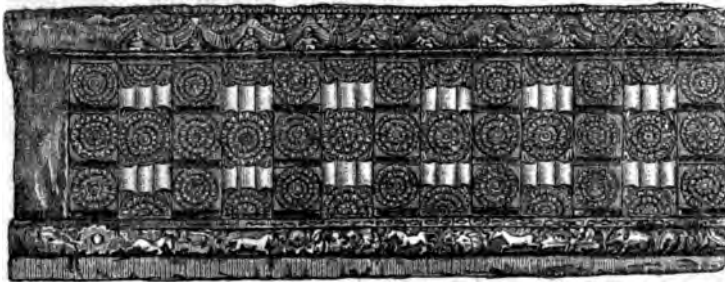
Fig. 1.



Plan of the Tope at Amravati as it now exists.
Scale, 100 feet to 1 inch.

one circular lotus rosette in the centre, and a half circle at top and bottom. Between these lotus discs there

Fig. 2.



Elevation of the outer face of the rail from a bas-relief at Amravati.

were occasionally sculptured scenes of devotional objects above, and "Gana" or dwarfs below. Each of the rails be-

tween the pillars was adorned with a full circular rosette. The upper rail had on it a sculptured frieze representing men bearing a great roll made up apparently of cloth or paper.¹ The animal frieze of the basement is as remarkable as anything connected with the monument,—the bulls, elephants, and winged lions being represented with a degree of vigour and of truth seldom or ever seen elsewhere in similar situations in India.

Internally this screen or rail was much more elaborately ornamented than on the outside. All the central medallions—more than two hundred in number—were ornamented with sculpture, each compartment containing from twenty to thirty figures representing some scene from the life of Buddha; some act of devotional ceremony, or some event in local history. The octagonal parts above and below the centre were likewise ornamented with sculpture, each compartment containing from twelve to fifteen figures. The annexed elevation of one of the pillars, apparently from one of the gateways, presents

Fig. 3.

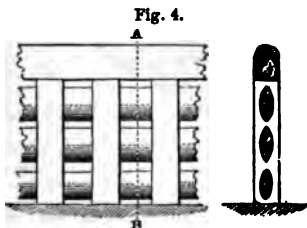


Elevation of a fragment of one of the pillars of outer rail. Scale, 1 inch to 1 foot.

¹ A similar ornament occurs in the Jamālgeri sculptures, J. A. S. B., vol. xxi. p. 606, and I believe such are still exhibited in Burmah on the occasion of great ceremonials.

a combination of the modes in which the outer and inner surfaces were ornamented. It has, or had, the three lotus discs of the exterior, but this pillar being narrower, they are smaller, and the sculptured decoration between richer than those in similar portions on the inner face. It is a fair specimen of the quasi-classical character of the decoration of the whole monument. The frieze above was one continued succession of scenes similar to those depicted on the pillars, and contained twenty to forty figures to each intercolumniation,—but here intermixed with elephants, horses, and palanquins, besides representations of buildings and other objects of art. Altogether there probably were not less than 100 or 120 figures to each intercolumniation, or upwards of 10,000 to 12,000 figures altogether, exclusive of the gateways, which were also as richly adorned, and equal in extent to one-fourth of the whole external rail.¹

The inner rail at Amravati was only about half the internal height of the outer, and 165 feet in diameter; the space between the two being paved with slabs of slate thirteen feet in length. It was solid throughout, and, if possible, more richly ornamented than the outer rail. Its principal ornaments were some forty-eight or fifty representations of Dagobas covered with sculptures and all the ornaments which these monuments possessed in the palmy days of Buddhism. These are particularly interesting, as they are the only pictures now known to exist that enable us to realize what the appearance of these monuments really was as they were originally erected. One of these is reproduced in the woodcut on the following page (Fig 5); and if my calculations are correct, twelve such representations adorned each quadrant of the rail, making forty-



Elevation and Section of Rail at Sanchi.

¹ The original form of the rail will be easily understood from the annexed elevation and section of that at Sanchi (Fig. 4). As will be seen, it consists of plain pillars with a plain architrave above. Between each pillar are three rails similar in section to those at Amravati, but wholly devoid of ornament. This rail is probably anterior to the Christian era. Most of the steps by which this unadorned form passed into the extreme elaboration of Amravati can be easily traced in India.

eight altogether. In this instance the principal figure in front is Buddha seated on the great Nāga snake, with a double snake hood over his head, and the bassi-relievi are scenes from the life of Buddha. On two other Dagobas Buddha is represented

Fig. 5.



Elevation of a Dagoba from inner rail, one-twelfth the real size.

as preaching: he has a glory round his head only, without the snake hood, but the people who are listening to him are Nāgas. In two more instances, at least, the principal object is the Chakra, or wheel of the law. On others it is the feet of Buddha encircled by the folds of the great snake, or a relic.

casket on a throne worshipped by people adorned with the snake hood of seven heads. In one instance, a scene, in which a horse is the principal object, over another circular bas-relief, in which Buddha is represented seated. This is repeated four times; and the sculptures on these four Dagobas are so similar, that, but for the different state of preservation in which they exist, it would be difficult to distinguish the one from the other. These and other indications incline me to believe that each subject was repeated four times. In other words, that there were only twelve different designs or types of the building on the inner rail, one set for each quadrant.

On each side of the principal subject, the wall of these Dagobas was ornamented with emblematic devices to the height of the rail. From other fragments we learn that these were the Sacred Tree; the Chakra, or wheel emblem; the Dagoba, with the snake in front; and other similar objects, more particularly to be described further on. Above this were two ranges of sculptured bas-reliefs, and over these on the dome were richly sculptured wreaths and architectural details interspersed with medallions containing scenes from the life of Buddha. Combined with the bas-reliefs on the outer rail they make up a wonderful pictorial Bible of Buddhism as it was understood at the time of the erection of the monument.

One of the peculiarities these Dagobas present, which is new to us, is the existence of five steles on each face, twenty in all, which are found on all these Dagobas. Whether they symbolize the five Dhyani, or the five earthly Buddhas, or the five virtues, or five moral powers, or what, can only be determined by future investigations. Whatever they represent, they are not only curious but very ornamental. All the Dagobas are, of course, surmounted by a Tee and umbrella, and generally ornamented with flags. Ten of these Dagoba slabs, each about four feet in height, are in the Indian Museum, and about as many more are represented in the Mackenzie collection.

Between the Dagobas of the inner rail were slabs containing various sacred devices, such as the wheel emblem—representations of tree and serpent worship, steles with devotional emblems upon them, and some large figures of women were

interspersed here and there. The whole of this inner rail was surmounted by a sculptured frieze about one foot six inches in height, but not less than five hundred feet in length, which is one of the most marvellous repertoires of Buddhist legendary history to be found anywhere. The top of the slabs of all the stones forming this frieze is pierced with a number of small circular holes, evidently intended for the insertion of pins to support some crowning ornament of metal. What this was must be left to conjecture. Most probably it was a brazen serpent, or some emblem peculiar to Nāga worship. Such, at least, is the conclusion we arrive at from an examination of the temple at Ongcor in Cambodia, where similar holes exist along the ridge of every roof, apparently to support a great brazen serpent. If it was not a serpent, the most probable conjecture is that it was the "trisul" ornament, to be described further on, that these holes were designed to support. From the general character of the ornamentation of the Dagobas, this last would seem the most probable finish if it were of an architectural character. It is possible, however, that the crowning member may have been formed of wood, supported on metal pins. If this were the case its disappearance is only too easily accounted for.

Besides all this, each of the four gateways of the external enclosure was adorned with two or four figures of lions seated, and each more than three feet in height, exclusive of the pedestal, and beyond these were two detached monolithic pillars. As all these have fallen, however, we do not know what they originally carried.

When we consider that the outer rail was, with its gateway, at least 700 feet in extent and the inner rail 500 feet, and the whole ornamented to the extent just described, it will probably be admitted that it is one of the most remarkable monuments of human industry as applied to sculptural decorations that is anywhere to be found. The only two monuments now known to exist in India which rival it in this respect are the temples of Halabeed and Ongcor. They are as elaborate, but their sculptures are

neither of so high a class, nor so interesting as those at Amravati.¹

Sufficient fragments exist, and have been drawn or brought home, to enable us to speak with certainty with regard to the two outer enclosures; but when we come to ask how the central area was occupied, we at once are met with difficulties and uncertainties. These arise from the fact that the Chintapilly Raja first plundered the Tope of all the loose stones and bricks² that were available for his building purposes.³ He then dug down in the centre in search of treasure, and only found a small relic casket, now in the Madras Museum;⁴ but having made a large excavation in this pursuit, he determined to utilize it by forming it into a tank for water. These spoliations and alterations have so completely changed the appearance of the place that no local indications remain to assist in determining its original state. The destruction had been effected before Colonel Mackenzie visited the spot at the end of the last century, and he does not seem at the time to have been aware of the importance of the enquiry. He had at that time no knowledge of the usual form of such buildings, and when he revisited the spot twenty years afterwards the required information was probably not available.⁵

There would, however, be no great *à priori* improbability in the assumption that it was left entirely void. The Dagoba

¹ For particulars of these temples, see "History of Architecture," vol. ii. pp. 612, *et seq.*, and 713 *et seq.* We must not, however, assume that even more magnificent temples may not yet be discovered. Not one of these three temples were known or had been heard of in Europe ten years ago.

² The bricks measure 20 inches by 10, and 4 inches thick.

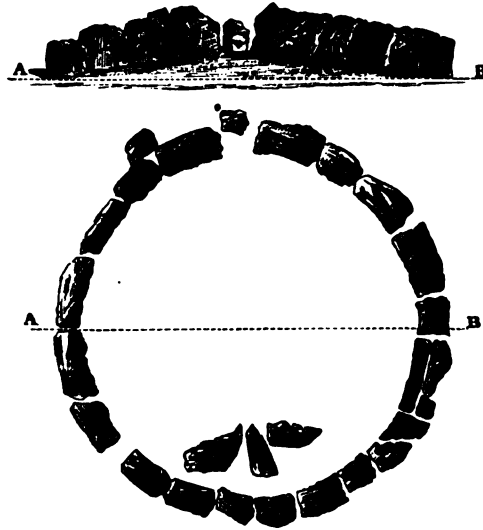
³ "The whole of the inner circle has been dug up, and the stones removed for building purposes. They have been chiefly applied to the repair of Pagodas, and a great many were put to form a flight of steps to the square tank of Shivagunga."—Col. Mackenzie in Asiatic Journal, p. 469.

⁴ The following extract from a letter of 12th June last, from Sir Walter Elliot, contains all the information available on this subject:—"They found in the centre of the mound a stone casket, with a lid, on opening which a crystal box was found, containing a small pearl, some gold leaf, and other things of no value. The Raja sent the relics to his tosha khanah, and there they remained. At a later period I succeeded in securing them for Government, and they are now in the Museum at Madras."

⁵ "In the present state of the mound it is impossible to form any conjecture whether there was any or what sort of building standing in the centre, or for what purpose it was intended."—Asiatic Journal, vol. xv. p. 469.

is avowedly a copy of a sepulchral tumulus, and a similar analogy would suggest that the Amravati circles might be in like manner copies of the sepulchral circles of which such numbers exist in the neighbourhood. In Colonel Mackenzie's maps they are represented as extremely numerous, both to the eastward and westward of the city. One, thirty-two feet in diameter, is shewn in the annexed woodcut (Fig. 6). Others are smaller (twenty-four feet), but all seem alike in plan and appearance.

Fig. 6.



Sepulchral stone circle at Amravati.

Unfortunately there is no history to help us much in our researches. Hiouen Thsang, however, in describing the buildings¹ of Dhanakacheka, which seems undoubtedly to have been our Durnakota or Dharanikotṭa, mentions two convents which he calls Sanghârâmas, or places of assembly, but makes no allusion to relics or Topes or Sthûpas, though so particular in recording their existence wherever else he found them. From this indication I was long inclined to believe that the centre

¹ Histoire de Hiouen Thsang, translated into French by Stanislas Julien. Paris, 1863. Page 188.

might have been occupied by a Chaitya hall—like the Carlee Cave—but being constructed of wood, as was the custom at that time, that it had perished. On looking carefully, however, through the fragments, I recognized certain stones which were found in the central area, which were so different both in size and in style of execution from those belonging to the rails, that they could not possibly have formed any part of the outer enclosures. These, when pieced together, made up a Dagoba about eight or ten times as large as those represented on the inner rail, and I am now convinced that such a Dagoba—say forty or fifty feet in height, and thirty to forty feet in diameter—did really at one time occupy the centre of the area.

One curious circumstance connected with the central building is that the sculptures belonging to it are inferior both in design and execution to those of the enclosures, so much so as to appear to place some centuries at least between them; but there are some few fragments so good—if they belonged to the central Tope—as to prevent this assertion being made too positively. Either it may be that the whole central Tope is considerably more modern than the enclosure, or that it has been repaired or rebuilt at some subsequent period; or it may possibly be that in ascending the stream of time we have, in the Amravati rails, reached the point when art culminated in India, and before which it was ruder and less perfect. Hitherto we have been accustomed to consider that in India one building was older than another in the ratio in which its sculpture or its art excelled the example with which it was compared; but it may be that in this instance the rule ceases to hold good, and that before the time when they were erected ruder and less perfect forms prevailed. If this be so, the central building may be as old as the Christian era, or older. The rails may have been added subsequently.

A careful examination of the remains on the spot can alone determine these questions now. No record of either Colonel Mackenzie's or Sir W. Elliot's excavation having been preserved, it is extremely difficult to recognise the position of the fragments; and, fortunately for our present purpose, it is not

very important. The circular enclosures must always have been the most important parts of the monument. Their arrangement is easily understood, and a sufficient number of fragments exist to enable us to restore them with certainty.

HISTORY.

The Amravati Tope is so important a monument, whether we regard it with reference to its architectural forms, or the light it throws on the religious faith of India at the time of the erection, that it is extremely desirable its history should be ascertained and its date fixed if it is possible to do so. My impression is that this can be done with very fair approximate certainty.

There seems no difficulty with regard to a final date before which it must have been erected. When Hiouen Thsang visited Dhanakacheka in 645, he describes the principal monument in the following terms, which I quote at length because of the many interesting points the description contains: "Un ancien roi de ce royaume l'avait construit en l'honneur du Bouddha et y avait déployé toute la magnificence des palais de Tahia—(de la Bactriane). Les bois touffus dont il était entouré et une multitude des fontaines jaillissantes en faisaient un séjour enchanteur. Ce couvent était protégé par les esprits du ciel, et les sages et les saints aimaient à s'y promener et à y habiter. Pendant l'espace des mille ans qui ont suivi le Nirvâna du Bouddha on voyait constamment un millier de laïques et de religieux qui venaient ensemble y passer le temps de la retraite pendant la saison des pluies.—Mille ans après (le "Nirvâna") les hommes du siècle et les sages vinrent y demeurer ensemble. Mais depuis une centaine d'années les esprits des montagnes ont changé de sentiments et font éclater sans cesse leur violence et leur colère. Les voyageurs justement effrayés n'osent plus aller dans ce couvent. C'est pour cela qu'aujourd'hui, il est complètement désert et l'on n'y voit plus ni religieux ni novices."¹

¹ Histoire de Hiouen Thsang, p. 188. No reliance can be placed on the date of 1000 years twice repeated in this passage. The author is evidently speaking in round numbers, and we do not know when he placed the Nirvana. According to the Ceylonese epochs it would bring it to 467 A.D.

From this it seems evident that about the middle of the sixth century Buddhism had suffered such a blow as to prevent any such work being undertaken. Even if it is contended that Dhanakacheka may not be Dharaṇikotṭa, the facts remain the same. From what our author says of Kalinga on the one hand and Djourya¹ on the other, it is evident that, in the century before his visit, war, pestilence, and famine had swept over the three Kalingas, and nearly obliterated the original population. We know, too, that in Orissa the Keśari family, worshippers of Śiva, had raised themselves before that time (A.D. 473) on the ruins of the Buddhist dynasty;² and we also know that in the year 605 the Chālukyas conquered Vengā,³ the country in which Dharaṇikotṭa was situated, and they were neither Buddhists nor snake worshippers. We may therefore fairly assume that it was some time before the middle of the sixth century at all events that the Tope was erected.

At the other end of our history we find that Col. Mackenzie collected a considerable number of coins about Durnacota. Some of these were Roman, others of the Bactrian Kadphises type,⁴ showing that the place was probably of some importance about the Christian era; but as none of these were found in the Tope itself they have no direct bearing on our investigation. Those coins which were found in the Tope were all of lead, but none of them having been drawn or published they at present afford us no assistance in our enquiry.⁵

Colonel Mackenzie also collected a number of traditions referring to a Mokunti Maharaja who, among the Hindus on the spot, is the reputed builder of the Tope.⁶ On examination, however, these are found to refer either to Rudra Deva of Warangal (A.D. 1132), or more probably to Pratāpa Rudra of

¹ Histoire de Hiouen Tchang, p. 185 and 189, and Memoires, vol. ii. p. 116.

² Stirling's Account of Cuttack, Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 264.

³ Journal R. A. S., N. S., vol. i. p. 264.

⁴ Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii. p. 561 and 582, pl. ii. fig. 29, c. 41.

⁵ Asiatic Journal, vol. xv. p. 471.

⁶ Asiatic Journal, vol. xv. p. 470, *et seq.* Wilson's Catalogue of Mackenzie's MSS., vol. i. p. cxxiv., and Taylor in Madras Selections, Second Series, No. xxxix, p. 229, *et seq.*

Orissa (A.D. 1503), and have, consequently, no bearing on the date of the monument. Like most Puranic traditions they are foolish and fabulous in the extreme, and refer to a persecution, when the last feeble remnants of the Bauddhas, here called Jainas, were finally expelled from India. It is curious to find Buddhists in India as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, but that has no reference to our present enquiry.

Turning to the monument itself, we find upon it a great number of inscriptions, and my friend General Cunningham has kindly undertaken to investigate this branch of the subject, and will no doubt give the result of his labours to the society. Unfortunately, however, no date has yet been found among them, nor any name which can be identified with any known historical personage whose epoch is known. They merely record that the pillar, or bas-relief, or object in which they are found, is the gift of some piously-disposed person whose name is given; but these names are, unluckily for our purpose, all unknown to fame. At present, therefore, it is only from the form of the characters that the inscriptions aid in ascertaining the date of the monument. Generally this may be described as the Gupta alphabet, as used either before or after A.D. 319. No trace of the Lât character occurs, though that was used at Sanchi on the northern limits of the province certainly after the Christian era.¹ The inscriptions in which the form of the letters most closely resembles that found at Amravati are those of the Kenheri and Nasick Caves. If Dr. Stevenson² is right in ascribing these to the first half of the fourth century, and I see no reason to doubt his correctness in this respect, this evidence, "valeat quantum," would assign to the Amravati Tope the same epoch.

At a more modern age it might be possible, by a comparison with buildings of known date, to approximate very nearly to the time when the monument must have been erected. In the early ages however, to which it certainly belongs, the examples are few and far between, and those that do exist have not been examined with the care necessary for the purpose of comparison. There is, however, so much of Greek or

¹ Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 264.

² J.B.B. R.A.S., vol. v. p. 39, *et seq.*

rather Bactrian art in the architectural details of the Amravati Tope that the first inference is that it must be nearer to the Christian era than the form of the inscriptions would lead us to suppose. On the other hand we do not know how long the classical influence prevailed, and how much it may have been nourished by intercommunication with the West. Down to the time of Constantine, Rome seems to have maintained its intercourse with India, and we must pause before we draw a line as to the time when classical feeling may have ceased to exert an influence on Indian art. Certainly, in this instance, the expression of Hiouen Thsang, that this Tope was ornamented with all the art of the palaces of Bactria, is borne out to the fullest extent; but there seems no reason to suppose that this classical influence may not have endured till the break down of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, though it could hardly have lasted beyond that time.

The one point which it seems necessary to insist upon at this stage of the inquiry is the strong Bactrian influence which is manifested in all the details of the monument. As will be afterwards explained, the sculptures, with scarcely an exception, refer to a Nāga people and to a Nāga worship; and as Taxila and Cashmeer were the head quarters of that faith, at this age,¹ that circumstance alone would almost suffice to point out the north-west as the source from which we must expect information regarding its origin. But, again, how long did the Bactro-Parthian kingdom exist? and how long did it continue to influence the politics and arts of India proper? These are questions to which no very definite answer can be given in the present state of our knowledge; my own impression is that the influence continued to a much later date than has hitherto generally been supposed; but there is nothing in all this sufficiently definite to enable us to found on it any argument as to the date of the Amravati Tope.

Although, therefore, neither these classical influences nor

¹ To prevent repetition, I must refer the reader to my "History of Architecture," vol. ii. book vi. for the traditions of Nāga worship and Nāga art in Northern India and Cambodia. Unfortunately I knew nothing of Amravati when it was written, or I could have made that chapter much more complete than it is.

the Mackenzie traditions seem to throw much light on our subject, the information collected by Mr. Stirling, and published in his invaluable history of Cuttack, does seem to bear on its origin.

The following extracts from his memoirs¹ are those which seem most to the point:—"In the reign of Bajra Nath Deo the Yavanas are said to invade the country in great numbers from Babul Des—explained to mean Iran and Cabul—but are finally driven back." "In the reign of Huns or Hangsha Deo (query, Huska) the Yavanas again invade in great force from Cashmeer, and many bloody battles ensue." In the reign of Bhoja, the Yavanas from Sindhu Des invade the country in great force, but are driven back. Then follows Vikramāditya. If, therefore, the dates are to be depended upon, these invasions took place before the Christian era. Other Yavana invasions occur in the next four reigns; but the most important of all occurred in the reign of Subhan Deo, who ascended the throne 318 (one year before the Ballabhi era). In the ninth year of his reign a Yavana, Rakta Bâhu invades the country by sea, and conquers it. The king escapes with the image of Juggernath, which he buries under a ber tree, and flies farther into the jungle, where he dies. His son succeeds to the title, but is murdered by the invaders. "A Yavana dynasty then ruled over Orissa for a space of 146 years, or down to A.D. 473."

This account, being derived from Brahmanical sources, would hardly help us much; but, fortunately, we have two Buddhist accounts of the same transaction, which are much more complete and detailed, and which do, I fancy, throw great light on our researches. The first is contained in the Daladâ Wanso, partially translated by the Hon. G. Turnour, and published in the J.A.S.B. vol. vi. p. 856, *et seq.*; the other is abstracted by Col. Low from the Siamese Phrâ Pat'hom, and published in the same journal, vol. xvii. part ii. p. 82, *et seq.* Unfortunately, neither work has been completely translated, and the extracts having been made with reference to other objects, do not give us all the information we want. The

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 254, *et seq.* J.A.S.B. vol. vi. p. 756, *et seq.*

following abridgment of the story will however suffice for present purposes :—

The left canine tooth of Buddha had been preserved in Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga, probably at or near Udayagiri, for 800 years, when Gôhasiwo, the king, early in the fourth century, was converted to Buddhism from the Brahmanical faith, which he had professed up to that time. With the zeal of a convert he dismissed and persecuted the Brahmins, who had hitherto enjoyed his favour. They repaired to Pâtali-putta (Patna) to complain of this to the paramount sovereign, here called Pându, but who, as it appears from the context, most probably was the Gautama Putra of the Satkarni dynasty. He orders Gôhasiwo to repair to his court, bringing the relic with him. It is then subjected to every sort of trial. It is smashed on an anvil, thrown into the gutter, and every thing conceivable done to destroy or dishonour it. It comes triumphantly out of all its trials. The king is converted, and finally devotes himself to a religious life.

While all this is going on, a northern King—it is not quite clear whence he came—named Khîrâdhâro, attacks the capital, in order to possess himself of the wonder-working relic. He was defeated and killed in battle, and Gôhasiwo returned, it is said, with the sacred tooth to his capital. Some time afterwards the nephews of Khîrâdhâro, allying themselves with other kings, march against Gôhasiwo. He, though seeing that resistance is hopeless, prepares for defence ; but, before going to the combat, he enjoins on his daughter Hemachalâ, who was married to a prince of Oujein, called Danta Kumâra, that in the event of his falling, they should take the relic, and escaping by sea, convey it to Mahâsena, king of Ceylon, who had been for some time negotiating for its purchase.¹

¹ Some years ago Dr. Bird opened a small tope in front of the Kanheri Caves in Salsette. In it he found a copper plate recording that a canine tooth of Buddha had been deposited there. The plate is dated in the year 245. From the expression "Samvat" being used, Dr. Stevenson (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol v. p. 13,) assumes that it must be from the era of Vikramaditya. I believe, however, it is correct to assert that no Buddhist inscription is dated from the era of the hated opponent of their religion. If on the other hand we assume the era of Salivahana it brings the date to almost the exact time—A.D. 324—of these events on the east coast ; and though it is not directly stated in the inscription, it seems that the tooth was deposited there by Gotami-putra, the very king who played

The prince and princess fly from the city before its fall, bury the relic in the sand, in the same manner as the image of Juggernath is said to have been concealed in the Brahmanical account, and, afterwards returning, the princess conceals it in her hair, and escaping to the coast, they take ship apparently at Tamralipi or Tamlook, and sail for Ceylon. Half-way between the place of embarkation and Ceylon they are shipwrecked, at a place called the Diamond Sands.¹ From the context I do not think there can be much hesitation in fixing this locality on the banks of the Kistnah. First, from its position half-way;² next because here only, so far as I know, are those diamond³ mines near the coast; but more because it was the residence of the Nāga Rāja.

The Nāga Rāja steals the relic from the princess, when she is asleep. He is forced by the power of a Thero, from the Himalaya, to restore it, and the wanderers again embark, and after various adventures, reach Ceylon in the year 312.⁴

so important a part in the narrative just recorded, and what is more, it seems extremely probable that the Kanheri tooth was, or was supposed to be, the identical one which performed so many miracles in Pātāliputta.

This might seem paradoxical had not the same thing happened to the same relic in similar circumstances, more than twelve centuries afterwards. When the Portuguese conquered Ceylon, Constantine de Braganza seized the Daladā and conveyed it to Goa. The king of Pegu sent an embassy after it, and offered any amount of ransom for it. But the bigotry of the priesthood was proof against any such temptation. The tooth was consumed by fire in presence of the Archbishop and all the notables, and the ashes cast into the sea. The result was peculiar. The Ceylonese pretended that the one so destroyed was a counterfeit. A true one was discovered and sold to the king of Pegu, and as soon as he was gone and had paid for it, another true one was found concealed in Ceylon, and is probably the crocodile's tooth that is now so honoured in that country. To complete the parallelism, both the Burmese and the Concani teeth have disappeared, and only their empty chaityas remain. The Ceylonese tooth still remains with the oldest pedigree of any such relic that the world possesses.

The particulars of this second great attempt to destroy the Daladā will be found well stated in Sir E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. ii. p. 199. Translations of the original authorities are there given also.

¹ *Dinne* means sand bank in Telugu. This may be the origin of the name Dīpal dinne, which certainly does not mean "Hill of Lights." Can Dīpal, by any synonymism, be assumed to mean diamond?

² The Siamese, as Colonel Low points out, wishing to make their own country the scene of these events, have lengthened the periods of the voyage preposterously. They make it three months from Cuttack to the Diamond Sands, and three more from thence to Ceylon. *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xvii., pages 86 and 87.

³ One of the objects of Col. Mackenzie's surveys was to mark the Diamond mines in the locality. He plots the diamond district as extending to about eight miles north of Amravati, but it seems there are no mines elsewhere.

⁴ It does not seem quite clear how far the Ceylonese dates are to be relied upon as quite correct about this time. Avowedly there is an error to the extent of at least 60 years in the date their annals assign to Asoka. This has subsequently

Mahāsena had been dead nine years, but the fugitives are received with open arms by Meghavarna,¹ the reigning sovereign; a brick and mortar Chaitya is made, and the relic brought by the prince and princess enshrined with great solemnity (Col. Low, p. 86).

The narrative then proceeds:—"Three years had passed away, when the king of Lanka perceived from an ancient prophecy, that in seven years from that date, a certain king Dhammasoka Raja would erect a temple on the Diamond Sands; and he likewise recollected that there were two Donas of relics of Buddha still concealed in the country of Nāga Rāja. He therefore directed a holy person to go and bring these relics." The Nāga Rāja's brother swallows the relics, and flies to Meru, but they are taken from him and brought back. "Soon after this Nāga Rāja arrived, in the form of a handsome youth, and solicited a few relics from his majesty, which were bestowed upon him accordingly."

His majesty now ordered a golden ship to be made. It was one cubit long, and one span broad. The relics were put into a golden cup; this was placed in a vase, and the whole put into the golden ship. A wooden ship was next built, having a breadth of beam of seven long cubits.

Danta Kumāra and Hemachalā being desirous of revisiting their country, the king of Lankā sent with them ambassadors to one of the five² kings who now ruled there, requesting him to show them every attention. The vessel reached the Diamond Sands in five months, and the prince and princess went on shore accompanied by the priests. An account is then given of the building of the temple, and the mode in which the relics were placed. The vessel now set sail for Dantapura, which it reached in little more than three months. The ambassadors of the king of Lankā landed with the prince and princess. They were treated with much distinction, and remained in the country.

been adjusted, to some extent, by Mr. Turnour, but not, so far as I can judge, in such a manner as to inspire entire confidence. My impression is that the dates in the fourth century are all from ten to fifteen years too early.

¹ Is not this the Varaja of the Western-cave Inscrip., J.B.B. R.A.S., vol. v. p. 42?

² Those who, according to the Daladāwanso, had combined with the nephews of Khirādhāro and conquered the country.

After this follows a third tradition of a king, like the last-named, Dhammasoka¹ who ruled the country of Arvadi, apparently Avanti (Ougein) with strict justice, but is forced by a famine to emigrate with his followers, amounting to 31,000 able-bodied men. The wanderers proceeded southward for seven months. After various adventures they reach a place where water and fish were abundant. Next day the king mounted his horse and reached the Diamond Sands. Here he meets the Nāga Rāja, builds a Chaitya, and founds a city.

"Dhammasoka reigned here quietly for seven years, but mortified and unhappy because he could not reach the relics. His Majesty accordingly offered a high reward to any one who should find the relics and disinhume them. But this proved of no avail. It so happened that, in the dilemma, a Putra of the king of Rom or Roum, named Kākabhāsa, who happened to be trading to the country of Takkasila, encountered a violent storm. He had 500 souls on board, who, supplicating the gods, were rescued from death. The ship, with much difficulty, reached close to the Diamond Sands, and observing signs of population cast anchor with a view to refit."

The Prince of Rom² assists the Nāga Rāja to recover the hidden treasure, and to build a wonderful nine-storied Chaitya over it, many particulars of which are given; but as they are too long to extract, and either are imaginary or do not refer to the particular building we are engaged upon, it is hardly necessary to quote them here. These quotations might be multiplied to almost any extent; but enough has probably

¹ This is evidently a title, though from the similarity of the name Col. Low confounds him with the great Asoka, and places him 321 B.C.

² It would be absurd to found any serious theory on the mention of the name of Rome, if it stood alone and unsupported. The circumstance mentioned in the narrative of the strangers being white men, and coming by sea, is a small confirmation that the people here mentioned were really Europeans. My impression, however, is that few who are familiar with the arts of Rome in Constantine's time, and who will take the trouble to master these Amravati sculptures, can fail to perceive many points of affinity between them. The circular medallions of the arch of Constantine—such as belong to his time—and the general tone of the art of his age so closely resemble what we find here that the coincidence can hardly be accidental. The conviction that the study of these sculptures has forced in my mind is that there was much more intercommunication between the east and the west during the period from Alexander to Justinian than is generally supposed, and that the intercourse was especially frequent and influential in the middle period, between Augustus and Constantine.

been adduced to show that, in the beginning of the fourth century—about the time when the struggle for the tooth relic was convulsing all India—Buddhist tradition points most distinctly to the Diamond Sands, on the banks of the Kistnah, as the place where a great temple was being built. The kingdom of the Nâga Râja certainly was there; and so far as can be judged from every indication as to the locality, if it was not at or near Amravati, it could not possibly have been far from the spot.

Though all this tends to confirm the idea that the building referred to is the Amravati Tope, the inference rises almost to certainty when we come to examine the sculptures with which it is adorned. In one bas-relief a ship is represented with two persons on board, bearing relics, and is being welcomed by a Nâga king on approaching the shore. In another an ark, in the form of a ship, like that described above, is being borne in state on men's shoulders; and in numerous scenes there are conferences between the Nâga king and a prince or king accompanied by a lady, neither of whom nor any of whose suite are Nâgas. Of course these scenes may represent other similar scenes which have happened to other people; but a careful examination of the whole presents so many points of coincidence that I hardly think they can be accidental. One point which the sculptures undoubtedly reveal is that Amravati was the capital, or, at least, residence of the Nâga Râja. In all the sculptures which do not relate to the life of Buddha, and in many of these, the Nâga king appears with his hood of a seven-headed snake, and all his women have also single snakes at the back of their heads. As will be presently shown, Nâga worship almost supersedes Buddhism in the religious representations, so much so, indeed, that it is sometimes difficult to say to which religion the temple is dedicated.

It may be quite true that no single part of this evidence is sufficient to prove the case, but, taking the whole of it together, I think it must be admitted to be sufficient to justify the conclusion that the outer rails, at least, are part of the Temple at the Diamond Sands, which, according to the Ceylonese com-

putation, was commenced in the year 322. Judging from its elaboration, it may have taken fifty years to complete. If this be so the date of the completion may be about the year 370 or 380 of our era, and it may have remained complete for 150 or 200 years after that time, before it was deserted, as mentioned by Hïouen Thsang. That it was afterwards repaired and used for Buddhist purposes as late as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries seems also clear;¹ but the particulars of this restoration are less interesting, and further explorations on the spot are necessary before they can be made intelligible.

SCULPTURES.

Although extremely remarkable from an artistic point of view, perhaps the most interesting peculiarity of the Amravati Tope is the picture the sculptures afford of the religious faith and the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Mahâ Andhra² in the beginning of the fourth century. In this respect they are fuller and more complete than the sculptures of the gateways at Sanchi or than the frescoes of the Caves at Ajunta, and occupy an intermediate position between the two, being, apparently, about three centuries more modern than the first, and as many centuries older than the latter.

The main theme of the sculptures is of course Buddhist, and the subjects of most of them are easily recognised by any one familiar with the fables of the Lalita Vistara. The subject most often represented is Mâyâ's dream and the white elephant

¹ It is to be regretted that the Daladâwanso has not been completely translated, for it appears that in the twelfth or thirteenth century, the tooth relic was taken back to India at a time apparently, when (1187) a Kîrti Nisânga, a prince of Kalinga, was one of the many Indian princes who held sway in Ceylon. It is said to have been conveyed to the banks of the Ganges (Upham's History of Buddhism, p. 32), but as Landresse suggests (Foë Koué Ki, p. 345) this more probably was the Godavery, or, in other words, the Kistnah. From some particulars furnished me by Sir Walter Elliot it seems that the part of the monument he dug into was a chapel formed of old slabs arranged unsymmetrically by some prince about that time, so as to form a chapel for some unexplained purpose. It may have been to receive this relic.

The inscription translated by Prinsep (J. A. S. B. vol. vi. p. 218) shows that Buddhism was flourishing at Amravati in—say the twelfth century. Altogether nothing would surprise me less than to find that the tooth relic sojourned here for seventy-six years before its recovery by the Ceylonese, about 1314 of our era. The materials exist for settling this question, but they have not yet been made available.

² Histoire de Hïouen Thsang, p. 187. Mémoires, vol. ii. pp. 105 and 395.

descending to her; her asking permission of her husband Siddhodana to visit her father when she felt the term of her pregnancy approaching; the birth of Buddha as she stood holding the branches of a tree in the Loumbinî garden; the reception of the infant by Indra, etc.¹ In some of the sculptures the prince Siddhârtha is represented riding out in state and enjoying the pleasures of his rank before he forsook the palace to become an ascetic. In others he is represented as preaching and teaching: he seldom appears seated or in the usual cross-legged position in which he is usually represented when an object of adoration. In one or two instances he does appear in this attitude at Amravati, but then he is always seated on the coils of the great snake Nâga, and with the snake-hood of seven or fourteen heads as a canopy over him (Fig. 5). The most remarkable peculiarity of these sculptures, indeed, is that the Nâga is of equal if not of greater importance in them than Buddha himself. In the fragments or representations that have reached this country the five-headed Nâga occurs oftener in the place of honour on the Dagoba than Buddha; this may be accidental, but certainly the Nâga king, with his seven-headed hood, and Nâga people, are more important in the sculptures than the other kings or people who have not this strange accompaniment.

Any one familiar with Buddhist literature, especially after the time of Nâgârjuna, who lived about the Christian era, knows how constantly the doings of the Nâga king are mentioned, and how important a part the Nâgas or Nâga people play in all Buddhist tradition. Hitherto, however, nothing could well be more vague than the idea attached to these people, or the place of their residence, or who and what they were. For the first time we meet them face to face—"peints par eux-mêmes"—in the sculptures at Amravati; and when these are properly investigated they will probably throw more light on these hitherto mysterious people than anything

¹ The most succinct account of these events is found in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 383, *et seq.* On all these occasions, whenever a cloth is represented, it is stamped with the feet of Buddha, sometimes one pair only, at others several. It will be recollected that cloths stamped with feet were the cause of a war between Cashmeer and Ceylon, about 150 years before this time.—Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 27.

that has yet been brought to light.¹ A good deal may also be learned no doubt from the Nāga temples of Cambodia, but it has not yet been ascertained how far their builders were, strictly speaking, of Indian race, or to what extent they may have been a native population converted to an Indian form of faith.

After Buddha and the Nāgas, the Dagoba itself may perhaps be marked as next in importance as an object of worship. It is represented in every form and of every conceivable variety of elaboration, and generally as an object to be adored even when quite plain, so that the worship cannot be said to be addressed to the sculptures or ornaments upon it. Generally it only is employed as a symbol, like the cross of the Christians, to recall the memory of the relic shrine, to which the Buddhists in all ages attached such supreme importance.

Next in importance, perhaps even more so than the last, is the Chakra, or wheel. It occurs everywhere and with every possible degree of elaboration, but is always honoured and generally placed above the other emblems. It occurs also in the place of honour on the gateways at Sanchi.² It probably is the "Wheel of the Law," enumerated as one of the seven precious things necessary for a Chakravartti king, so described in detail in the *Lalita Vistara*.³ As before mentioned it occurs occasionally in the place of honour on the front of the Dagoba; but, in fact, it appears everywhere and in almost every conceivable conjunction, and always as an object of worship, or at least of benediction. From the frequency of its recurrence and the honour in which it is held, as well as its representing the Wheel of the Law, I would suggest that it is the symbol of Dharma.

¹ At Badamee about 300 miles due west of Amravati, there exists a series of caves of more modern date. They may be the ninth or tenth century, but I have not the materials necessary to enable me to speak positively on the point. They belong to the Brahmanical religion, with a slight admixture of Jainism; but throughout them Nāga people with the Nāga hood appear everywhere. Three hundred miles north of Badamee, in the sculptures at Ajunta (not in the paintings), the same thing appears, and my impression is that the Nāgas will be found everywhere when the triangular section of the country, of which these three places mark the angles, comes to be examined.

² *Bhilsa Topes*, by Gen. Cunningham, p. 351. pl. xxxi. Gen. Cunningham considers it an emblem of Buddha. I am sorry to differ from him, but I can find no authority for this interpretation. My impression is that the Amravati sculptures quite contradict it.

³ *Lalita Vistara*. Paris, 1847, p. 14, *et seq.*

Nearly coequal in importance with this is the Bo-tree. It probably occurs more frequently than the Chakra, but not quite so prominently; but both here and at Sanchi it is one of the principal objects of adoration. We have been so long familiar with the Tree worship of the Buddhists that there seems nothing surprising in this. It has long been known that each of the three preceding Buddhas had a special Bo-tree; and it is generally admitted that the great Tree at Buddh Gya,

Fig. 7.



Representation of a Dagoba with three emblems.

in Behar was revered as the Bo-tree of the present Buddha before the time of Asoka, B.C. 250. The Mahâ-wanso has made us familiar with the importance that was attached to the transport of a cutting of that tree to Ceylon in the middle of the third century B.C., and we all know that it—or its lineal descendant—is still revered at Anarâdhapura, and has been worshipped on that spot for the last twenty-two centuries, at least. Once, at least, the Tree occurs in front of the Dagoba in the place of honour; but generally speaking, though as frequently represented, it seems to take a lower rank than either the Dagoba or the Chakra.

These four combined, in the manner shewn in the annexed woodcut (Fig. 7), may be considered as the shorter confession of Amravati faith. The Serpent, the Dagoba, the Tree, and the Wheel, combined together in different manners and with different degrees of importance, make up by far the greatest part of the emblematic decoration of the Tope.¹

¹ The following is a curious instance of the irradicability of local forms, even

Next, after these, are either one, or more frequently two, objects like cushions, which are very frequently represented as placed on a throne, and always as objects of worship. I am not aware of any such objects occurring anywhere else in any paintings or sculptures in India, and the only reasonable conjecture that occurs to me is that they contain relics. Are they the two *Dona* of relics mentioned in the previous narrative?

Below the throne in which these objects are placed are impressions of Buddha's feet. These are very frequently represented in the sculptures, sometimes with great elaboration, and adorned as in the annexed woodcut (Fig. 8), with the Chakra, the Trisul, the Swastika, and other emblems familiar to Buddhist hierogrammy. Once, at least, the feet occur in the front of the Dagoba, resting on the folds of the sacred snake which surround them; but more frequently they appear on the upper part of the Dagoba, and then surmounted by the umbrella of state. Wherever they appear, however, both here and at Sanchi, they seem always to have been objects of special adoration and reverence.



Fig. 8.

Feet of Buddha with emblems.

All these will be found combined in the woodcut (Fig. 9),

long after the religion to which they belonged may have perished. During the festival of Navarâtri, in honour of Siva as Amreshwar, the immortal lord, on the third night a brazen tree is carried round the town in procession; on the fifth night a ten-headed serpent in brass. At the close of the festival the worshippers go in great pomp to a tree called Shemmu Veerchum, where the god is made to exercise in shooting an arrow at the sacred tree, followed by a discharge of fire arms in the air, which closes the ceremony. In the festival called Siva Mahârâtri, the procession to the same tree is the culminating point, to which all previous arrangements are subordinate, and thus the festival closes.—See Asiatic Journal, vol. xv. p. 472 and 473.

representing one of the slabs of the inner rail, and may be called the longer confession of Amravati. At the bottom are the feet, above these the relics on the throne. The tree is

Fig. 9.



Portion of inner rail with object of worship.

above these, then the Chakra, and above all the Dagoba with its rail, and the Nāga with his five heads in the place of honour.

There is still one emblem (Fig. 10) that very frequently occurs, both here and at Sanchi, and is found on coins and at the beginning of inscriptions, but the meaning of which still remains to be explained.¹ At Amravati it is generally used as an architectural ornament,—most frequently as the crowning member of the decoration of the perpendicular part of the Dagoba, where it is repeated in each sculptured representation twenty or thirty times. In these instances, how-

ever, it is certainly an architectural decoration and not an object of worship. It hardly ever occurs in combination with the great emblems above enumerated, except on the

¹ General Cunningham, in his work on the Bhilsa Topes, considers it the emblem of Dharma, p. 58, pl. xxxii.

soles of the feet of Buddha, as in Figure 8, and never occurs as an object of adoration except in such a combination as to make it doubtful whether it is really the object of worship or only an accessory. In many instances it occurs as in Fig. 8, as an ornament to the periphery of the Chakra, but when so used is evidently very subordinate. The instances in which it seems most prominent are like that represented in the accompanying woodcut (Fig. 11). Here the altar has nothing upon it, which is unusual; and the feet, which always accompany the symbol when used in this form, are



Trisul ornament.

Fig. 11.



Nāgas worshipping the Trisul, from a drawing in the Mackenzie collection.

very subordinate. Then the pillar and the flame or tree which accompany it may be important. On the whole I

should be inclined to fancy it was a monogram or symbol of Buddha; but I dare not affirm this, and prefer being content at present in calling it the Trisul ornament, feeling very little doubt that it is the original of Śiva's emblem.¹ Till some ancient Pāli work is discovered, in which these various symbols are figured and their meaning explained, it will be impossible to feel quite certain that we know what their meaning really was, and it must be comparatively useless to speculate when so little exists to guide the enquirer. The emblems, however, are so frequently repeated at Amravati, and their relative importance so clearly defined there, that I cannot help thinking that it will be found that the tree with its myriad leaves is there used as the emblem of Sangha or the congregation; that the Chakra or wheel is the emblem of Dharma or the law; and that the Trisul is the monogram of Buddha, and, when combined with the feet, his emblem.

The meaning of the Dagoba is not doubtful; it either represented a relic shrine, or a Sthūpa, to mark a sacred spot, in either of which capacities it always was the principal object of Buddhist adoration. It is not clear whether any such objects existed in India before Asoka's time, or B.C. 250; but from shortly after this period to the present day the series is complete and uninterrupted.

Another peculiarity of these sculptures which is worth remarking, is the continual presence of a horse,—not as a beast of burthen, but as an animal to be revered or worshipped. Sometimes he is represented as issuing from a portal with an umbrella of state borne over his head; at others he occupies the place of honour in front of the Dagoba; and he is introduced as an actor or spectator in many of the groups. The first impression is that this may have reference to some Aswamedha, or horse-sacrifice, performed by some Chakravartī king, who may have been the builder or a benefactor to the sanctuary; but, on the whole, it seems more



¹ Is it not the original of the symbol of the planet Mercury? Buddha, Mercury, and Woden gave their names to the middle day of the week, and astronomically the same sign might serve for the three.

probable that it is a remnant of the Scythian faith of this people before they migrated into India.¹

When properly investigated it is probable that the Amravati sculptures will prove as interesting from the light they throw on the ethnography, and the manners and customs of the people of India in the fourth century, as from any other circumstance. Originally they were painted,² and, had the colour remained, it would have been easy to distinguish the different races, but this having, in all instances, been washed off, its having originally been relied upon is rather against their identification now.

As it is, there seems no great difficulty in discriminating, at least, three races of people who are represented in these sculptures. First, the Nâgas; easily distinguishable by their emblems. Next, a race who, from the mode of dressing their hair, and the enormous bangles their women wear, closely resemble the Jâts, or the people we now know as Brinjarees. The third may be either Gonds or some cognate Tamil race. All this, however, can only be determined by some one who is familiar with the distinctive features of the people now inhabiting the spot; but I have little doubt that anyone residing there could point out without difficulty which people were intended in every instance.

The costume of the people represented in these sculptures hardly helps us much in this enquiry, for, generally, neither men nor women wear clothes in the sense in which we understand the term. A narrow belt round the waist, with a knot in front, and a necklace and a pair of anklets, compose the costume of the women.³ The men sometimes wear a dhoti, but rarely.

¹ In some papers by the Rev. Mr. Hislop, Missionary at Nagpore, edited by Sir R. Temple, he describes the religion of the Gonds in the following ten words: "*Religion*—All introduce figures of the horse in their worship."

² Asiatic Journal, vol. xv., p. 468.

³ "On the east of the Chanda district (the Gond district nearest Amravati) the men wear no covering for their heads or the upper part of their bodies. The women deck themselves with thirty to forty beads, to which some add a necklace of pendant bells. Bangles of zinc adorn their wrists, and a chain of the same metal is suspended from the hair, and attached to a large boss stuck in the ear. But the greatest peculiarity connected with their costume is the practice that prevails, in more remote districts, of the women wearing no clothes at all; instead

Buddha is always clothed in his long robes, and occasionally strangers appear wrapped in dresses that could only be tolerable on the north side of the Himalayas.

Be this as it may, the real interest of the sculptures centres in the Nāgas. They are the principal people represented, and the handsomest, though naturally in the scenes in which Śākya Muni appears, either as Siddhārtha, or as Buddha, the same elegance of form and beauty of feature everywhere prevails.

These Nāgas appear also on the sculptures of the gateways at Sanchi, and are distinguished in the same manner—the men with a five or seven-hooded snake at the back of their heads, the women with a single-headed snake to each. There, however, they are very subordinate, and never apparently mixed up with the other governing races as at Amravati; and, so far as can be made out from such representations as exist, only one instance of snake worship is found at Sanchi, and that not very distinct.¹

Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, it appears to me more than probable that these Nāgas are the same people as the so-called Yavanas, who play so important a part in the history of Orissa during the fourth and fifth centuries; and, if this be so, it seems equally clear that they really did come from Cashmeer, or rather from Taxila,² which

of which they fasten with a string passing round their waists a bunch of leafy twigs to cover them before and behind." Barring the twigs, which seem to be a modern innovation, nothing can more correctly describe the costumes of the sculptures than the above extract from Mr. Hislop's paper on the Gonds, edited by Sir R. Temple, p. 8.

¹ A very beautiful set of drawings of the sculptures of the Sanchi Tope exists in the East India Library in Canon Row. They were made in 1854 by Lieut. now Lieut.-Colonel Maisiey. They are most interesting as far as they go, but unfortunately only represent a small portion of the sculptures. A beautiful set of photographs of the Sanchi Tope is now in course of publication by Lieutenant Waterhouse, R.E.

² In the Western Cave inscriptions, the name Yavana Dhanaka cheka frequently occurs, either as a benefactor or an artist, but whether as one person or several is by no means clear. Dr. Stevenson translates the name as the "Greek Xenocrates;" General Cunningham, with much more appearance of truth, as a "Yavana of Dhanaka cheka!" The first reading we may safely reject, but it will be very interesting if it should be proved that our Dhanaka cheka was then so important as to furnish artists and funds for the Western Caves. That the Yavanas came from the North-west can hardly be doubted, and these land-marks seem to point to a path of migration which may prove invaluable to future explorers.

seems to have been the head quarters of Nāga worship in the early centuries of the Christian era.¹

This being so, we naturally turn to the Rāja Tarangīnī² to see what light it may throw on the subject. We find there an invasion of Ceylon under the king Mihirakula in the second century. Another under Meghavāhana of a more authentic character, in the fourth century; and a king of Cashmeer, called Raṇāditya, marrying a daughter of the Chola king, and assisting him in various undertakings apparently before the end of the fifth century.

All this is not very distinct or definitive, but such events would hardly have been recorded in such a work unless there had been some intimate intercourse either of a warlike or peaceful nature between the north and south of India at the period within which the erection of the Amravati Tope has been fixed in the previous part of this paper. What further light may be thrown on the subject will probably come from Siam. The extracts above given from Col. Low's paper are invaluable as hints to its history, and many of the extracts published by Dr. Bastian³ can now be understood from the light the sculptures of the Amravati Tope throw on the subject. It was apparently by the Diamond Sands and across the Isthmus of Ligor that the communication was kept up between Cashmeer and Cambodia, and gave rise to the erection of the wonderful Nāga temples of Ongcor Wat with their Indian epic sculptures.

There are so many novelties—so much that is interesting and important in the Amravati Tope that it would be easy to continue these remarks to almost any extent. It would, however, be difficult to make the matter intelligible without more illustrations than are admissible in this journal. In the present instance this is of the less consequence as I am not without hopes of seeing representations of all the Amravati marbles in the India Museum published in sufficient

¹ Strabo, lib. xv., p. 698. Maximi Tyrii Disput. viii., ed. Lib., p. 140.

² Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 1, *et seq.*

³ "Die Voelker des Oestlichen Asien," vol. 1., *passim*. They are huddled together in so confused a manner that it is impossible to refer to particular passages. See History of Architecture, vol. ii. p. 713, *et seq.*

detail to make them available for scientific research. Meanwhile I feel convinced that there is nothing known to exist in India which is so beautiful in an artistic point of view as these sculptures, and nothing which is likely to throw so much light on one of the darkest periods of Indian history. If ever we are to understand how far the arts of Europe influenced those of the East, or what amount of intercommunication of ideas took place between the East and West during the early ages of Christianity, it will probably be from the study of the sculptures of the Amravati Tope that we shall derive the clearest impressions on this most interesting subject.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this paper on the Amravati Tope was in type, arrangements have been completed with the Indian Government for the publication of the work alluded to in the last paragraph. It is intended to consist of, at least, fifty plates, small folio size; thirty-five of these will contain photographs of nearly one hundred examples of the sculptures, printed by the Carbon process, and therefore as permanent as engravings. The remainder will be lithographs from the drawings in the Mackenzie collection of subjects not represented in the marbles in the East India Museum.

It is intended that the text shall contain an Essay on Tree and Serpent Worship and an architectural history of Buddhist Rials, in addition to the subjects treated of in the foregoing paper.

The whole of the plates are in active course of preparation in the department under the superintendence of Dr. Forbes Watson, and it is hoped the work may be ready for publication in the spring of next year.

LANGHAM PLACE, *October, 1867.*

ART. VI.—Remarks on Professor Brockhaus' Edition of the Kathâsarit-sâgara, Lambaka IX.-XVIII. By Dr. H. KERN, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Leyden.

ALL Sanskrit scholars must feel obliged to Professor Brockhaus for his edition of Somadeva's Kathâsarit-sâgara, the last part of which, from Lambaka ix.-xviii., was published last year. To copy a work containing 21526 ślokas, to select the best readings from a great number of manuscripts, in short, to publish, for the first time, a work in such a manner that the whole affords an almost undisturbed pleasure to the reader, is a heavy task. Indeed, the editor might well say in his preface: "I may say in good conscience that the text, as given by me, is more complete and correct than it is found in any of the MSS. I used. I have corrected faults in orthography, grammar, syntax, and prosody by thousands; there remain, however, many passages which need further correction, partly on account of the condition of the MSS., partly on account of my deficient knowledge." I willingly subscribe to these words, except the last, in which the editor has scarcely done justice to himself. In so extensive a work the sharpness of the eyes and mind becomes so blunted that it ought not to be ascribed to deficiency of knowledge if some faults are to be met with. Professor Brockhaus would certainly judge less severely of the performance of others than of his own.

In perusing the last volume of the edition of the Kathâsarit-sâgara, I have found some unintelligible passages which I saw no means of restoring satisfactorily without the aid of MSS.; but there are also not a few of them which need only a slight change, or in which the separation of the words in Sandhi by the editor has to be corrected, in order to become perfectly clear. Having no MSS. at hand I shall try to discuss only passages of the latter kind.

Every one who knows MSS. will, I suppose, agree with me that no MS. can be an authority as to whether we have to read, for instance, एष्यामि or ऐष्यामि. If the meaning be, "I shall go," we have to read *eshyāmi*, even if all known MSS. had the contrary; but wherever the context requires "I shall come," we know the author to have written *aishyāmi*. I need not explain why *eti*, *eshyāmi*, etc., gets confounded with *aiti*, *aishyāmi*, etc., whereas, in verses at least, *gacchāmi* remains distinct from *āgacchāmi*. There are a pretty considerable number of passages where the editor has erroneously put *eshyāmi* instead of *aishyāmi*.

For instance, p. 64, 17¹:

Tad aham bālakāṁ etaṁ nttvā teat-pitṛi-veçmani

Sthāpayāmi; tvam āsva 'iha, çighram eshyāmy aham punaḥ.

The meaning is obviously, "I'll soon come back," not "I'll go back."

The same error occurs 72, 202; 80, 368; 91, 100; 109, 148; 165, 79; 178, 88; 283, 240; 293, 113; 331, 34; 457, 83; 504, 31; 505, 36; 539, 126; 564, 25.

A mistake of the same kind, but in a contrary direction, is the reading Gautama, 139, 319, which ought to be Gotama, for the R̥shi himself is meant, not one of his descendants or followers.

Again, 249, 328, we find *tad-anyair devatair*, read *daiyatair*, there being a word *devatā* but no *devatam*.

If these and similar mistakes must be ascribed to the MSS., or rather, most probably, to some of them, in other instances it is but justice to absolve them wholly; e.g. 461, 85:—

Tena 'udvāha-vidhim yuktyā prauḍhā sâ niravartayat;

Samkalpaika-pradhânâ hi divyâ nâma khilâḥ kriyâḥ.

The second half-śloka is perfectly meaningless; the Nāgarī had:

संकल्पिकप्रधाना हि दिव्यानामखिलाः क्रियाः ।

which, in Roman characters, is:

Samkalpaikapradhânâ hi divyândm akhilâḥ kriyâḥ.

¹ The first number here and in the sequel denotes the page, the second the śloka.

i.e. "all the actions of heavenly beings depend only upon their own will."

A similar correction has to be applied at 417, 22 :

Kim, deva, nñti-tattva-jño 'py ajânann ita muhyasi ?

Sa-parântaram aprekshyam ; atah kasya 'iha vikramah ?

I fear no contradiction if I assert that अप्रेक्ष्यमतः is to be rendered, in Roman characters, through *aprekshya ? matah ;* the sign of interrogation after *muhyasi* has to be changed into a semicolon, by those at least who see any use in the introduction of European interpunction into Sanskrit texts. For my part I regard this system as an intrusion. The translation runs nearly thus : "How can you, my Prince, who are so well versed in politics, indulge in illusions, as if you were ignorant of them, not taking into consideration the difference between yourself and the foe ? Who would think here of violence" (i.e. who would approve of it) ?

Justice is also due to the MSS. 376, 119 :

Sa tam âlokayâṁśa, jihvayâ 'asrik-kaṇṭm lihan.

The Nâgarî text has जिह्वासृक्कणी, rightly, or may be •णी, wrongly, but, at all events, the meaning is : *jihvayâ sṛkkaṇṭ* (or rather *sṛkvaṇṭ*) *lihan*, "licking the corners of his mouth with his tongue."

The foregoing examples may show that some errors may be cleared without the aid of MSS. I shall now proceed to point out some more of the kind in regular order, and at the same time notice some typographical errors likely to puzzle the reader.

Page 14, 36 : Here and elsewhere, e.g. 153, 39 ; 280, 169, etc., the editor writes *abruvam*. It may be that some MSS. have it, but that is no reason why it should be Sanskrit. In many copies ब्र and ब्रु are scarcely to be distinguished ; hence we find at least a dozen times ब्रुव in print against once in the MSS. Whether the editors thought of ब्रुवन, or thought nothing at all, does not matter. That form *abruvam* is as preposterous as a form *advisham* or *abructt*.

22, 189 : For *janmabhūmiḥ parâ-priyâ* read *parapriyâ*. Our home is not our "most excellent or supreme sweetheart," but "very dear."

30, 368: For *putrāya 'avarjito* (पुत्रायावर्जितो) read *āvarjito*, which needs no explanation.

Ibid. 370: For *striyaḥ* read *striyāḥ*; the genitive case of *stri* being invariably *striyāḥ*.

36, 88:

*Tasmiñś ca rājñi kulavo rajahsu guṇa-vicyutiḥ,
Sāyakeshv avicāraś ca goshthesu paśurakshinām.*

Without some change there is no means of mending this sloka. The original reading must have been, I think:

तस्मिंश्च राज्ञि कुवसरजःसु गुणविच्युतिः ।
सायकेशुविचारश्च गोष्ठेषु पशुरक्षिणाम् ॥

Which, to keep as close to the original as possible, may be rendered: "and in his reign a falling down from the string (गुणविच्युति) occurred with the pollen of lotuses," no falling off from virtue (गुणविच्युति) occurred in men; "discussion about shafts and arrows occurred only in the conversations of the (peaceable and unhurt) cowherds," not in the armies preparing for battle. That the cæsure divides a compound word into two parts, as we see in *kuvala | rajahsu*, is a licence of which our author avails himself sparingly.

43, 38: *Surā* is undoubtedly a typographical error for *surāḥ*, and so is *tasyā puro*, p. 44, 62, for *tasyāḥ*.

48, 161:

Kim nirarthena dehena jīvitāpi mṛitena me ?

In the MSS. this was written:

किं निरर्थेन देहेन जीविनापि मृतेन मे ।

or, perhaps, as it ought to be:

किं निरर्थेन देहेन जीविनोऽपि मृतेन मे ।

"What shall I do with this useless body that is dead, although I still breathe?"

67, 70: For *ācāsitaḥ* read *ācāśitaḥ*.

90, 66:

*Abrakt tām ca : "putro me tvayā, 'arthe, śikshyatām ayam
Veçyayoshit-kalā, yena vaidagdhyaṃ prāpnuyād asau."*

From the interpunction it would seem that the editor takes *arthe* for a verb, but there is no such verb; there is a very

common word, viz., *arthaye*. Moreover, the wit of the passage is lost sight of. The original probably had :

अत्रवीत्तास पुत्रो मे खयार्ये शिष्यतामयम् ।

i.e. *trayâ drye* : this, "madam," is quite precious.

109, 167 : For *Sumano mahābhṛid* read *Sumano-mahābhṛid*, or, if you like better, *Sumanā mahābhṛid*.

112, 15 :

Uttāya çasyān sa mṛidūn açnan prakṛitim āptavān

There is no word *çasyān* (masculine gender), although all of us know a word that sometimes, according to barbarous orthography, is printed¹ शस्यं, pl. शस्यानि, but it is neuter. In short, it should be शस्यान् or, in Roman characters, *çaspān*, "grass."

115, 105 : For *atigarjinam* read *abhigarjinam*.

144, 84 :

Sā tasya çayane nityam jarāto bhūt parāṇmukhī,

Vyatīta-pushpa-kālā 'tra bhramatī 'iva taror vane.

There is neither any sense in the second half-śloka, nor is there symmetry in the whole. If the merchant's daughter married to an old husband were *vyatītapushpakālā*, she would have no reason of feeling aversion, of being *parāṇmukhī*. Happily the rules of symmetry in Sanskrit composition are so rigorous that we are able actually to demonstrate what the true reading *must* be. To show the symmetry I will number the corresponding parts, viz., in the same manner as the *bhramatī* (1) in the wood (2) is *parāṇmukhī* (3) from a tree (4) on account of its being out of the flowery season (5), so the merchant's daughter (1) in bed (2) is averse (3) to her husband (4) on account of his old age (5). Therefore we must read, with or against the MSS. :

सा तस्य शयने निषिञ्चरातो भूत पराङ्मुखी ।

व्यतीतपुष्पकालत्वाद् भ्रमरीव तरोर्वने ॥

159, 153 : For *tatsakhyā 'apagamāc* read *tatsakhyāpagamāc*,

¹ The orthography *सस्यम्* is not only the common one of the MSS. (not of the editors), but also agrees with the form of the word in the cognate languages. The Bactrian has *hahya*, the Latin *ser-o* (*ser-o*).

i.e. if we analyse the compound : *tena saha yat sakhyam āstī tasyāpagamāt*.

160, 176, *et seq.* : For *prakṛitam* and *prakṛitena* read, of course, *prākṛitam* and *prākṛitena*.

Ibid. 186 :

Vaidyo 'py apātayāt

Ṣopha-ṣaṅktī tanuṃ tasya mūḍhasya 'ākramya mastakam.

As the physician did not split the fool's body, but opened his jaws, we require :

शोफशङ्की हनुं तस्मै मूढस्याक्रम्य मस्तकम् ।

174, 106 : For *śāsvatī* read *śāṣvatī* ; and 279, 150, for *śāsvatam* read *śāṣvatam*.

180, 218 :

Sā tāpaś jīta-krodhā rājaputram vihasya tam

Ṣogeṣvartī Hiraṇyākṣham urāca vikṛitānandā.

To be *vikṛitānandā* is precisely the reverse of being *jīta-krodhā* ; read

योगेश्वरी हिरण्यक्षमुवाचाविकृतानना ।

The ascetic remained *avikṛitānandā* ; i.e. " with a face that bespeaks no emotion."

183, 35 :

Sukhitasyāpy aṣanena kim ?

One who feels comfortable (*sukhita*) may perfectly well relish a dinner ; not so one who is satiated ; this is in Sanskrit *suhita* ; read *sukhitasyāpy aṣanena kim ?*

196, 23 :

Tato Jayendrasenāḥkhyāṃ tām sa dadhyau tathā, yathā

Āsatām niṣi nāryo =nyā na nidrāpi jahāra tam.

The thoughts of the hero are so engrossed with his new love that his other wives are left alone and may take rest. Now, " to sit down unengaged," is expressed by *आस*, which is the very thing we want ; consequently read

आसत निशि नार्यो न्याः न निद्रापि जहार तम् ।

Ibid. 31 : Not *jayāpushpa* but *japāpushpa* (जपापुष्प) is the flower meant by the poet ; for although there are many flowers called *jayā*, none of them belongs to Kāma, whose flower *par excellence* is the " rose," *जपा* or *जवा*.

203, 8 :

*Tām ca kanyāṃ sva-pārçva-sthām niçi dyotita-kānanām
Īkshate sma i. ā.*

Since the girl at his side did not show a forest, but her amorous disposition, we should read *dyotitakāmanām*.

213, 138 :

*Mūḍho *patad haṁsa-yūthe, paçyaṁs tām eva unmanāḥ.*

This *eva* is quite meaningless, and the absence of the Sandhi a solecism. Read *evam*, having the sense of *evāṅgatām*, "in such a position."

216, 17 :

*So *py upekshita-sampatti-hriṣṭo *rcita-Vindyakah
Mrigāṅkadatto i. ā.*

Mrigāṅkadatta rejoices not in the fortune which he disregards, but in that which he expects ; now that is *apekshita-sampatti*.

230, 191 : The word *dāyayā* is most likely an error of the press for *dayayā*, "with compassion."

239, 86 :

*Sa tad [sc. pātram] vipro grihṭvaiva gurutrāt sahiranyakam
Matrā, praharshād ekāntam riḥur gatvā *udapātayat.*

It would be difficult to throw up like a feather (*udapātayat*) so heavy a receptacle. Nor would *udapātayat* do, because there is no need of violence ; the good fellow simply opened it, *i.e.* *udaghātayat*.

300, 36 : The printed text has here and elsewhere *yāti kâle*, where it ought to be *yâte kâlê*. The sense is not, "as time went on," but "after some time," after Dhanadatta had lost his wealth. The same change is required at p. 384, 30 : *yāti* (read *yâte*) *kâlê ca militās te samketa-niketane*. It is possible, of course, to say : "*yāti kâlê bālakah samvardhate*," but "*yāti kâlê militās te samketaniketane*," is impossible, both grammatically and physically.

308, 107 : For *kiṁ tv idam* read *kinno idam*, *kiṁtu* meaning "but," and nothing else.

309, 4 :

*Rājann, abhinivisṭo *si kashṭe, dṛisṭapriyo *si ca,
Tat te ceto-vinodāya varṇayāmi kathām, çṛiṇu.*

How could the Vetâla say *ceto-vinodâya*, if the king had seen something pleasant? Quite the reverse is the case; he had seen something disagreeable, hence the Vetâla remarks *dr̥ṣhṭāpriyo* *si.

315, 21: For *hṛidayāny* read *hṛidyāny*; most probably a slip of the pen.

319, 102;

Idāntm ca pitā tram me, sapurā 'aham vaçā tava.

I am not aware that the Vedic word *vaçā* is ever used in common Sanskrit, and, even if it were, it would be out of place here, for it means "a cow." We have to read *vaçe*, i.e. "myself and my city are at your command."

321, 25: For *niyogajanitas* read *niyogajanatas* (*bubudhe*), "he knew from his commissioners."

322, 46: The form *udgṭya*, if it have any existence at all, of which I very much doubt, is a solecism, of which Soma-deva is not capable; read *udgāya*.

335, 111:

Çukla-kṛishṇa-caturdaçyām aṣṭamyām ca, 'āryaputra, te Pratimāsam anāyantā caturo divasān aham.

A feminine *anāyantā* cannot have any existence. The girl says: "During four days every month I shall not be yours, my lord;" whence the reader may know that अनायन्ता, "not belonging to (somebody)," stands in the MSS.

351, 33: For *badhūn*, which is no word at all, read *bandhūn*; likewise p. 622, 128.

352, 48:

Tathā 'anurāga-vivaçā bheje kanyā vihasatām,

Yathā sakṣī 'iva vīnā 'asyā vyākulā 'ālāpatām yayau.

The Nāgarī वाकुलावापती is a Sandhi of *vyākula-ālāpatām*, which needs no further comment.

380, 59: For *niḥsrāsān* read *niḥçrāsān*.

388, 15:

*Mushitum bahavo *dhāvan Çavarā vividhāyudhāḥ.*

As the infinitive mood of *mush* is *moshitum*, and that of

mûsh mûshitum, a form *mushitum* has no existence; therefore we have to correct *mûshitum*.

390, 44 :

Eshâ ca citram yuvayoh patantî dhûlir ânane
Vâtoddhûtâ 'ahata-châyam âvayoh kurute mukham.

From the context it appears that Chandaśinha wonders how two delicate girls could bear so well the inconveniences of the wilderness, amongst others the whirling dust; even men felt these inconveniences. The dust "spoils" the fresh "colour" even of men's faces. This is precisely the reverse of what is exhibited in the printed text: in Nâgari it is all right:

वातोद्धुता हतच्छायमावयोः कुर्वते मुखम्.

398, 5: The editor writes *tamasâ vṛitah* (तमसावृतः). I doubt whether this is right. The common expression is certainly *tamasâ âvṛitah*, because darkness covers, enwraps a person *on every side*. It is common and natural enough to say, *ayaṃ bandhubhir vṛitah*, or *panthâh pâshânair vṛitah*, but in neither case the notion is that of enwrapping. Unless the contrary be proved I deem it prudent to stick to *tamasâ âvṛitah*.

Ibid. 9: After *prati* a full stop ought to be put; and in śloka 10, after the second *iva*, a semicolon, the verb being *prâptavân asmi* in śloka 11.

399, 31: Probably *jyotibhir* is a typographical error for *jyotirbhir*.

400, 55: If I have well understood the editor's system of transcription, the words *Arohintka* and *Aratika* should be written *a-Rohintka* and *a-Ratika*.

406, 186 :

kshaṇâc ca śānte pavane, niḥṣabda-stimite =mbudhiḥ
dadau praśānta-kopasya sajjanasya samânatâm.

There is no question of "giving," but of "putting on, taking," the appearance of something. Consequently read *dadhau*.

421, 101; Instead of *sa prtti-bahumânâṃ* read *saprtti-bahumânâṃ*.

Ibid. 113:

*yuktān mṛigamadair vastrair māṅsa-bhāraiḥ phalāsavaiḥ
tān sa Durgapiṣāco -tra nṛipatīn sa samānayat.*

The two last words are here evidently out of place; read
सममानयत्, "honoured."

Ibid. 116:

*api Mātanga-rājam tam so -gre dūrād abhojayat;
kāryam deçaṣ ca kâlaṣ ca gartyān, na punaḥ pumân.*

It does not seem very flattering to the Mātanga-rāja that he is put far away; yet the man has to be honoured because he is expected to do good services. The word *kāryam*, showing no connexion with any other part of the sentence, cannot be right. What then?

अपि मातङ्गराजं तं सो -ये -दूरादभोजयत् ।

कार्ये देशस्य कासस्य गरीयान् न पुनः पुमान् ॥

In other words: business goes above personal considerations.

425, 41: For *cārane* read *rā rane*.

426, 61:

*tac çrutvā sâ tatas tiryag-nyasta-dṛishṭīr dadarça tam
kāntam tejasvinām madhye vartinam sahaçârīnām.*

It would not prove much for a girl's love if she could see the *tejas* of others where her own sweetheart is near. Somadeva knew women too well to have written any thing but *tejasvinam*.

Ibid. 64:

*târad Mṛigānkadattas tām upetya, tyājayan hriyam,
sa kâlocitām âha sma girā prema-madhu-çcyutâ.*

The adjective *kâlocitām* would be right if something like *kriyâ* were to be found in the sentence. Here, however, the author means: "M. spoke a word *à propos*;" now that is *kâlocitām âha*.

427, 93: *tac ca te sa-Çrutadhayo rājānaḥ çraddhatus tadâ.*

There being no such word as *çraddhatuḥ*, it must be an error for *çraddadhus*.

446, 160.

*dropya çivikâs taiṣ ca nṛitta-râdya-madâkulaḥ
ntto -smi Somadattasya bhavanam vitatotsavam.*

It is impossible that one person can be put into different litters at the same time; hence it follows that we have to read *ṣibikāṃ* (not *ṣivī*).

457, 2, sq. :

*"parārtha-phala-janmāno na syur mārṅga-drumā iva
"tāpa-chido mahāntaṣ cej jīrṇāranyaṃ jagad bhavet,"
yad dṛishṭvā, tam sa sujanaḥ pṛishṭvā ca 'anvaya-nāmanī
haste avalambya 'udaharat kūpāt tasmād uvāca ca :*

The word *yad* is here a causal conjunction, introducing the whole of the former śloka, whereas the finite verb in the chief sentence is *udaharat*. A quotation is wholly out of question for two reasons; firstly, because *yad dṛishṭvā* is not synonymous with *iti matvā* or *kṛitvā*; secondly, because no *sujana*, especially if he be a Hindu, would call himself a noble or great man. Enough; we have to do away with the brackets, to put a semicolon after *yad*, and to omit the same after *dṛishṭvā*. The construction is, accordingly : *yaj jagad bhavej jīrṇāranyaṃ yadi mahānto na syus tāpacchidaḥ | sa sujano dṛishṭvā tam pṛishṭvā cānvayanāmanī avalambya hasta udaharat kūpāt*.

458, 11, sq. :

*"satatam asyai gāyantyai cṭṇḍyām Ḍauriṇā svayam
dattam sva-gītākam, kâshṭhâ, gândharve paramâṅgatâ.
"yo vâdayati cṭṇḍyâm, tribhir grâmaiṣ ca gâyati
gândharva-kovidâḥ samyag Vaishṇavaṃ stuti-gītākam,
sa me patih syād." i. ā.*

The first śloka ought to run thus :

सततमस्मै गायन्त्यै वीणायां शौरिणा स्वयम् ।

दत्तं स्वगीतकं काष्ठां गान्धर्वे परमां गतः ॥

In other words : the single brackets have to be closed after *svagītākam*; then follows according to the editor's system : *"'kâshṭhâṃ gândharve paramâṃ gataḥ | yo vâdayati i.ā.'"* i.e. "one who having attained the highest degree of excellence in music, accompanies on the lute," etc.

Ibid. 24 : Such *ârsha*-forms like *yuñjantyaś* must be left to the Mahābhārata and kindred works; Somadeva could not use such forms in a style like his.

465, 178 :

*dharmâsanopaviṣṭā hi durbalaṃ balinaṃ, param
âtmyaṃ vata jânanti dhîrâ nyâyaika-darṣinaḥ.*

The meaning is that righteous kings and judges know no difference between a feeble and a powerful (or a poor and rich) person, between a stranger and a kinsman. The word वत (which at all events had to be written *vata*) in the printed text, is a mis-read च न.

466, 3 : *Rishyamûkha°* is a slip of the pen for *Rishyamûka°*, as it is rightly printed a little before, şl. 184.

467, 14. The word *anasûyâ* denoting here a well-known person from the Râmâyana, should be written *Anasûyâ*. For my part, certainly, I consider the use of capitals in a Sanskrit text to be an undue concession to European habits or prejudices, but the system once adopted should be persevered in.

Ibid. 25 :

*Saṃpâti-vacanottîrṇa-vâridheṣ ca Hanûmataḥ
yatnât prarṛittau jâtâyâṃ, gatvâ kapilaiḥ saha, i. d.*

Not चाताया but चाताया is the word we want.

Ibid. 30 :

*yâbhyâ saṃ Gandharva-purâc Çrâvastîṃ prâpito °bhavat,
Bhagîrathayaçaḥ yasyâṃ yena sâ paryaniyata.*

If the person who had married *Bhagîrathayaças* were not known otherwise, and could be indicated only by his achievements being mentioned, the word *yena* would be right; but not here, because it is *Naravâhanadatta*. Therefore the sentence requires *tena* instead of *yena*.

468, 38 :

*aḥaṃ ca tatraiva °eshyâmi Caṇḍasînḥena sînunâ,
sa hi Vidyâdharendraiḥ ca svakair abhyudayâyate.*

Sa hi is out of place here; *abhyudayâyate* is so everywhere; read *saha* and *abhyudayâya te*.

481, 193 :

*bandhu-prâpti-prado hy esha bhâryâ-ryatikaro mayâ,
ari-marde °dhunâ mukhyam aṅgam, ity abhinanditaḥ.*

The sense being : " to defeat the enemy is to-day the chief thing," अरिमर्दे has to be changed to अरिमर्दो.

487, 48 : It is hardly necessary to remark that *śāṣanam* is a typographical error for *śāsanam*.

489, 102 : Instead of *bhava-priye* the system requires *Bhava-priye*, " *Īśva's* beloved wife," or *Bhavapriye*, " Gauri," as you like it.

515, 153 :

*vikoṣāsi-viniryātair lakṣhitam khadga-raṣmibhiḥ,
tārā ratnāpahārārtham ihaserana-rajjubhiḥ.*

In *ihaserana*, which has no meaning, the latter part रण must be a clerical error for रज्जु " hemp." But what to make out of *ihase* ? Hesitatingly I propose to read *ahrasva*, " long."

Ibid. 161 :

Instead of *viṣvasta* ! *ghātakaḥ* read *viṣvasta-ghātakaḥ*, " killing others who feel no suspicion."

519, 11 :

*ekas Tārāvalokas tu, bhūtvā rājendra-mānushaḥ
Vidyādharaṇām samprāpya sukṛitaiḥ cakravartitām, i. ā.*

राजेन्द्रमानुषः contains two words : *rājendra* (vocative case), and *mānushaḥ* ; the interpunction has to be modified accordingly.

Ibid. 18 :

dugdhābdbhir-nirmala-kulā is a slip of the pen for *dugdhābdbhī-nirmala°*.

531, 83 :

tatra 'abhūd Yajñasomākhyo brāhmaṇo guṇī.

Three syllables are wanting in the latter part of the half sloka; without the aid of MSS. I am not able to fill up the gap.

532, 113 :

*tatra prishṭau pradhānais tau caurais tair bhaya-viklavau
kṣud-duḥkhāv āpta-saṃkleṣam sva-vṛttāntam aśaṃsatām.*

In the first place बुद्धःखावाप्तसंक्षेपः is one word. A second error, however, lurks in the passage. For there may be " tales of woe," no tale, no story itself can feel hunger or pain. Somadeva certainly wrote बुद्धःखावाप्तसंक्षेपः.

541, 5 : For *eti* "goes," read *aiti* "comes."

Ibid. 8 :

*pitā ca tat-samam tasya Candraketuḥ sa sainikam
ahvānāya pratthāram visasarja rathānugam.*

A body of troops must accompany the chamberlain for safety's sake, the latter alone being the messenger to call the prince (*tasya-ahvānāya*). If this be true, the edited text ought to have *sasainikam*.

543, 55 :

karacanam is a slip of the pen for *kavacam*.

547, 32 : The word *sugata* has the same right to be considered a noun proper as Buddha ; therefore we have to write *Sugata* ; likewise p. 549, 75.

Ibid 46 :

*striyo 'pi 'icchanti puṃ-bhāvam, yā dṛiṣṭvā rūpa-lolubhāḥ.
tasyās te ko bhaved na 'arthāt, tulya-rūpaḥ sa kiṃ punaḥ ?*

In this form the whole śloka is entirely unintelligible ; a single *Anusṭūpa*, however, is sufficient to render the meaning clear ; read :

स्त्रियो ऽपीच्छन्ति पुष्पाव यां वृद्धा रूपलोबुभाः ।

तस्मादेव को भवेन्नार्थी तुल्यरूपः स किमुनः ॥

"Who would not desire to possess you, at whose sight even woman should wish to be man, etc."

557, 68 :

tataḥ sa pakṣivahano — Mukṭāphaladhvajāḥ. Since *Mukt.* does not carry the birds, but these carry him, the author wrote पक्षिवाहनी.

580, 62 :

*dṛiṣṭvāiva tena kodāṇḍe namatyā 'āropitaṃ guṇam,
tac-ṣikṣhayaiva 'ucchiraso 'py anaman sarvato nṛpāḥ.*

A form *namatyā* does not exist ; if it were *namantya*, it would be the instrumental case of the feminine, but no word of the feminine gender has anything to do here. In short, नमत्वारोपितं is to be divided into *namaty* (Locat. sing. belonging to *kodāṇḍe*) and *āropitaṃ*. Moreover, read तच्छिष्येव ; *eva* is out of place.

Ibid. 80 :

*evam ākhyāta-vṛttāntaṃ tuṣṭo vastrair vibhūṣaṇaiḥ
grāmaiḥ ca Vikramādityo dūtāṃ rājā 'abhyapūrayat.*

If the gifts bestowed by the king upon the ambassador consisted only in garments and ornaments, the word *abhyapūrayat* would, perhaps, be admissible, but an expression *grāmair abhyapūrayat* offends against all rules of rhetoric, at least in Sanskrit. Moreover, we need, so to say, a ceremonious word. Such a word occurs repeatedly, and we have not to go further than the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* itself. See Taranga 31, ṣl. 59.

एवं महत्तराङ्गत्वा तं तथेवमिगम्य च ।

प्रहृष्टो हेमवस्त्राद्यैर्वत्सराजो -भूपूजयत् ॥

An ambassador *abhipūjyate*, not *abhipūryate* by a king who ought to know good manners better than any one else. I wonder whether all manuscripts have *abhyapūrayat*; not likely.

582, 107 : *pranartayantau* is a slip of the pen for *pranartayantyau* as belonging to *kanyake*.

594, 261 : For *āsāsu* read *āṣāsu*.

596, 8 :

*samānitāṃ visrishteshu sta-deçān atha rājasu,
jagad-ānandini prāpte vasantasamayotsave,*

The editor seems to have taken *samānitāṃ* in the sense of *samānam*, "with honour." This is hardly correct: we must transpose an Anusvāra, and read *संमानितविसृष्टेषु* "after being treated with due honours and dismissed."

601, 112 :

*prabhātam ālokya ca tatra tasya taṃ
yatheccha-sannikṛita-citra-kautukam,*

The nuptial ceremonies not being "dejected" or "laid low," but "prepared," we have to read *सज्जीकृतः*.

602, 14 : *dettyasīm* is a typographical error for *dartyasīm*.

608, 158 :

*sa bhāryāṃ sadṛiṣṭiṃ prepsuḥ, pitror aredito gṛihāt
nirgatya, deçān babhrāma i. ā.*

The word *avedito* means "without *being* informed; what the sentence requires, is: "without *having* informed," without the knowledge of." That is expressed by *avidito*.

62, 111, f. :

*bhūyo 'pi ca 'abhyānandat sa "jīva jīva !" ity udīrya tat;
adṛṣyā ca jāhāsa 'asya śrutvā śakunadevatā.*

.
acintayac ca : "śakunādhishṭhātṛ devatāpi sā."

aho ! mūrkhō 'yam aśubham śubham ity abhinandati !

I must own that I cannot see any reason why we should assume that a verse is omitted;¹ nothing is wanting to the completeness of the sentence. However this may be, the subject of *acintayat* is not the fool, but the *śakunadevatā*, or *śakunādhishṭhātṛ devatā*. Read accordingly :

acintayac ca śakunādhishṭhātṛ devatāpi sā :

aho mūrkhō i. ā.

¹ The same remark applies to all other passages in the volume where the editor has put dots.

ART. VII.—*The Source of Colebrooke's Essay "On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow."* By FITZEDWARD HALL, Esq., M.A., D.C.L. Oxon.

IN the second volume of his *Chips from a German Workshop*, p. 34, foot-note,¹ the distinguished Professor Max Müller adverting to the above-mentioned dissertation, the earliest of the invaluable series which we owe to the most illustrious of English Sanskritists, makes the remark: "This Essay, I find, is a literal translation from Gagannātha's 'Vivāda-bhangārṇava,' MS. Wilson, 224, vol. iii., p. 62."

Why, it may be asked, did not Professor Müller refer, in a popular work, to Colebrooke's *Digest*,² a translation of the *Vivāda-bhangārṇava*, rather than to an unprinted Sanskrit text, and one of which there are but three MSS. in Europe? Had he so referred, a clue would have been afforded to mere English readers for determining, independently, whether the Essay in question has, or has not, been correctly represented in his description of it.

In the introduction to his primary Essay, Colebrooke says, with all explicitness: "Should the following authorities from *Sanskrit* books be thought worthy of a place in the next volume of the Society's Transactions, I shall be rewarded for the pains taken in collecting them."³

This is not the language of a man who is simply rendering into his own tongue what he finds laboriously compiled ready to his hand by another. Colebrooke, as Professor Müller justly observes, was "the most accurate and learned Sanskrit scholar we [who read English] have ever had." With equal

¹ This foot-note originally formed no part of the article, first published in 1856, to which it is now attached; and, it must, therefore, be considered as the outcome of later and riper researches.

² *A Digest of Hindu Law, on Contracts and Successions, etc.*, Calcutta, 1797, 1798, 4 vols. folio; London, 1801, 3 vols. octavo.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. iv., p. 209 (1795); or *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., p. 114.

truth, it may be added, that he was most scrupulously candid, and the last of men to appropriate the due of another.

Whoever chooses to be at the slight trouble of comparing the *Essay On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow* with the corresponding chapter in Colebrooke's *Digest*,¹ will see much in each that is not in the other. Both are made up, mostly, of extracts from the Hindu sacred works, and comments thereon. That the extracts should, even in large measure, be the same, was unavoidable; just as is the case where, for instance, any two or more writers discourse, dogmatically, on the subject of the Eucharist.

The very first quotation in the *Essay*, and the longest it contains, should have sufficed to keep Professor Müller from the assertion he has hazarded. For it is not in the *Virāḍa-bhaṅgārṇava*.²

Again, the two stanzas which Colebrooke, without more definite specification, designates, respectively, as "from the *Rigvéda*,"³ and as "a *Paurāṇica mantra*,"⁴ are, likewise, not in the original of the *Digest*.⁵

¹ Vol. ii., pp. 451-465 (London edition).

² This quotation gives the widow's *sankalpa*, or 'declaration of resolve' to burn with her deceased husband, that was used in Bengal. A formula extremely like it may be read in Raghunandana's *S'uddhitattva*; one less like it, but of corresponding purport, in the *Āchārachandrikā*. Out of Bengal, the formula prescribed is widely different in expression.

³ "'Om! Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless, nor husbandless, excellent, let them pass into fire, whose original element is water.' (From the *Rigvéda*.)"

Where this is reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Essays*, "excellent" is exchanged for "well-adorned with gems."

It was prior to April 18, 1794, that Colebrooke's first *Essay* was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The revered author, in one of the latest of his *Essays*, read in 1826, speaking of various modes of suicide, formerly or still in use among the Hindus, remarks, that "they are not founded on the *Védas*, as that by burning is." And his context shows, that he intended, no less than the self-cremation of males, the cremation of females. *Essay On the Philosophy of the Hindus*, Part iii. (Mīmāṃsā), *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. i., p. 468; or *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., p. 321.

⁴ "'Om! Let these wives, pure, beautiful, commit themselves to the fire, with their husband's corpse.' (A *Paurāṇica mantra*.)"

"Wives" is amended into "faithful wives," in the *Miscellaneous Essays*.

The passages quoted in the last note and in this are introduced and followed, in the *Essay*, by such sentences as one would reckon on meeting with in any Directory of Cremation. They correspond, almost literally, to sentences in the *S'uddhitattva* and elsewhere.

⁵ The *S'uddhitattva* adduces them, one just after the other, in this form, as printed:

Once more, there is, in the *Digest*, a stanza which Colebrooke there translates as follows: "The faithful widow is

इमा नारीरविधवाः सपत्नीरञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु ।
अनखरोऽनमीरा सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु अक्षयोनिमग्ने ॥

इमाः पतिव्रताः पुष्टाः स्त्रियो या याः सुशोभनाः ।
सह भर्तृशरीरेण संविशन्तु विभावसुम् ॥

This is from Raghunandana's *Institutes of the Hindoo Religion* (Serampore, 1834, 1835), Vol. ii., p. 136. I have no access to any earlier or later edition.

As to the first of these stanzas, we here find a substitute for **आञ्जनेन**, the ungrammatical **अनखरः**, the unmeaning **अनमीरा**, and the immetrical **अक्षयोनिमग्ने**.

In the written Bengalee characters, *l* and *n*, differing by only a dot, as न and ल, are easily confounded. Hence, with the omission of a syllable, which some ignorant meddler struck out, as an erroneous repetition, **अक्षयोनि**, for **अनयो** **योनि**, the true reading.

Colebrooke's MS. of the *Suddhitattwa* exhibits these variations: **सुपत्नीः**, **आञ्जनेन**, **अनखरः**, **अनमीवाः**, and **अनयोनिमग्ने**.

Instead of the foregoing, the late Raja Rādhākānta Deva published, in this Journal (Vol. xvii., p. 213), the following reading, professedly taken from the *Suddhitattwa*,—as printed, likely enough, with exceptions that will be specified:

इमा नारीरविधवाः सपत्नीरञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु ।
अनखरोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु अनयो यो निमयेः ॥

At the end of the second line there is, it may be surmised, one typographical error, if there are not two; for even **योनिमयेः** would be nonsense. The Raja's argument necessitates **योनिमग्नेः**; and the hint of this lection, with **अनमीवाः** and **अनयः**, was borrowed, I suspect, from Professor Wilson.

The reading of the Raja, as copied above, is the only one that has been edited from his manuscript.

The *Rigveda* (x., xviii., 7.) really has:

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा सं विशन्तु ।
अनग्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहन्तु अनयो योनिमये ॥

"Let these women, unwidowed, having good husbands, and with anointing butter on their eyes, enter their houses. Let the mothers, untearful, unmiserable, possessed of excellent wealth, go up to the house first."

I have here followed Sāyana, save in not rendering **आ रोहन्तु** by "approach," **आगच्छन्तु**. What is meant by **योनि**, Sāyana's "house," is not obvious.

At all events, widows are not here addressed. In the next stanza, the object

pronounced no suicide by the *recited* text of the *Rigvéda*: when three days of mourning are passed, she obtains legal

of address is changed: it is no longer a plurality of living women, but one woman, and that a widow, who is exhorted to "come to the world of life."

"If the custom of widow-burning had existed at that early period, there would have been no *vidhavs*, no husbandless women, because they would all have followed their husbands into death. Therefore the very name indicates, what we are further enabled to prove by historical evidence, the late origin of widow-burning in India."—*Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. ii., p. 34.

Scarcely so. Suppose that the self-immolation of widows had had place in the days of the *Rigvéda*: if it had been optional, as it has long been among the Hindus, there would have been *vidhavs*, all the same. As to "the late origin of widow-burning in India," if Diodorus Siculus may be relied on, it must have antedated the third century before the Christian era.

Sir T. E. Colebrooke has been so good as to bring to my notice what were, presumably, the originals, barring a single word, of the two passages in question, as known to his father. The verses are entered, in Mr. H. T. Colebrooke's handwriting, in the margin of a copy of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. iv., p. 211, opposite the translations of them. A punctual transcript is subjoined:

Imd ndrtr avidhauddh supatntr anjanéna sarpisha

Samviantu vibhavaasum

Anasaro' narirdh swatnd dróhantu jalayónim agné.

This is written at the top of the page. At the side follows:

<i>Imdh patiorata</i>	•
<i>punydh strigó</i>	
<i>ya ydh susóbha</i>	• • •
<i>saha bhartrisartr</i>	• • •
<i>samviantu vib</i>	• •
<i>vasum.</i>	

Asterisks have been supplied, to show how many letters have been cut off by the bookbinder.

With regard to the stanza from the *Rigvéda*, it is tolerably clear, from several facts, that Colebrooke took it from no book, but was indebted, for it, to private communication. A learned Hindu would not readily admit into his work a passage containing a word destructive of all metre, as **विभावसु** here is. **विभावसु** is an interpolation; and, apparently, it was suggested by a remembrance of the "*Paurdhica mantra*," which ends with that vocable. Again, *anasaro*, as uttered by a Bengalee, might easily be mistaken for *anaswaro*, which Colebrooke, as he interprets it "immortal," no doubt thought an error for *anaswaro* (**अनश्वरः**), supposed to be an irregular plural, instead of the ordinary **अनश्वराः**. Further, Colebrooke's **अनरीराः**, expanded into "not childless, nor husbandless," is much the sort of venture that an indifferent Pandit would make, as a presumed safe emendation, in lieu of the archaic and strange **अनमीवाः**; especially as the letters **व** and **र** differ, in the local characters, in **व** and **द** or **र**, by only a dot or a bar. The inflection **अग्ने**, "fire," if not mentally read **अग्निं**, must have been accounted an anomalous accusative; for just before it stands what was, to Colebrooke's mind, its epithet, **जलयोनि**, "whose original element is water." Nor, with **जल** to dispose of, would the case have been in the least bettered by reading **योनिसग्ने**. This, it has been unquestioningly affirmed by Professor Wilson, and implied by Professor Müller, Colebrooke did read; and, in turn, they translate the words by "to the place of the fire" and "to the womb of fire."

obsequies." Dealing with the same passage, he had previously written, in his Essay: "Obsequies for suicides are

Professor Müller will have it, however, but quite gratuitously, that the Brahmins read, concurrently with the sophisticate योनिमग्नेः, the uncorrupted जनयः. Colebrooke's "water," and the fact that the words he had translated were known to his above-named successors by divination only, should have precluded such categorical positiveness. See this Journal, Vol. xvi., p. 203; and *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. ii., p. 36: also, Elphinstone's *History of India*, edition of 1866, p. 50, note 8; and Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, Vol. ix., (1867), article *Suttee*.

That the two learned Professors had no guidance from Raja Râdhākānta Deva is proved by a comparison of dates. Professor Wilson, as just adduced, wrote in 1854; Professor Müller, in 1856; the Raja, in 1858. Nor, for reasons already given, and still to be produced, can I look upon the Raja's evidence as of weight to corroborate the view of the other two.

Colebrooke, as has already been stated, dissatisfied with the term "excellent," discarded it for "well-adorned with gems," an expression which answers to सुरताः. Previously he may have had some other word before him, and one indicating that his first text of the passage was even more incorrect than the second. On the whole, it appears conjecturable, that, subsequently to printing his Essay, being desirous, from the unappealable authority of the stanza, of preserving its original, he recovered the words, by the aid of some Brahmin, and nearly as they had before been given to him. Moreover, taking account of the time and circumstances, it is not improbable, that, when Colebrooke commenced Sanskrit student, his Brahmin assistants were unwilling, or unable, to point out a Vaidik text to him in a book, and that he was, therefore, obliged to rely on their memory, such as it was. More than one of the corruptions dwelt on above is such as we might expect from a person recalling what is unfamiliar.

Colebrooke's text is, doubtless, a depravation based on one resembling Raghunandana's. And what was Raghunandana's? Raja Râdhākānta Deva's reading of it differs, as edited, most essentially from that printed in Raghunandana's *Institutes*. The former would have had no pertinency whatever to Raghunandana's context, as not containing even an allusion to fire or burning; and nothing in favour of con cremation can be wrested from the lection सपत्नीः, which, for the rest, as I have pointed out, is not the word that was supplied to Colebrooke, nor that in his MS. of the *S'uddhitattwa*.

Provided with a less vitiated text than that of Colebrooke, the Rev. William Ward, conceiving, apparently, that he could improve on his translation, has offered the following, of his own: "O Fire, let these women, with bodies anointed with clarified butter, eyes (coloured) with stibium, and void of tears, enter thee, the parent of water, that they may not be separated from their husbands, but may be in union with excellent husbands, be sinless, and jewels among women." *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, London edition of 1822, Vol. iii., p. 308.

On the licences which pervade this it is needless to descant. But Mr. Ward surely had before him सपत्नीः, "in union with excellent husbands," and जनयः, "void of tears;" and his "sinless," hypothetically, answers to जनमीवाः. What is of much greater importance to us, "the parent of water" presupposes जलयोनिः; and "O fire," अग्नेः,—a vocative, and that only, in correct grammar.

A translation varying but very slightly from Mr. Ward's, and palpably filched from it, is given in the London *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. xxvi., (1828), p. 536.

Avowedly receiving the passage from the *Rigveda* as represented in the *S'uddhitattwa*, Mrityunjaya, in his elaborate opinion on widow-burning, quoted to the following effect, if we may trust the fidelity of Sir W. H. Macnaghten: "Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, with dry

forbidden ; but the *Rigvéda* expressly declares, that 'the loyal wife [who burns herself] shall not be deemed a suicide.

eyes, devoid of affections, and well-ornamented, ascend the fire." Much of this, no question, is simply copied from Colebrooke. At the same time, it comes out, on the faith of Mrityunjaya, that MSS. of Raghunandana know the readings सुपत्नीः, "good wives," and अन्नमयः, "with dry eyes." "Devoid of affections" is, possibly, a guess at the meaning of अन्नमीवाः; and, though the end of the stanza is only partially interpreted, we can trace the acceptance of a word for "fire," taken to be in the accusative, or else in the locative.

But it signifies very little on what minor points the text accepted by Raghunandana was right or wrong. That he saw, in the stanza, something about fire, in connexion with the suicide of a widow at her husband's death, is what I have been chiefly concerned to prove. And he, like many after him, was, with little of unlikelihood, satisfied with the gross mislection अन्नयोनिमग्ने.

Let us revert to Professor Müller. "It is true," he says, "that, when the English Government prohibited this melancholy custom [widow-burning], and when the whole of India seemed on the verge of a religious revolution, the Brahmins appealed to the Veda as the authority for this sacred rite ; and, as they had the promise that their religious practices should not be interfered with, they claimed respect for the Suttē. They actually quoted chapter and verse from the Rig-veda ; and Colebrooke, the most accurate and learned Sanskrit scholar we have ever had, has translated this passage in accordance with their views :

"Om ! Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless, not [Colebrooke has 'nor'] husbandless, well adorned with gems, let them pass into the [Colebrooke has no 'the'] fire, whose original element is water." (From the Rig-veda).

"Now, this is, perhaps, the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood. Here have thousands and thousands of lives been sacrificed, and a fanatical rebellion been threatened on the authority of a passage which was mangled, mistranslated, and misapplied. If anybody had been able, at the time, to verify this verse of the Rig-veda, the Brahmins might have been beaten with their own weapons ; nay, their spiritual prestige might have been considerably shaken. The Rig-veda, which now hardly one Brahman out of a hundred is able to read, so far from enforcing the burning of widows, shows clearly that this custom was not sanctioned during the earliest period of Indian history." *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. ii., pp. 34, 35.

This has just been literally reprinted from the *Oxford Essays* of 1856, p. 22.

Professor Müller would have insurmountable difficulty in fastening the appeal that he speaks of on any Brahmins save a very few. "They actually quoted chapter and verse from the Rig-veda." I must be allowed to doubt this exceedingly. In so doing, they would have done as Brahmins very seldom indeed do. It would have been most singular, too, if some one, with the aid of so suicidal a procedure, had not turned to the passage in the *Rigvéda*, made known its genuine wording, and shown that no plea could be based thereon for burning widows. "If anybody had been able, at the time, to verify this verse of the Rig-veda," etc. Was not even Colebrooke able to do so ; the Brahmins having "quoted chapter and verse," and he having Sâyana's commentary at his elbow ?

So far as has been ascertained, the adulterated passage is traceable to Raghunandana, and no further. This writer, who flourished at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is, according to Colebrooke, "the greatest authority on Hindu law, in the Province of Bengal." His authority is, however, of secondary rank beyond those limits, and in at least one part of Bengal itself, Tirhoot. That he may have been unconservant with the Veda is quite compatible with his deserved celebrity as a lawyer. His date is so recent, and his works have had such fame and currency, that there seems no good reason to disbelieve that he read, if not

When a mourning of three days has been completed, the *Śrāddha* is to be performed.' This appears from the prayer

बलयोगिमग्ने, at least अग्ने. To this conclusion all the trustworthy evidence that I have collected points well-nigh unequivocally. The presumption, to my mind, is, that he took अग्ने for what it really is, a vocative; and the difference between this and अग्ने, the true reading, is scarcely greater in the written Bengalee characters than it is as here printed. Where Raghunandana picked up the passage in its depraved form it would be idle to speculate.

At the same time, it is, I maintain, manifestly unjust to charge this textual corruption on "an unscrupulous priesthood." India has its full share of priestcraft; but I am convinced that conscious falsification or misattribution of isolated texts has been very rarely practised by the Brahmans, notwithstanding the extent of their pseudonymous literature. As a sacred dictum can be ferreted out in support of almost any conceivable modification of received usage, and as one such is quite enough for the nonce, the dissuasives from dishonesty are maximized.

Especially in Indian commentaries and legal treatises, we constantly come upon quotations widely deviating from correctness, or credited to a wrong source. To give a single instance, out of several that I have noticed, the topic being the consecration of widows; in the *Jāṣamallā-vīṭṭā*, a Tirhoot authority, there occurs, as Manu's, the following line, to be addressed to a damsel at her marriage, reminding her to accompany her husband in life and in death :

भर्ता सहचरी भूया जीवताजीवतापि वा ।

This verse—not in Manu—is quoted, I think, in a work which I have not at hand, the *Dampatī-sikshā*; but, unlike a Pandit, I scruple to recollect as whose.

The truth, as to these and a thousand citations similarly misascribed, is, I believe, that they were recorded without reference to book. The quantity of memorial matter that even a second-rate Pandit will deliver himself of, on demand, connected with any subject that he has made a specialty of study, would astonish a person unacquainted with the peculiarities of studious Hindus.

To say, as Professor Müller says, that Colebrooke translated the false stanza of the *Rigveda* in accordance with the views of the Brahmans, is language that may easily mislead. It was not that he tied himself to any one's views in translating, but that he translated an adulterated text, identical, in its essence, with one that has been accredited, without suspicion of its true character, by the most learned Brahmans of Bengal. Nor was the appearance of this translation subsequent to the prohibition of sutteeism,—as we should naturally infer from Professor Müller's phraseology,—but antecedent thereto by thirty-five years. Nor, again, with due advertence, would one speak, without accompanying explanation, of anything in Colebrooke's first Essay, a novitiate and—*absit verbo invidia*—immature performance, in terms so construable as to convey the impression that we have, therein, a sample of the scholarship of "the most accurate and learned Sanskrit scholar we have ever had."

Whether in his utterances or in his reticences, Professor Müller, with most infrequent exceptions, displays, greatly to his credit, such anxiety of circumspection, and so constant a presence of purpose, that to try him on the weigh-bridge of ordinary judgment, in company with the herd of the uncritical, would simply betray a lack of all proper appreciation. That he can be inexact is the most that I here insist on. His eloquence, learning, and eminent success in popularizing oriental and linguistic studies, one must be ignorant to gainsay, and ungenerous not to applaud.

To Professor Müller's thinking, Raghunandana's mislection has borne fruit in most dire disaster. But let us examine the matter a little closely. Out of Bengal, widow-burning was considered as sufficiently justified apart from Vaidik warrant. And we may be sure that the same was the case in Bengal. There, notoriously, the Vaidik tradition was, for many centuries, virtually in abeyance,

for the occasion, directed in the *Rigvéda*." Of the source of

and has only very recently undergone a galvanized resuscitation. Of this position we have satisfactory proof in the writings of Bengal Pandits. How many among them have commented on the Veda, or expounded the *Mīmāṃsā*? Until very recently, the learned of Bengal have long been satisfied, substantially, to do without the Veda. They were ignorant of it, and they valued it lightly, and they seldom appealed to it. As they set little store by it, so did the commonalty; and it seems entirely unwarranted to imagine that the spiritual prestige of the priesthood would have been affected in the least degree, or that a single widow would have escaped an untimely end, had it been evulgated, ever so widely, that Raghunandana had mistaken a false text of the *Rigvéda* for a true one. It would have been quite enough in Bengal, just as it actually was quite enough in parts of India where the Veda was held in higher esteem, to be able to name, in support of widow-burning, such venerable sages as Angiras, Vishnu, Vyāsa, and Śukra, or even the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. Nay, in default of all these, a Hindu would fain content himself with the proverbial Paurāṇik line,—incidentally quoted, with approval, by Mrityunjaya, in his famous *placitum* on widow-burning,—which imports, that "the very convention of the good is authority like that of the Veda:"

समयस्यापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद्भवति ।

According to Professor Müller, in consequence of the Government prohibition of widow-burning, "the whole of India seemed on the verge of a religious revolution." Was it indeed so?

"The apprehensions which had been entertained of the probable evil consequences of the abolition of the Sutte, and of the violent resentment and tumultuary resistance which it was likely to provoke, were singularly falsified. Some few attempts to evade or defy the law were at first tried, and with occasional success; . . . and the people quietly submitted to the law. Enactments of a similar tendency were promulgated at Madras and at Bombay, and with the like result as in Bengal. Some feeble attempts were made, in Bengal, to obtain a reconsideration of the measure; and petitions were presented against it by a number of Hindus, chiefly persons of opulence, both in the interior and in Calcutta. . . . As the application to the Governor-General, by the votaries of the ancient superstition, proved unavailing, the petitioners had recourse to the remaining legal source of redress, an appeal to the King in Council. Their cause was deliberately and dispassionately argued before the Privy Council in June, 1832; and, after hearing the arguments of the appellants, and of the advocates of the Court of Directors, as respondents, the Council recommended that the petition should be dismissed; and it was dismissed accordingly. The rejection of the petition was not followed by any excitement. An uneasy and sullen suspicion of the objects and intentions of the British Government continued, for a while, to pervade a considerable portion of the Hindu population; but it never assumed the form of popular agitation: and the progress of time, and the continued caution with which the British Government has abstained from further interposition, have dissipated any alarm and apprehension that might have been generated by its conduct in the prohibition of the Sutte." Professor Wilson, *History of British India from 1805 to 1835*, Book III., Chapter vi.

From a foot-note on the above: "One case of serious resistance occurred in 1836, in a dependency of the Bombay Presidency, where, upon the death of the Raja, five of his wives were forcibly burned, in defiance of the efforts of the Assistant Political Commissioner to prevent it. Although he had a force of 300 men at his command, a still larger body of armed men was assembled, who were not dispersed without loss of life, and the necessity of calling in regular troops."

In 1828, Professor Wilson had written: "I should be one of the warmest advocates for the abolition of so inhuman a rite, if I was not strongly impressed with the apprehension that serious evil may attend any measures proposed for its absolute suppression. The attempt, whilst it will be attended with but partial

this passage¹ Colebrooke was, as yet, unaware; and he mistook a substantive part of it for commentatorial introduction, or else he would have begun his quotation immediately after the word "forbidden." Like the *Vivādhāṅgārṇava*, Raghu-

success, will, in my opinion, inspire extensive dissatisfaction and distrust, will alienate, in a great degree, the affections of the natives from their rulers," etc. . . . "The people will not regard the prohibition." . . . "If, then, it should be resolved to prohibit suttees, the Government must be prepared to let the prohibition remain inoperative, or to enforce it by measures which will partake very much of the nature of religious persecution, and which, whilst they confirm the adherence of the Hindus to their national superstitions, will diffuse a very extensive dread and detestation of the British authority."

Mr. Marshman, in his *History of India*, just completed, says, likewise: "Not the slightest feeling of alarm, still less of resentment, was exhibited in the army, or in the country. . . . Lord William Bentinck was enabled, within a twelvemonth, to assure the Directors that there never was a greater bugbear than the fear of revolt. The only circle in which the abolition created any sensation was that of the rich and orthodox baboos of Calcutta, who resented the decision of Government, and, more especially, the promptitude with which it had been carried into execution, as it deprived them of the gratification of obstructing it. They drew up a petition to the Government, . . . demanding the restoration of the rite, as part and parcel of Hindooism, with which Parliament had pledged itself not to interfere. The native organ of the party, in his weekly journal, affirmed that the signatories to the petition for restoring the 'sacred rite of Suttee' included 'the learned, the wealthy, the virtuous, the noble, the polite, and the mild.'" Vol. iii., pp. 55, 56.

See, further, Mr. Kaye's *Administration of the East India Company*, pp. 540, 541; and Mr. Marshman's *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, Vol. ii., pp. 417, 418.

The cremation of widows has no warranty in the extant *Rigveda*; and it seems most likely that the Hindus, in the earliest ages, did not burn even their dead, but buried them. Still, sutteeism has been more or less in vogue, in India, during the past two thousand years and upwards. For some time before its abolition, Lower Bengal was its favourite theatre. In Central India, however, it must have been, formerly, very prevalent. There, not far from the banks of the Nerbudda, I have counted, within the radius of a single mile, several hundred suttee-stones, with their suggestive symbols of obtestation,—an uplifted hand, the sun, the moon, and a group of stars. To these are added the figures of a man and woman. In some representations, the pair stand hand in hand; in others, the wife shampoos her husband's legs. In some instances there is a horse, also. The sculptures are, generally, executed in bass-relief. The oldest of these monuments, bearing dates, that I have examined, were erected in the tenth century.

¹ For, in the article of indicating his ancient authorities, so far as they were known to him, though it might be only at second-hand, no one could be more invariably punctilious than Colebrooke.

² The original words are as follows:—

सर्वदेवादात्साध्वी स्त्री न भवेदात्मघातिनी ।
अथाशौचे निवृत्ते तु आर्द्धं प्राप्नोति शास्त्रवत् ॥

As will have been perceived, Colebrooke might have corrected his first *Essay* by his *Digest*; and, while engaged on the latter, he must, of course, have noticed the misapprehension which he laboured under, concerning these verses, when preparing the other. His collected *Essays* were published during his last illness, when he was disabled, by blindness, from scrutinizing them anew. It might not, else, have been left to others to observe on the very venial defects of his preliminary effort as an orientalist,—a mere "task," as he himself has called it.

nandana¹ refers this stanza to the *Brahma-purāṇa*,² to which also he refers the "*Paurāṇica mantra*"³ spoken of above; facts unknown to Colebrooke, when he composed his Essay. "The prayer for the occasion," as Colebrooke calls it, Raghu-nandana, further, finds⁴ in the stanza "from the *Rigvéda*."

It is seen, thus, that, when Colebrooke wrote on the duties of a Hindu widow, he could not have availed himself of the *Vivādhahangārṇava*. Neither, as has been evinced in passing, could he have been indebted to the *Śuddhitattva* of Raghu-nandana; for Raja Rādhākānta Deva, anticipating Professor Müller in precipitancy of statement, has pronounced⁵ that therefrom Colebrooke derived the materials of his first Essay. In both works the subject of widow-burning is despatched within the compass of a few pages. Those pages, we may be assured, Colebrooke, if he had read them at all, would have read through; and, in that case, his Essay would, in several particulars, here pointed out, have been different from what it is.

NOVEMBER, 1867.

¹ *Institutes*, Vol. ii., p. 132.

² Assuming that the stanza actually appertains to this Purāṇa, the alternative question arises, whether allusion is made, in it, to the corrupted stanza of the *Rigveda* which we have had under consideration, or whether to a like passage that belonged to some recension of the *Rigveda* now lost.

³ *Institutes*, Vol. ii., p. 133. This is the first of the two places where Raghu-nandana quotes the stanza referred to.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii., p. 132.

⁵ In this Journal, Vol. xvii., p. 213.

SUPPLEMENT.

Further Detail of Proofs that Colebrooke's Essay "On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow" was not indebted to the Vivâdabhangârṇava.

IF the crucial instance which has already been adduced and laboured, for the intent indicated above, should be regarded as anywise inconclusive, the ensuing particulars will be found to complete my argument.

As for the passage referred to, Colebrooke, in his first Essay,¹ presents us with a rendering of it in a decapitated form, and, instead of noting its source at the end,—after his usual custom,—premises that we have, in it, an express declaration of the *Rigveda*. In the *Digest*,² the passage is rendered in its integral shape, and is attributed to the *Brahma-purāṇa*, where it actually occurs. Colebrooke, with his heedful and conscientious eye, would not, here or anywhere else, have overlooked the specification of an authority; and, if the specification had been noticed, but considered to be doubtful, he would have made mention of the doubt. This may safely be taken for granted. Again, the original of the *Digest* leaves no room for question where the extract, a single stanza, begins; whereas Colebrooke was grievously misled, on this point, at the time he compiled his Essay. Nor is an error of the press to be presumed here; for Colebrooke never paraphrased, where he professed to translate. The words *Rigvedo*, as being taken for no constituent part of the extract, but for introduction to it, he preferred to paraphrase, rather than translate, and represented them, without inverted commas, by "but the *Rigvéda* expressly declares, that;" his subsequent translation, when he came to look upon those words as a portion of the extract, being "by the *recited* text of the *Rigvéda*." Most of this I have said before; and the rest could be gathered by the attentive reader. Simply for clearness, it has here been stated afresh.

¹ *Vide supra*, pp. 187–189.

² *Vide supra*, pp. 185–187.

Among the first Hindu law-books read by Colebrooke was the *Āchārachandrikā*, in his MS. of which are numerous marginal notes, in pen and pencil. For example, on folios 60 and 62, he has written: "Widow's burning with the corpse," "Water given after burning," "*Hiatus valde deflendus*," etc., etc.

Now, the stanza under discussion is often quoted, along with one or more constituting its previous context; as in the *Vivādabhangārṇava*, the *Śuddhitattva*,¹ etc. In the *Āchārachandrikā*, too, it is meant to be quoted, with the stanza immediately preceding it, which is announced by the words *Yathā Brāhmye*. The first of these two stanzas is translated by Colebrooke, in his Essay,² and is referred to the *Brahma-purāṇa*. The passage that follows, which, also, should be metrical,³ is read, in his MS. of the *Āchārachandrikā*, *Rigvedāt*, etc.⁴ That Colebrooke, during the preparation of his Essay, came upon a better reading than the one there given, his translation clearly evinces. But it is almost demonstrably certain that his view respecting the words *Rigvedāt*⁵—namely, that they were no corruption, and no part of a stanza,—was due to his MS. of the *Āchārachandrikā*; for it is scarcely to be supposed that he found this mislection of a well-known metrical passage in any second work. It is now patent, furthermore, why he did not assign this extract to the *Brahma-purāṇa*, in his Essay, where it is disjoined from the stanza that comes just before it, which he interprets further on.⁶ We should not have had these results, if he had been subsidizing the *Vivādabhangārṇava*.

Though I could accumulate kindred justifications of my general position, I shall hold my hand, after bringing forward three more. In his Essay,⁷ Colebrooke translates, as anonymous, a stanza to which is tacked the prose addition: "So said Nāreda to the mother of Sagara." The same

¹ Raghunandana's *Institutes*, Vol. ii., p. 132.

² *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., p. 120.

³ For the true form of the passage, *vide supra*, p. 191, note 2.

⁴ अवेदात् । या नारी न भवेत्तच्च पातकं अहाशीचं निवृत्तेऽपि
ब्राह्मणोति शास्त्रवदिति ।

⁵ *Rigvedarūdāt* is required, prosodially; and *Rigvedāt* is unidiomatical.

⁶ *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., p. 120.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. i., p. 119.

stanza is translated in the *Digest*¹;—there, as in the *Śuddhitattva*,² purporting to be taken from the *Bṛīhan-nāradya-purāṇa*;—and annexed to it is a gloss from Raghunandana: “‘Princess’; addressing the mother of Sagara.”³ The *Digest*, thus, is, here, both fuller and less full than the *Essay*. It states whence the passage came; and it does not state who addressed Sagara’s mother. These facts certainly make for the conclusion, that the *Essay* was not beholden to the *Vivāḍabhangārṇava*.⁴

Again, there occurs, in the *Essay*,⁵ an extract entitled “The *Smṛiti*,” in which are the words “She shall eat no other than simple food.” But the *Vivāḍabhangārṇava*—with which the *Śuddhitattva*⁶ coincides,—authorizes Colebrooke’s later rendering: “She must not again use perfumed substances.”⁷ It cannot be contended that Colebrooke had, on both occasions, the same Sanskrit words before him. In the *Essay*, he borrows, in a foot-note, one of the comments on this extract, from the *Madana-pārijāta*. Whether he copied it directly, or indirectly, it is impossible to decide.⁸

Once more, the *Essay*⁹ contains the translation of a stanza and its relative comment, the whole as from Brihaspati. In the *Digest*,¹⁰ the text and the explanation are duly distinguished; and the latter, which is in prose, is there assigned to Raghunandana. It was by something very wide, in point of distinctness, from the *Vivāḍabhangārṇava* that Colebrooke was betrayed into the errors of commission and omission just pointed out.

¹ Vol. ii., p. 456.

² Raghunandana’s *Institutes*, Vol. ii., p. 132. The verses are there quoted through the *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*.

³ राजसूते इति सगरमातुः संबोधनम् ।

⁴ The alternative, a gross absurdity, is, that the venerable Essayist at once suppressed the mention of an authority, and foisted into a sentence of some Sanskrit glossator a proper name of which that glossator knows nothing.

⁵ *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., pp. 117, 118.

⁶ Raghunandana’s *Institutes*, Vol. ii., p. 132.

⁷ *Digest*, Vol. ii., p. 460. The original here follows :

गन्धद्रव्यस्य संभोगो नैव कार्यस्तथा पुनः ।

⁸ It is quoted in the *Digest*, in the *Śuddhitattva*, etc. etc. Colebrooke possessed a MS. of the *Madana-pārijāta* at an early period of his Sanskrit studies.

⁹ *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., p. 119.

¹⁰ Vol. ii., pp. 456, 457.

Every dogmatic or ceremonial topic offers, again and again, in almost any methodical treatise, the phenomenon not only of community of authoritative texts with other similar treatises, but of the same collocation of those texts that is observed elsewhere. Common-sense has dictated to the Hindu law-writers what has become, to some extent, an established, as being the most advantageous, disposition of their stock material; and Colebrooke only made good his soundness of judgment, if he respected a precedent, where he saw no reason for setting it aside. We can, therefore, draw no certain inference from the fact, that, here and there, the passages which the *Digest* and the *Essay* cite in common appear in the same order in both. Among Colebrooke's extracts¹ are, in one place, three which the *Vivādashangārṇava*² exhibits—with intercalations,—in like sequence to his own; but this sequence is, just as strictly, that of the *Śuddhitattva*,³ also, and of other works, very likely. In the case of three other extracts,⁴ his arrangement of them is, again, as we find it—with textual insertions,—in the *Digest*.⁵ These extracts are in the *Śuddhitattva*,⁶ too, but ordered otherwise; and, for two,⁷ out of the three, the *Vivādashangārṇava* could not have been laid under contribution, as I have made out a little higher up.

The aggregate quotations in the *Essay* take up one hundred and fifty lines, whole and broken. Out of this total, sixty-five lines are common between the *Essay* and the Sanskrit *Digest*; and these sixty-five, not one excepted, are, likewise, in the *Śuddhitattva*.⁸ Even if we had no other evidence than this fact, it would, then, be hazardous to maintain that Colebrooke derived them from the *Vivādashangārṇava*.⁹

¹ *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., pp. 117, 118. These extracts are from Vishnu and Prachetas, and "The *Smṛiti*." Colebrooke's reading of the last varies, as has been shown, from that of the *Vivādashangārṇava*.

² *Digest*, Vol. ii., pp. 459-461.

³ Raghunandana's *Institutes*, Vol. ii., pp. 131, 132.

⁴ Respectively given as anonymous, from Brihaspati, and from Gotama. See *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i., pp. 119, 120.

⁵ Vol. ii., pp. 456-458.

⁶ Raghunandana's *Institutes*, Vol. ii., p. 132.

⁷ That really from the *Bṛīhan-nārāḍīya-purāṇa* and that from Brihaspati and Raghunandana combined.

⁸ In writing thus positively, I only expect it to be conceded that the identity of a passage is not destroyed by slight various readings.

⁹ Inasmuch as, against sixty-five lines of citation common between the *Essay*

To recapitulate, Colebrooke, in putting together his Essay on the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow, could not have been acquainted with the corresponding section of the *Vivādabhangārṇava*; else he would not have given, in it, extracts unaccompanied by those particulars which he was most careful to note to the best of his power, while the Sanskrit work states who wrote those extracts, or from what books they are taken. Nor would he have passed unheeded the readings of passages there inserted; above all, when consideration of them would have enabled him, in one place, to avoid undeniable error, and, in another place, to distinguish text from commentary. Why, further, if he levied drafts on that work, should he have declined to avail himself of it to render his Essay more complete than it is? For it contains more than one passage that, if impressed, would have conduced to enrich the Essay perceptibly. And what is here urged touching the *Vivādabhangārṇava* may, with much the same pertinency, be urged touching the *Śuddhitattva*, which, likewise,—as I have evidenced in my former paper, and, in passing, in this,—Colebrooke cannot have explored for the purposes of his Essay. Finally, with reference to quotations common between the Essay and the *Vivādabhangārṇava*, where Colebrooke's readings of them, in the Essay, are peculiar, it may not be surmised that such readings were in some copies of the *Vivādabhangārṇava*, and not in others. The Sanskrit Digest was compiled at the instance of Sir William Jones; it is not known to have been recast, or amended; its authorities, with few reservations, are familiar legal commonplaces; and neither age nor currency has affected its text with variants. If copies of it differ, their differences are wholly attributable to mere clerical inadvertence.

Colebrooke seems to have begun the study of Sanskrit about 1792. In a letter written Oct. 22, 1794, he first mentions his enterprise of translating the *Vivādabhangārṇava*; and

and the *Vivādabhangārṇava*, there are at least ninety lines common between the Essay and the *Śuddhitattva*, one might, in ignorance of the truth, be disposed to substitute this work, as the main promptuary of the Essay, in place of the *Vivādabhangārṇava*; especially as the other was, probably, quite as accessible to Colebrooke, if not more accessible.

at that time he had not been in Calcutta for five years and a half. Writing under date of Aug. 11, 1795, he speaks of his translation as undertaken "a year ago;" and the task was completed before Jan. 3, 1797. His first Essay was read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in April, 1794. The death of Sir William Jones took place, at Calcutta, in the same month. Sir William was to have dressed the Sanskrit Digest in English; and there is no proof that, during his life-time, Colebrooke's attention was directed to it.¹

How Colebrooke came by the quotations in his Essay it would be idle to speculate at large. Of course, he had not read through all their original sources, among which is the *Mahābhārata*. Very likely he had not read through any one of them. As almost anybody would have done in his circumstances, it is not improbable that he took them, at second-hand, from some of the scores of treatises in which they are adduced. No one can say that he did not assemble them from volumes as numerous as themselves. At all events, we are quite safe in accepting the implication of his words, where he speaks of "the pains taken in collecting them." That from two certain quarters he did not collect them must, by this time, be accounted as pretty evident.

In the year 1854, I toiled from end to end of the voluminous *Vivādhāṅgārṇava*, with Colebrooke's translation at my side, entering in Professor Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary* some twenty-five thousand supplementary words and meanings. At the same time I compared Colebrooke's Essay with the *Digest*, on the subject of widow-burning, and also the *Śuddhitattva*. All these I scored over with references, cross-references, and other notes; and, but for a repugnance to composition, I should have worked up those materials years ago. I was recently led to glance at them; and the product of that glance is now before the reader.

F. H.

MARCH, 1868.

¹ See this Journal, Vol. v., pp. 16-26. Some of my facts I have taken from other sources.

ART. VIII.—*The Sixth Hymn of the First Book of the Rig Veda.* By Professor MAX MÜLLER, M.A., Hon. M.R.A.S.

Mandala I., Sûkta 6.

Ashtaka I., Adhyâya 1, Varga 11–12.

HYMN TO INDRA AND THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS.).

1. Yuñgânti bradhnâm arushâm kárantam pári tasthúshaḥ,
rókante rokanā divi.

1. Those who stand around him while he moves on, harness
the bright red steed;¹ the lights in heaven shine forth.²

1. Wilson: The circumstationed (inhabitants of the three worlds) associate with
(Indra), the mighty (Sun), the indestructive (fire), the moving (wind), and the
lights that shine in the sky.

Benfey: Die rothe Sonne schirr'n sie an, die wandelt um die stehenden,
Strahlen strahlen am Himmel auf.

Langlois: Placés autour du (foyer, les hommes) préparent le char (du dieu)
brillant, pur et rapide; (cependant) brillent dans le ciel les feux (du matin).

2. Yuñgânti asya kām̐yâ hárí(iti) ví-pakshasâ ráthe, sônâ
dhrishnú(iti) nri-vāhasâ.

2. They harness to the chariot on each side his (Indra's)¹
two favourite bays, the brown, the bold, who can carry the
hero.

2. Wilson: They (the charioteers) harness to his car his two desirable coursers,
placed on either hand, bay-coloured, high-spirited, chief-bearing.

Benfey: Die lieben Falben schirren sie zu beiden Seiten des Wagens an, braune,
kühne, held-tragende.

Langlois: A ce char sont attelés ses deux coursiers, beaux, brillants, impétueux,
rougâtres, et dignes de porter un héros.

3. Ketúm kṛinván aketáve pésaḥ maryâḥ apesāse sám
ushádbhiḥ agāyathâḥ.

3. Thou who createst light where there was no light, and
form, o men!¹ where there was no form, hast been born to-
gether with the dawns.²

3. Wilson: Mortals, you owe your (daily) birth (to such an Indra), who, with
the rays of the morning, gives sense to the senseless, and to the formless, form.

Benfey: Licht machend—Männer!—das Dunkele und kenntlich das Unkennt-
liche, entsprangst du mit dem Morgenroth.

Langlois: O mortels, (voyez-le) mettant l'ordre dans la confusion, donnant la
forme au chaos. O Indra, avec les rayons du jour tu viens de naître.

4. *Āt āha svadhām ānu pūnaḥ garbha-tvām ā-iriré, dá-dhānāḥ nāma yagnīyam.*

4. Thereafter they (the Maruts), according to their wont,¹ assumed the form of new-born babes,² taking their sacred name.

4. Wilson: Thereafter, verily, those who bear names invoked in holy rites, (the Maruts), having seen the rain about to be engendered, instigated him to resume his embryo condition (in the clouds).

Benfey: Sodann von freien Stücken gleich erregen wieder Schwangerschaft die heiligen Namen tragenden.

Langlois: A peine la formule de l'offrande a-t-elle été prononcée, que les (Maruts), dont le nom mérite d'être invoqué dans les sacrifices, viennent exciter (de leur souffle) le feu à peine sorti du sein (de l'arani).

5. *Viṣu kit ārugatnúbhiḥ gúhā kit indra váhñibhiḥ, ávindaḥ usríyāḥ ānu.*

5. Thou, o Indra, with the swift Maruts¹ who break even through the stronghold,² hast found even in their hiding place the bright cows³ (the days).

5. Wilson: Associated with the conveying Maruts, the traversers of places difficult of access, thou, Indra, hast discovered the cows hidden in the cave.

Benfey: Mit den die Feste brechenden, den Stürmenden fandst, Indra, du die Kühe in der Grotte gar.

Langlois: Avec ces (Maruts), qui brisent tout rempart et supportent (la nue) Indra, tu vas, du sein de la caverne, délivrer les vaches (célestes).

6. *Deva-yántaḥ yáthā matím ákkha vidát-vasum girāḥ, mahām anúshata srutám.*

6. The pious singers¹ (the Maruts) have shouted after their own mind² towards the giver of wealth, the great, the glorious (Indra).

6. Wilson: The reciters of praises praise the mighty (troop of Maruts), who are celebrated, and conscious of the power of bestowing wealth in like manner as they (glorify) the counsellor (Indra).

Benfey: Nach ihrer Einsicht verherrlichend besingen Sänger den Schätzeherrn, den berühmten, gewaltigen.

Langlois: Voilà pourquoi l'hymne qui chante les dieux célèbre aussi le grand (dieu des vents), qui assiste (Indra) de ses conseils, et découvre les heureux trésors.

7. *Índrena sám hí dríkshase sam-gagmānúḥ úbibhyushā, mandū(íti) samāná-varṇasā.*

7. Mayest thou¹ (host of the Maruts) be verily seen² coming together with Indra, the fearless: you are both happy-making, and of equal splendour.

7. Wilson: May you be seen, Maruts, accompanied by the undaunted (Indra); both rejoicing, and of equal splendour.

Benfey: So lass mit Indra denn vereint, dem furchtlosen, erblicken dich, beide erfreu'nd und glanzesgleich.

Langlois: Avec l'intrépide Indra, (ô dieu), on te voit accourir; tous deux pleins de bonheur, tous deux également resplendissants.

8. *Anavadyaiḥ abhidyubhiḥ makhāḥ sāhasvat arkati, ganaiḥ indrasya kām्याiḥ.*

8. With the beloved hosts of Indra, with the blameless, heavenward-tending (Maruts), the sacrificer¹ cries aloud.

8. Wilson : This rite is performed in adoration of the powerful Indra, along with the irreproachable, heavenward-tending, and amiable bands (of the Maruts).

Benfey : Durch Indra's liebe Schaaren, die untadligen, himmelstürmenden strahlt das Opfer mächtiglich.

Langlois : Notre sacrifice confond, dans un homage aussi empressé, Indra et la troupe (des Maruts) bien faisante, irréprochable, et brillante des feux (du matin).

9. *Ātaḥ pari-gman ā gahi divāḥ vā roṇanāt ādhi, sām asmin riṅgate girāḥ.*

9. From yonder, o traveller (Indra), come hither, or down from the light of heaven ;¹ the singers all yearn for thee ;—

9. Wilson : Therefore, circumambient (troop of Maruts), come hither, whether from the region of the sky, or from the solar sphere ; for, in this rite, (the priest) fully recites your praises.

Benfey : Von hier, oder vom Himmel komm ob dem Æther, Umkreisender ! zu dir streben die Lieder all.

Langlois : (Dieux des vents), qui parcourt le monde, viens vers nous, ou de ton séjour habituel, ou de la demeure céleste de la lumière ; notre voix aujourd'hui t'appelle.

10. *Itāḥ vā sātīm īmahe divāḥ vā pārthivāt ādhi, indram mahāḥ vā rūgasaḥ.*

10 Or we ask Indra for help from here, from heaven, above the earth, or from the great sky.

10. Wilson : We invoke Indra,—whether he come from this earthly region, or from the heaven above, or from the vast firmament,—that he may give (us) wealth.

Benfey : Von hier, oder vom Himmel ob der Erde begehren Spende wir, oder, Indra ! aus weiter Luft.

Langlois : Nous invoquons aussi la libéralité d'Indra ; (qu'il nous entende), soit d'ici-bas, soit de l'air qui enveloppe la terre, soit du vaste séjour de la lumière.

COMMENTARY.

Verse 1, note 1. This hymn begins with a somewhat abrupt description of a sunrise. Indra is taken as the god of the bright day, whose steed is the sun, and whose companions the Maruts, or the storm-gods. Arusha, meaning originally red, is used as a proper name of the horse or of the rising sun, though it occurs more frequently as the name of the red horses or flames of Agni, the god of fire, and also of the morning light. In our passage, Arusha, used as a kind of substantive, has taken bradhná as an adjective,—bradhná meaning, as far as can be made out, bright in general, though, as it is

especially applied to the Soma-juice, perhaps bright-brown or yellow. Names of colour are difficult to translate from one language into another, for their shades vary, and withdraw themselves from sharp definition. We shall meet this difficulty again and again in the Veda.

The following passages will illustrate the principal meanings of *arushá*, and justify the translation here adopted :—

Arusha as an Adjective.

Arusha is used as an adjective in the sense of red :

vii. 97, 6. *Tám sagmāsaḥ arushāsaḥ āsvāḥ brīhaspátim saha-vāhaḥ vahanti*,—*nābhaḥ ná rūpām arushám vásānāḥ*.

Powerful red horses, drawing together draw him, *Brīhaspati*: horses clothed in red colour like the sky.

iii. 1, 4. *Svetám gaṇānām arushám mahitvā*.

Agni, the white, when born; the red, by growth.

iii. 15, 3. *Krishnāsu agne arusháh ví bhāhi*.

Shine, o *Agni*, red among the dark ones.

iii. 31, 21. *Antár (iti) krishnān arushaiḥ dhāmbhiḥ gāt*.

He (*Indra*) went among the dark ones with his red companions.

iv. 15, 6. *Arushám ná diváh sísum*.

Like the red child of heaven, i.e. like the sun. One might also translate, like *Arusha* (i.e. the sun), the child of heaven.

v. 47, 3. *Arusháh suparnāḥ*.

The red (the sun) with beautiful wings.

vi. 27, 7. *Yása gāvau arushā*.

He (*Indra*) whose two cows are red.

vii. 75, 6. *Prāti dyutānām arushāsaḥ āsvāḥ kitrāḥ adrisran ushāsam vāhantaḥ*.

The red horses, the beautiful, are seen bringing to us the bright dawn.

v. 43, 12. *Hiranya-varnam arushám sapema*.

Let us worship the gold-coloured, the red, i.e. *Brīhaspati* (the fire).

i. 118, 5. *Pári vām āsvāḥ vāpushaḥ patangāḥ váyaḥ vahantu arushāḥ abhīke*.

May the winged beautiful horses, may the red birds bring you (the *Asvins*) back near to us.

iv. 43, 6. *Ghrinā váyaḥ arushāsaḥ pári gman.*

The red birds (of the *Asvins*) came back by day.

v. 73, 5. *Pári vām arushāḥ váyaḥ ghrinā varante ā-tāpaḥ.*

The red birds shield you (the *Asvins*) around by day from the heat.

i. 36, 9. *Ví dhûmám agne arushám sriga.*

Send off, o *Agni*, the red smoke.

vii. 3, 3. *Ākṛhā dyām arushāḥ dhûmāḥ eti.*

The red smoke goes up to the sky.

vii. 16, 3. *U't dhûmāsaḥ arushāsaḥ divi-sprisaḥ.*

The clouds of red smoke went up touching the sky.

x. 45, 7. *Iyarti dhûmám arushám.*

He (*Agni*) rouses the red smoke.

i. 141, 8. *Dyām āṅgebhiḥ arushébhiḥ iyate.*

He (*Agni*) goes to the sky with his red limbs.

ii. 2, 8. *Sāḥ idhânāḥ ushāsaḥ rāmyāḥ ānu svāḥ ná dīdet arushéna bhânúnā.*

He (*Agni*) lit after the lovely dawns, shone like the sky with his red splendour.

iii. 29, 6. *Asvaḥ ná vâgī arushāḥ.*

Like a stallion, a red one (o *Agni*).

iv. 58, 7. *Arushāḥ ná vâgī kṣhātāḥ bhindán.*

Like a red stallion, breaking the bounds.

i. 114, 5. *Divāḥ varāhám arushám.*

Him (*Rudra*) the boar of the sky, the red.

v. 59, 5. *Āsvāḥ-iva it arushāsaḥ.*

Like red horses, o *Maruts*.

v. 12, 2. *Ritám sapāmi arushāsya vrishnaḥ.*

I follow the law of the red hero (*Agni*). The meaning here assigned to *vrishan* will be explained hereafter, page 213.

v. 12, 6. *Ritám sāḥ pāti arushāsya vrishnaḥ.*

He observes the law of the red hero (*Agni*).

vi. 8, 1. *Prikshāsya vrishnaḥ arushāsya nú sāhaḥ prá voṭam.*

I celebrate the power of the quick red hero (*Agni Vaisvānara*).

vi. 48, 6. *Syāvāsu arushāḥ vrishā.*

In the dark (nights) the red hero (Agni).

iii. 7, 5. *Gānānti vrīshnaḥ arushāsya sévam.*

They know the treasure of the red hero (of Agni).

In one passage *vrīshan arushá* is intended for fire in the shape of lightning.

x. 89, 9. *Ní amítreshu vadhám indra túmram vrīshan vrīshānam arushám sisīhi.*

Whet, o strong Indra, the heavy weapon, the red lightning, against thy enemies.

x. 43, 9. *Ūt gāyatām parasúḥ gyótishā sahá—ví roḥatām arusháh bhānúnā súkiḥ.*

May the axe (the thunderbolt) appear with the light—may the red one blaze forth, bright with splendour.

x. 1, 6. *Arusháh gâtáḥ padé íāyâḥ.*

Agni, born red in the place of the altar.

vi. 3, 6. *Náktam yáh im arusháh yáh dívâ.*

He (Agni) who is red by night and by day.

vi. 49, 2. *Diváh sisum sáhasaḥ sūnūm agním yagnāsya kētum arushám yāgadhyai.*

To worship Agni, the child of the sky, the son of strength, the red light of the sacrifice.

vi. 49, 3. *Arushāsya duhitārâ.*

The two daughters of the red, *i.e.* night and day.

Here *arushá* points back to the preceding verse, and may therefore be taken as an adjective.

x. 20, 9. *Krishnáḥ svetáh arusháh yāmaḥ asya bradhnáh rigráh utá sónaḥ.*

His (Agni's) path is black, white, red, bright, reddish, and yellow.

Here it is extremely difficult to keep all the colours distinct.

Arushá is frequently applied to Soma, particularly in the 9th Mandala. There we read :

ix. 8, 6. *Arusháh háriḥ.*

ix. 71, 7. *Arusháh diváh kavíḥ vrīshâ.*

ix. 74, 1. *Vāgī arusháh.*

ix. 82, 1. *Arusháh vrīshâ háriḥ.*

ix. 89, 3. *Hárim arushám.*

ix. 111, 1. *Arusháh háriḥ.* See also ix. 25, 5; 61, 21. In

ix. 72, 1, arushá seems used as a substantive in the sense of red horse.

There are some passages where it is doubtful whether arushá should be taken as an adjective or as a substantive. Thus we read :

vii. 71, 1. Ápa svásuḥ ushásaḥ nák gihíte rinákti krishnīḥ arushāya pánthām.

The night retires from her sister, the dawn ; the dark one yields the path to the red.

Here the most natural explanation would be to take arushá as a name of the sun. For though arushá by itself does never exactly mean the sun in the Rig-veda, it comes very near to it in passages like i. 6, 1. It is possible, however, that arushāya, the dative masculine, might be intended for arushāyai, the dative feminine, and then it would be the red sister, the dawn, in opposition to the dark sister, the night.

Arusha as a Substantive.

Arushá is used as a substantive, and in the following senses :

1. The one red horse of the Sun, the two or more red horses of Agni.

i. 6, 1. Yuñgānti bradhnám arushám.

They yoke the bright red-horse (the Sun).

i. 94, 10. Yát áyukthāḥ arushā róhitā ráthe.

When thou (Agni) hast yoked the ruddy red-horses to the chariot.

i. 146, 2. Rihānti ūdhaḥ arushāsaḥ asya.

His (Agni's) red-horses lick the udder.

ii. 10, 2. Sruyāḥ agníḥ—hávam me—syāvā rátham vahataḥ róhitā vā utá arushā.

Mayest thou, Agni, hear my call, whether the two black, or the two ruddy, or the two red-horses carry you.

Here three kinds of colours are distinguished, and an intentional difference is made between róhita and arushá.

iv. 2, 3. Arushā yugánāḥ.

Agni having yoked the two red-horses.

iv. 6, 9. Táva tyé agne harítaḥ—róhitāsaḥ—arushāsaḥ vrish-
anaḥ.

To thee (Agni) belong these bays, these ruddy, these red-
horses, the stallions.

Here, again, three kinds of horses are distinguished—Harita,
Rohita, and Arushas.

viii. 34, 17. Ye rigrāḥ vāta-ramhasaḥ arushāsaḥ raghu-
syādaḥ.

Here arushā may be the subject and the rest adjectives;
but it is possible, too, to take all the words as adjectives, re-
ferring them to āsu in the next verse. The fact that *rigra*
likewise expresses a peculiar red colour is no objection, as
may be seen from i. 6, 1; 94, 10.

vii. 16, 2. Sāh yogate arushā visvá-bhogasā.

He (Agni) yokes the two all-nourishing red-horses.

vii. 42, 2. Yunkshvá—harítaḥ rohítaḥ ka yé vā sādman
arushāḥ.

Yoke (o Agni) the bays, and the ruddy horses, or the red-
horses which are in thy stable.

2. The cloud, represented as the enemy of Indra, as re-
taining like Vritra, the waters which Indra and the Maruts
wish to liberate.

i. 35, 5. Utá arushásya ví syanti dhārāḥ.

(When you go to the battle, o Maruts), the streams of the
red enemy flow off.

v. 56, 7. Utá syāḥ vâgī arushāḥ.

This strong red-horse,—meant for the cloud, as it would
seem; but possibly, too, for one of the horses of the Maruts.

Ārushî as an Adjective.

Ārushî, like arushā, is used as an adjective, in the same
sense as arusha, *i.e.* red:

i. 71, 1. Syāvîm ārushîm—ushāsam.

The dark, the red dawn (*i.e.* the gloaming or the twilight).

iii. 55, 11. Syāvî ka yát ārushî ka svásārau.

The dark and the red sisters.

i. 92, 1 and 2. Gāvaḥ ārushîḥ and ārushîḥ gāḥ.

The red cows of the dawn.

i. 92, 2. Rûsantam bhânúm árushîḥ asisrayuḥ.

The red dawns obtained bright splendour. Here *ushásaḥ*, the dawns, occurs in the same line, so that we may take *árushîḥ* as an adjective, referring to the dawns, and not as a substantive, as a name of the cows.

i. 30, 21. Ásve ná kitre arushi.

Thou bright, red dawn, thou, like a mare. Here, too, the vocative *arushi* is to be taken as an adjective.

The same in iv. 52, 2.

Ásvá-iva kitrā árushî mâtā gávām ritāvarī sákhā abhūt asvīnoḥ ushāḥ.

The dawn, bright and red, like a mare, the mother of the cows (days), the never-failing, she became the friend of the *Asvins*.

x. 5, 5. Saptā svásrīr árushîḥ.

The seven red sisters.

Árushî as a Substantive.

If used as a substantive, *árushî* seems to mean the dawn. It is likewise used as a name of the horses of *Agni*, *Indra*, and *Soma*; also as a name for a mare.

It means dawn in x. 8, 3, though the text points here so clearly to the dawn, and the very name of dawn is mentioned so immediately after, that this one passage seems hardly sufficient to establish the use of *árushî* as a recognized name of the dawn.

Árushî means the horses of *Agni*, in i. 14, 12: yukshvá hí árushîḥ ráthe harítaḥ deva rohítaḥ.

Yoke, o god (*Agni*), the red horses to the chariot, the bays, the ruddy.

i. 72, 10. Prá nīkīḥ agne árushîḥ agānan.

They knew the red horses, *Agni*, coming down.

In viii. 69, 5, *árushî* refers to the horses of *Indra*, whether as a noun or an adjective, is somewhat doubtful:

Ā hárayaḥ sasrigiré árushîḥ.

The bay horses were let loose, the red horses; or, possibly, thy bright red-horses were let loose.

Soma, as we saw, was frequently spoken of as *arusháḥ háriḥ*.

In ix. 111, 2, *tridhātubhiḥ árushībhiḥ* seems to refer to the same red horses of Soma, though this is not quite clear.

The passages where *árushī* means simply a mare, without any reference to colour, are viii. 68, 18, and viii. 55, 3.

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Vṛishan.

As some of the meanings assigned to *Arushá* are more or less dependent on the exact signification of *vṛishan* when joined with *arushá*, it becomes necessary to ascertain, as far as possible, the real import of that word. In *vṛishan* we have one of those words which it is almost impossible to translate accurately. It occurs over and over again in the Vedic hymns, and if we once know the various ideas which it either expresses or implies, we have little difficulty in understanding its import in a vague and general way, though we look in vain for corresponding terms in any modern language. In the Veda, and in ancient languages generally, one and the same word is frequently made to do service for many. Words retain their general meaning, though at the same time they are evidently used with a definite purpose. This is not only a peculiar phase of language, but a peculiar phase of thought, and as to us this phase has become strange and unreal, it is very difficult to transport ourselves back into it, still more to translate the pregnant terms of the Vedic poets into the definite languages which we have to use. Let us imagine a state of thought and speech in which *virtus* still meant manliness, though it might also be applied to the virtue of a woman; or let us try to speak and think a language which expressed the bright and the divine, the brilliant and the beautiful, the straight and the right, the bull and the hero, the shepherd and the king by the same terms, and we shall see how difficult it would be to translate such terms without losing either the key note that was still sounding, or the harmonies which were set vibrating by it in the minds of the poets and their listeners.

Vṛishan, being derived from a root *vṛish*, *spargere*, meant no doubt originally the male, whether applied to animals or men. In this sense *vṛishan* occurs frequently in the Veda, either as determining the sex of the animal which is mentioned,

or as standing by itself and meaning the male. In either case, however, it implies the idea of strength and eminence, which we lose whether we translate it by man or male.

Thus *ásva* is horse, but vii. 69, 1, we read :

Ā vām ráthaḥ—vrishabhiḥ yātu ásvaiḥ.

May your chariot come near with powerful horses, *i.e.* with stallions.

The *Háris*, the horses of Indra, are frequently called *vrishaná*.

i. 177, 1. Yuktā hári(íti) vrishaná.

The bay stallions are yoked.

Vrishabha, though itself originally meaning the male animal, had become fixed as the name of the bull, and in this process it had lost so much of its etymological import that the Vedic poet did not hesitate to define *vrishabhá* itself by the addition of *vrishan*. Thus we find, viii. 93, 7 :

Sáḥ vrishá vrishabháḥ bhuvat.

May he (Indra) be a strong bull.

i. 54, 2. Vrishá vrisha-tvā vrishabháḥ.

Indra by his strength a strong bull ; but, literally, Indra by his manliness a male bull.

Even *vrishabhá* loses again its definite meaning ; and as bull in bull-calf means simply male, or in bull-trout, large, so *vrishabha* is added to *atya*, horse, to convey the meaning of large or powerful.

i. 177, 2. Yé te vrishanaḥ vrishabhāsaḥ indra—átyāḥ.

Thy strong and powerful horses ; literally, thy male bull-horses.

When *vrishan* and *vrishabhá* are used as adjectives, for instance with *súshma*, strength, they hardly differ in meaning :

vi. 19, 8. Ā naḥ bhara vrishanam súshmam indra.

Bring to us thy manly strength, o Indra.

And in the next verse :

vi. 19, 9. Ā te súshmaḥ vrishabháḥ etu.

May thy manly strength come near.

Vámsaga, too, which is clearly the name for bull, is defined by *vrishan*, i. 7, 8.

Vrishá yúthā-iva vámsagaḥ.

As the strong bull scares the herds.

The same applies to *varāha*, which though by itself meaning boar, is determined again by *vrīshan*.

x. 67, 7. *Vrīshabhiḥ varāhaiḥ*.

With strong boars.

In iii. 2, 11, we read, *vrīshā—nānadat ná simhāḥ*.

Roaring like a male lion.

If used by itself, *vrīshan*, at least in the Rig-veda, can hardly be said to be the name of any special animal, though in later Sanskrit it may mean bull or horse. Thus if we read, x. 43, 8, *vrīshā ná kruddhāḥ*, we can only translate like an angry male, though, no doubt, like a wild bull, would seem more appropriate.

i. 186, 5. *Yéna nāpātam apām gunāma manaḥ-gúvaḥ vrīshanaḥ yām váhanti*.

That we may excite the son of the water (Agni), whom the males, quick as thought, carry along.

Here the males are no doubt the horses or stallions of Agni. But, though this follows from the context, it would be wrong to say that *vrīshan* by itself means horse.

If used by itself *vrīshan* most frequently means man, and chiefly in his sexual character. Thus :

i. 140, 6. *Vrīshā-iva pátnīḥ abhí eti róruvat*.

Agni comes roaring like a husband to his wives.

i. 179, 1. *Ápi ūm(iti) nú pátnīḥ vrīshanaḥ gagamyuḥ*.

Will the husbands now come to their wives ?

ii. 16, 8. *Sakrít sú te sumatībhiḥ—sám pátnībhiḥ ná vrīshanaḥ nasímahi*.

May we for once cling firmly to thy blessings, as husbands cling to their wives.

v. 47, 6. *Upa-prakshé vrīshanaḥ módamânâḥ diváh pathā vadhvâḥ yanti ákṣha*.

The exulting men come for the embrace on the path of heaven towards their wives.

In one or two passages *vrīshan* would seem to have a still more definite meaning, particularly in the formula *súraḥ dríśíke vrīshanaḥ ka paúmsye*, which occurs iv. 41, 6 ; x. 92, 7. See also i. 179, 1.

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined *vrīshan*

clearly retained its etymological meaning, though even then it was not always possible to translate it by male.

The same meaning has been retained in other languages in which this word can be traced. Thus, in Zend, arshan is used to express the sex of animals in such expressions as *aspahé arshnô*, gen. a male horse; *varâzahe arshnô*, gen. a male boar; *gêus arshnô*, gen. a male ox; but likewise in the sense of man or hero, as *arsha husrava*, the hero Husrava. In Greek we find *ἄρσῆν* and *ἄρρῆν* used in the same way to distinguish the sex of animals, as *ἄρσενες ἵπποι*, *βοῖν ἄρσενα*. In Latin the same word may be recognised in the proper name *Varro*, and in *vâro* and *bâro*.

We now come to another class of passages in which *vrîshan* is clearly intended to express more than merely the masculine gender. In some of them the etymological meaning of *spar-gere*, to pour forth, seems to come out again, and it is well known that Indian commentators are very fond of explaining *vrîshan* by giver of rain, giver of good gifts, bounteous. The first of these meanings may indeed be admitted in certain passages, but the others are more than doubtful.

i. 181, 8. *Vrîshâ vâm meghâh* may be translated, your raining cloud.

i. 129, 3. *Dasmâh hí sma vrîshanam pínvasi tvákam*.

Thou art strong, thou fillest the rainy skin, *i.e.* the cloud.

See also iv. 22, 6; and possibly v. 83, 6.

It may be that, when applied to Soma too, *vrîshan* retained something of this etymological meaning, that it meant gushing forth, poured out, though in many places it is impossible to render *vrîshan*, as applied to Soma, by any thing but strong. All we can admit is that *vrîshan*, if translated by strong, means also strengthening and invigorating, an idea not entirely absent even in our expression, a strong drink.

i. 80, 2. *Sâh tvâ amadat vrîshâ madah, sómah—sutâh*.

This strong draught inspirited thee, the poured out Soma-juice.

i. 91, 2. *Tvâm vrîshâ vrîshatvebhih*.

Thou, Soma, art strong by strength.

i. 175, 1. *Vrîshâ te vrîshne índuh vâgī sahasra-sâtamaḥ*.

For thee, the strong one, there is strong drink, powerful, omnipotent.

In the ninth *Mandala*, specially dedicated to the praises of Soma, the inspiriting beverage of gods and men, the repetition of *vrīṣhan*, as applied to the juice and to the god who drinks it, is constant. Indo *vrīṣhā* or *vrīṣhā indo* are incessant invocations, and become at last perfectly meaningless.

There can be no doubt, in fact, that already in the hymns of the Veda, *vrīṣhan* had dwindled away to a mere *epitheton ornans*, and that in order to understand it correctly, we must, as much as possible, forget its etymological colouring, and render it by hero or strong. Indra, Agni, the *Āsvins*, Vishnu, the *Ribhus* (iv. 35, 6), all are *vrīṣhan*, which means no longer male, but manly, strong.

In the following passages *vrīṣhan* is thus applied to Indra :
i. 54, 2. *Yāḥ dhrishnúnā sávasā ródasi(iti) ubhé(iti) vrīṣhā vrīṣhatvā vrīṣabbhāḥ ni-rīṅgāte.*

(Praise Indra) who by his daring strength conquers both heaven and earth, a bull, strong in strength.

i. 100, 1. *Sāḥ yāḥ vrīṣhā vrīṣhnyebhiḥ sám-okāḥ mahāḥ divāḥ prithivyāḥ ka sam-rāt satínā-satvā hávyaḥ bhāreshu marútvan naḥ bhavatu índraḥ ūtī.*

He who is strong, wedded to strength, who is the king of the great sky and the earth, of mighty might, to be invoked in battles,—may Indra with the Maruts come to our help!

i. 16, 1. *Ā tvā vahantu hārayaḥ vrīṣhanam sóma-pítaye, índra tvā sūra-kakshasaḥ.*

May the bays bring thee hither, the strong one, to the Soma-draught, may the sunny-eyed horses (bring) thee, o Indra.

iv. 16, 20. *Evā ít índrāya vrīṣabbhāya vrīṣhne bráhma akarma bhrígavaḥ ná rátham.*

Thus we have made a hymn for Indra, the strong bull, as the Bhrigus make a chariot.

x. 153, 2. *Tvám vrīṣhan vrīṣhā ít asi.*

Thou, o hero, art indeed a hero; and not, Thou, o male, art indeed a male; still less, Thou, o bull, art indeed a bull.

i. 101, 1. *Avasyávaḥ vrīṣhanam vágra-dakshinam marút-vantam sakhyāya havāmahe.*

Longing for help we call as our friend the hero who wields the thunderbolt, who is accompanied by the Maruts.

viii. 6, 14. *Ní súshne indra dharnasím vágram gaghantha dásyavi, vrishâ hí ugra srinvishe.*

Thou, o Indra, hast struck the strong thunderbolt against Sushna, the fiend; for, terrible one, thou art called hero!

viii. 6, 40. *Vavridhânâh úpa dyávi vrishâ vagrí aroravít, vritra-hã soma-pâtámañ.*

Growing up by day, the hero with the thunderbolt has roared, the Vritra-killer, the great Soma-drinker.

v. 35, 4. *Vrishâ hí ási rádhase gagnishé vrishni te sávañ.*

Thou (Indra) art a hero, thou wast born to be bounteous; in thee, the hero, there is might.

It is curious to watch the last stage of the meaning of *vrishan* in the comparative and superlative *varshīyas* and *varshishtā*. In the Veda, *varshishtā* still means excellent, but in later Sanskrit it is considered as the superlative of *vriddha*, old, so that we see *vrishan*, from meaning originally manly, vigorous, young, assuming in the end the meaning of old. (M. M. Sanskrit Grammar, § 252.)

Yet even thus, when *vrishan* means simply strong or hero, its sexual sense is not always forgotten, and it breaks out, for instance, in such passages as :

i. 32, 7. *Vrishnañ vádhriñ pratimānam búbhūshan puru-trā vritráñ asayat ví-astañ.*

Vritra, the eunuch, trying to be like unto a man (like unto Indra), was lying, broken in many pieces.

. The next passages show *vrishan* as applied to Agni :

iii. 27, 15, *Vrishanam tvâ vayám vrishan vrishanañ sám idhīmahi.*

O, strong one, let us the strong ones light thee, the strong!

v. 1, 12. *Ávokāma kavāye médhyāya vákañ vandāru vrishabhāya vrishne.*

We have spoken an adoring speech for the holy poet, for the strong bull (Agni).

Vishnu is called *vrishan*, i, 154, 3.

Prá víshnave sūshám etu mánma giri-kshíte uru-gâyāya
vrishne.

May this hymn go forth to Vishnu, he who dwells in the
mountain (cloud), who strides wide, the hero.

Rudra is called vrishan :

ii. 34, 2. Rudráh yát vah marutah rukma-vakshasah vrishâ
âgani prishnyâh sukré ūdhani.

When Rudra, the strong man, begat you, o Maruts with
brilliant chests, in the bright bosom of Prishni.

That the Maruts, the sons of Rudra, are called vrishan, we
have seen before, and shall see frequently again (i. 165, 1 ;
ii. 33, 13 ; vii. 56, 20 ; 21 ; 58, 6). The whole company of
the Maruts is called vrishâ ganâh, the strong or manly host,
i.e. the host of the Maruts, without any further qualification.

Here lies, indeed, the chief difficulty which is raised by the
common use of vrishan in the Veda, that when it occurs by
itself, it often remains doubtful who is meant by it, Indra, or
Soma, or the Maruts, or some other deity. We shall examine
a few of these passages, and first some where vrishan refers
to Indra :

iv. 30, 10. Apa ushâh ânasaah sarat sám-pishât âha bibhyú-
shî, ní yát sîm sînâthat vrishâ.

Ushas went away from her broken chariot, fearing lest the
hero should do her violence.

Here vrishan is clearly meant for Indra, who, as we learn
from the preceding verse, was trying to conquer Ushas, as
Apollo did with Daphne ; and it should be observed that the
word itself, by which Indra is here designated, is particularly
appropriate to the circumstances.

i. 103, 6. Bhūri-karmane vrishabhāya vrishne satyā-sush-
māya sunavāma sōmam, yāh â-dritya paripanthī-iva sūrah
āyagvanaah vi-bhāgan éti védah.

Let us pour out the Soma for the strong bull, the performer
of many exploits, whose strength is true, the hero who, watch-
ing like a foot-pad, comes to us dividing the wealth of the
infidel.

Here it is clear again from the context that Indra only can
be meant.

But in other passages this is more doubtful :

iii. 61, 7. *Ritásya budhné ushásám ishanyán vrishâ mahî (îti) ródasi (îti) â vivesa.*

The hero in the depth of the heaven, yearning for the dawns, has entered the great sky and the earth.

The hero who yearns for the dawns, is generally Indra ; here, however, considering that Agni is mentioned in the preceding verse, it is more likely that this god, as the light of the morning, may have been meant by the poet. That Agni, too, may be called *vrishan*, without any other epithet to show that he is meant rather than any other god, is clear from such passages as :

vi. 3, 7. *Vrishâ rukshâh ôshadhîshu nûnot.*

He the wild hero shouted among the plants.

In vii. 60, 9, *vrishanau*, the dual, is meant for Mitra and Varuna ; in the next verse, *vrishanaḥ*, the plural, must mean the same gods and their companions.

That Soma is called simply *vrishan*, not only in the ninth *Mandala*, but elsewhere, too, we see from such passages, as :

iii. 43, 7. *Indra píba vrisha-dhûtasya vrishnaḥ (â yám te syenáḥ usaté gabhâra), yásya máde kyaváyasi prá krishñîḥ yásya máde ápa gotrá vavártha.*

Indra drink of the male (the strong Soma), bruised by the males (the heavy stones), inspirited by whom thou makest the people fall down, inspirited by whom thou hast opened the stables.

Here Sâyana, too, sees rightly that the male bruised by the males is the Soma-plant, which, in order to yield the intoxicating juice, has to be bruised by stones, which stones are again likened to two males. But unless the words, enclosed in brackets, had stood in the text, words which clearly point to Soma, I doubt whether Sâyana would have so readily admitted the definite meaning of *vrishan* as Soma.

i. 109, 3. *Mâ kḥedma ras̥mīn íti nâdhamânâḥ pitrīnām sak-tīḥ anu-yákkhamânâḥ, indrâgnībhyām kām vrishanaḥ madanti tâ hí ádri (îti) dhishánâyâḥ upá-sṭhe.*

We pray, let us not break the cords (which by means of the sacrifices offered by each generation of our forefathers unite us with the gods) ; we strive after the powers of our

fathers. The Somas rejoice for Indra and Agni; here are the two stones in the lap of the vessel.

First, as to the construction, the fact that participles are thus used as finite verbs, and particularly when the subject changes in the next sentence, is proved by other passages, such as ii. 11, 4. The sense is that the new generation does not break the sacrificial succession, but offers Soma, like their fathers. The Soma plants are ready, and, when pressed by two stones, their juice flows into the Soma-vessel. There may be a *double entendre* which Sanskrit scholars will easily perceive.

When *vrishan* is thus used by itself, we must be chiefly guided by the adjectives or other indications before we determine on the most plausible translation. Thus we read :

i. 55, 4. *Sáñ ít váne namasyúbhiñ vakasyate káru gápeshu prabruvânáñ indriyám, vrishá khanduñ bhavati haryatáñ vrishá kshémēna dhénām maghávā yát invati.*

In the first verse the subject is clearly Indra : "He alone is praised by worshippers in the forest, he who shows forth among men his fair power." But who is meant to be the subject of the next verse? Even Sâyana is doubtful. He translates first: "the bounteous excites the man who wishes to sacrifice; when the sacrificer, the rich, by the protection of Indra, stirs up his voice." But he allows an optional translation for the last sentences: "when the powerful male, Indra, by his enduring mind reaches the praise offered by the sacrificer."

According to these suggestions, Wilson translated: "He (Indra) is the granter of their wishes (to those who solicit him); he is the encourager of those who desire to worship (him), when the wealthy offerer of oblations, enjoying his protection, recites his praise."

Benfey: "The bull becomes friendly, the bull becomes desirable, when the sacrificer kindly advances praise."

Langlois: "When the noble Maghavan receives the homage of our hymns, his heart is flattered, and he responds to the wishes of his servant by his gifts."

As far as I know, the adjective *khandu* does not occur

again, and can therefore give us no hint. But *haryatáh*, which is applied to *vríshan* in our verse, is the standing epithet of Soma. It means delicious, and occurs very frequently in the ninth Mandala. It is likewise applied to Agni, Pûshan, the Haris, the thunderbolt, but wherever it occurs our first thought is of Soma. Thus, without quoting from the Soma-Mandala, we read, x. 96, 1, *haryatám mádám*, the delicious draught, *i.e.* Soma.

x. 96, 9. *Pítvā mādasya haryatásya ándhasah*, means, having drunk of the draught of the delicious Soma.

viii. 72, 18. *Padám haryatásya nidhānyām*, means the place where the delicious Soma resides.

iii. 44, 1. *Haryatáh sómah*.

Delicious Soma.

ii. 21, 1. *Bhara índrāya sómam yagatāya haryatám*.

Bring delicious Soma for the holy Indra.

i. 130, 2. *Mádāya haryatāya te tvíshṭamāya dhāyase*.

That thou mayest drink the delicious and most powerful draught, *i.e.* the Soma.

If, then, we know that *vríshan* by itself is used in the sense of Soma, *haryatáh vríshan* can hardly be anything else, and we may therefore translate the second line of i. 55, 5, "the strong Soma is pleasing, the strong Soma is delicious when the sacrificer safely brings the cow."

That Indra was thirsting for Soma had been said in the second verse, and he is again called the Soma-drinker in the seventh verse. The bringing of the cow alludes to the often mentioned mixture with milk which the Soma undergoes before it is offered.

That the Maruts are called *vríshan*, without further explanations, will appear from the following passages:—

i. 85, 12. *Rayím naḥ dhatta vrishanaḥ su-víram*.

Give us wealth, ye heroes, consisting of strong men.

viii. 96, 14. *Íshyāmi vaḥ vrishanaḥ yúdhyaṭa āgaú*.

I wish for you, heroes (Maruts), fight in the race!

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined, *vríshan* was always applied to living beings, whether animals, men, or gods. But as, in Greek, *ἄρρην* means at last simply

strong, and is applied, for instance, to the crash of the sea κύπος ἄρουρ πόντου, so in the Veda *vrīshan* is applied to the roaring of the storms and similar objects.

v. 87, 5. *Svanāḥ vrīshā.*

Your powerful sound (o Maruts).

x. 47, 1. *Gagribhmā te dākshinam indra hāstam vasu-yāvaḥ vasu-pate vāsūnām, vidmā hí tvā gó-patim sūra gónām asmā-bhyam kitráṁ vrīshnam rayīm dāḥ.*

We have taken thy right hand, o Indra, wishing for treasures, treasurer of treasures, for we know thee, o hero, to be the lord of cattle; give us bright and strong wealth.

Should *kitrá* here refer to treasures, and *vrīshan* to cattle?

x. 89, 9. *Ní ámitreshu vadhám indra túmram vrīshan vrīshānam arushám sisīhi.*

Whet, o hero, thy heavy strong, red weapon, against the enemies.

The long *ā* in *vrīshānam* is certainly startling, but it occurs once more, ix. 34, 3, where there can be no doubt that it is the accusative of *vrīshan*. Roth takes *vrīshan* here in the sense of bull (s.v. *tumra*), but he does not translate the whole passage.

iii. 29, 9. *Krinóta dhûmám vrīshanam sakhāyaḥ.*

Make a mighty smoke, o friends!

Strength itself is called *vrīshan*, if I am right in translating the phrase *vrīshanam súshmam* by manly strength. It occurs iv. 24, 7. *Tásmín dadhat vrīshanam súshmam indraḥ.*

May Indra give to him manly strength.

vi. 19, 8. *Ā naḥ bhara vrīshanam súshmam indra.*

Bring to us, o Indra, manly strength.

vii. 24, 4. *Asmé (íti) dádhat vrīshanam súshmam indra.*

Giving to us, o Indra, manly strength.

See also vi. 19, 9. *Súshmaḥ vrīshabhāḥ*, used in the same sense.

This constant play on the word *vrīshan*, which we have observed in the passages hitherto examined, and which give by no means a full idea of the real frequency of its occurrence in the Veda, has evidently had its influence on the Vedic Rishis, who occasionally seem to delight in the most silly and

unmeaning repetitions of this word, and its compounds and derivatives. Here no language can supply any adequate translation; for though we may translate words which express thoughts, it is useless to attempt to render mere idle play with words. I shall give a few instances:

i. 177, 3. *Ā tishtha rātham vrishanam vrishā te sutāḥ sōmaḥ pāri-siktā mādḥūni, yuktṛā vrishabhyām vrishabha kshitinām hāribhyām yāhi pra-vātā ūpa madrik.*

Mount the *strong* car, the *strong* Soma is poured out for thee, sweets are sprinkled round; come down towards us, thou bull of men, with the *strong* bays, having yoked them.

But this is nothing yet compared to other passages, when the poet cannot get enough of *vrishan* and *vrishabhas*.

ii. 16, 6. *Vrishā te vāgrāḥ utā te vrishā rāthaḥ vrishanā hārī(īti) vrishabhāni āyudhā, vrishnah mādasya vrishabha tvām īsishe indra sōmasya vrishabhāsyā tripnuhi.*

Thy thunderbolt is *strong*, and thy car is *strong*, *strong* are the bays, the weapons are *powerful*, thou, bull, art lord of the *strong* draught, Indra rejoice in the *powerful* Soma!

v. 36, 5. *Vrishā tvā vrishanam vardhatu dyaúḥ vrishā vrishabhyām vahase hāribhyām, sáh naḥ vrishā vrisha-rathaḥ su-sipra vrisha-krato (īti) vrishā vagrin bhāre dhāḥ.*

May the *strong* sky increase thee, the *strong*; a *strong* one thou art, carried by two *strong* bays; do thou who art *strong*, with a *strong* car, o thou of *strong* might, *strong* holder of the thunderbolt, keep us in battle!

v. 40, 2-3. *Vrishā grāvā vrishā mādāḥ vrishā sōmaḥ ayām sutāḥ, vrishan indra vrishabhiḥ vritra-hantama, vrishā tvā vrishanam huve.*

The stone is *strong*, the draught is *strong*, this Soma that has been poured out is *strong*, o thou *strong* Indra, who killest Vritra with the *strong* ones (the Maruts), I, the *strong*, call thee, the *strong*.

viii. 13, 31-33. *Vrishā ayām indra te rāthaḥ utó(īti) te vrishanā hārī(īti), vrishā tvām sata-krato(īti) vrishā hávaḥ. Vrishā grāvā vrishā mādāḥ vrishā sōmaḥ ayām sutāḥ, vrishā yagnāḥ yām invasi vrishā hávaḥ. Vrishā tvā vrishanam huve vāgrin kitrābhiḥ ūtibhiḥ, vavānta hí prāti-stutim vrishā hávaḥ.*

This thy car is *strong*, o Indra, and thy bays are *strong*; thou art *strong*, o omnipotent, our call is *strong*. The stone is *strong*, the draught is *strong*, the Soma is *strong*, which is here poured out; the sacrifice which thou orderest, is *strong*, our call is *strong*. I, the *strong*, call thee, the *strong*, thou holder of the thunderbolt, with manifold blessings; for thou hast desired our praise; our call is *strong*.

There are other passages of the same kind, but they are too tedious to be here repeated. The commentator, throughout, gives to each *vrishan* its full meaning either of showering down or bounteous, or male or bull; but a word which can thus be used at random has clearly lost its definite power, and calls forth no definite ideas in the mind of the listener. It cannot be denied that here and there the original meaning of *vrishan* would be appropriate even where the poet is only pouring out a stream of majestic sound, but we are not called upon to impart sense to what are *verba et præterquam nihil*. When we read, i. 122, 3, *vātaḥ apām vrishan-vân*, we are justified, no doubt, in translating, "the wind who pours forth water;" and x. 93, 5, *apām vrishan-vasû sūryāmāsâ* means "Sun and Moon, givers of water." But even in passages where *vrishan* is followed by the verb *vrish*, it is curious to observe that *vrish* is not necessarily used in the sense of raining or pouring forth, but rather in the sense of drinking.

vi. 68, 11. *Īndrâvarunâ mādhu-mattamasya vrīṣhanāḥ sô-masya vrīṣhanâ** â *vrishethâm*.

Indra and Varuna, you strong ones, may you drink of the sweetest strong Soma.

That *âvrish* means to drink or to eat, was known to Sâyana and to the author of the *Satapatha-brâhmana*, who paraphrases â *vrishâyadhvam* by *asnîta*, eat.

* The dual *vrishasau* occurs only when the next word begins with a vowel. Before an initial a, â, i, the au is always changed into âv in the *Sanhitâ* (i. 108, 7-12; 116, 21; 117, 19; 153, 2; 157, 5; 158, 1; 180, 7; vii. 61, 5). Before u the preceding au becomes â in the *Sanhitâ*, but the *Pada* gives au, in order to show that no *Sandhi* can take place between the two vowels (vii. 60, 9; x. 66, 7). Before consonants the dual always ends in â, both in the *Sanhitâ* and *Pada*. But there are a few passages where the final â occurs before initial vowels, and where the two vowels are allowed to form one syllable. In four passages this happens before an initial â (i. 108, 2; vi. 68, 11; i. 177, 1; ii. 16, 5). Once and once only it happens before u, in viii. 22, 12.

The same phrase occurs i. 108, 3.

i. 104, 9. Uru-vyākāḥ gathāre ā vrishasva.

Thou of vast extent, drink (the Soma) in thy stomach.

The same phrase occurs x. 96, 13.

viii. 61, 3. Ā vrishasva—sutāsyā indra āndhasaḥ.

Drink, Indra, of the Soma that is poured out.

In conclusion, a few passages may be pointed out in which *vrishan* seems to be the proper name of a pious worshipper, i. 36, 10 ; vi. 16, 15 (pāthyā).

Verse 1, note 2. A similar expression occurs iii. 61, 5, where it is said of Ushas, the dawn, that she lighted the lights in the sky, *prā rokanā ruruke ranvā-samdrik*.

Verse 2, note 1. Although no name is given, the pronoun *asya* clearly refers to Indra, for it is he to whom the two bays belong. The next verse, therefore, must likewise be taken as addressed to Indra, and not to the sun, spoken of as a horse in the first verse.

Verse 3, note 1. The vocative *maryāḥ*, which I have translated by O men, had evidently become a mere exclamation at a very early time. Even in our passage it is clear that the poet does not address any men in particular, for he addresses Indra, nor is *marya* used in the general sense of men. It means males, or male offspring. It sounds more like some kind of asseveration or oath, like the Latin *mehercle*, or like the English, O ye powers, and it is therefore quoted as an *nipāta* or particle in the *Vāg. Prātis*. ii. 16. It certainly cannot be taken as addressed to the Maruts, though the Maruts are the subject of the next verse,

Verse 3, note 2. *Ushādbhiḥ*, an instrumental plural which attracted the attention of the author of the *Vārttika* to *Pān.* vii. 4, 48. It occurs but once, but the regular form, *ushobhiḥ*, does not occur at all in the *Rig-Veda*. The same grammarian mentions *mās*, month, as changing the final *s* of its base into *d* before *bhis*. This, too, is confirmed by *Rv.* ii. 24, 5, where *mādbhiḥ* occurs. Two other words, *svavas*, offering good protection, and *svatavas*, of independent strength, mentioned together as liable to the same change, do not occur with *bhiḥ* in the *Rig-Veda*, but the forms *svavadbhiḥ* and *svatavadbhiḥ* probably occurred in

same other Vedic writings. Svataṇḍbhyaḥ has been pointed out by Professor Aufrecht in the *Vāgasan. Sanhitā*, xxiv. 16, and svataṇḍbhyaḥ, in *Satap. Br.* ii. 5, 1, 14. That the nom. svavān, which is always trisyllabic, is not to be divided into *sva-vān*, as proposed by Śākalya, but into *su-avān*, is implied by *Vārttika* to *Pān.* viii. 4, 48, and distinctly stated in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*. That the final n of the nom. *su-avān* disappeared before semi-vowels is confirmed by the *Śākala-prātisākhya*, *Sūtra* 287; see also *Vāgasan. Prātis.* iii. *Sūtra* 135 (Weber, *Ind. Stud.* iv. p. 206). On the proper division of *su-avas*, see Aufrecht, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xiii. p. 499.

Verse 4, note 1. Svadhā, literally one's own place, afterwards, one's own nature. It was a great triumph for the science of Comparative Philology that, long before the existence of such a word as *svadhā* in Sanskrit was known, it should have been postulated by Professor Benfey in his *Griechische Wurzellexicon*, published in 1839, and in the appendix of 1842. *Svadhā* was known, it is true, in the ordinary Sanskrit, but there it only occurred as an exclamation used on presenting an oblation to the manes. It was also explained to mean food offered to deceased ancestors, or to be the name of a personification of *Māyā* or worldly illusion, or of a nymph. But Professor Benfey, with great ingenuity, postulated for Sanskrit a noun *svadhā*, as corresponding to the Greek *ἔθος* and the German *sitte*, O.H.G. *sit-u*, Gothic *sid-u*. The noun *svadhā* has since been discovered in the *Veda*, where it occurs very frequently, and its true meaning in many passages where native tradition had entirely misunderstood it, has really been restored by means of its etymological identification with the Greek *ἔθος* or *ἦθος*. See Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, ii. 134; xii. 158.

The expressions, *ānu svadhām* and *svadhām ānu* are of frequent occurrence. They mean, according to the nature or character of the persons spoken of, and may be translated by *as usual*, or according to a person's wont. Thus in our passage, we may translate, *The Maruts are born again*, i.e., *as soon as Indra appeared with the dawn*, according to their

wont; they are always born as soon as Indra appears, for such is their nature.

- i. 165, 5. *Índra svadhām ánu hí naḥ babhūtha*,
For, Indra, according to thy wont, thou art ours.
viii. 20, 7. *Svadhām ánu sríyam nárah—vahante*.

According to their wont, the men (the Maruts) carry splendour.

- viii. 88, 5. *Ánu svadhām vavakshitha*.
Thou hast grown (Indra) according to thy nature.
iv. 33, 6. *Ánu svadhām ribhávaḥ gagmuḥ etām*.

According to their nature, the Ribhus went to her, scil. the cow; or, according to this their nature, they came.

- iv. 52, 6. *Úshaḥ ánu svadhām ava*.
Dawn, help! as thou art wont.

- i. 33, 11. *Ánu svadhām aksharan āpaḥ asya*.

As usual, or according to his nature, i.e. his strength, the waters flowed.

- i. 88, 6. *Āsām ánu svadhām*.
According to the nature of these libations.

- vii. 56, 13. *Ánu svadhām āyudhaiḥ yákkhamânāḥ*.

According to their nature, stretching forth with their weapons.

- iii. 51, 11. *Yáḥ te ánu svadhām ásat suté ní yákkha tanvām*.

Direct thy body to that libation which is according to thy nature, or better, according to thy taste.

In all these passages *svadhâ* may be rendered by manner, habit, usage, and *ánu svadhām* would seem to correspond to the Greek *ἐξ ἑθους*. Yet the history of these words in Sanskrit and Greek has not been exactly the same. First of all we observe in Greek a division between *ἔθος* and *ἦθος*, and whereas the former comes very near in meaning to the Sanskrit *svadhâ*, the latter shows in Homer a much more primitive and material sense. It means in Homer, not a person's own nature, but the own place, for instance, of animals, the haunts of horses, lions, fish; in Hesiod, also of men. *Svadhâ* in the Veda does not occur in that sense, although etymologically it might take the meaning of one's own place. (Cf. *dhâ-man*, *familia*, etc.) Whether in Greek *ἦθος*, from meaning *lair*,

haunt, home, came, like *νομός* and *νόμος*, to mean habit, manner, character, which would be quite possible, or whether *ἦθος* in that meaning represents a second start from the same point, which in Sanskrit was fixed in *svadhā*, is impossible to determine. In Sanskrit *svadhā* clearly shows the meaning of one's own nature, power, disposition. It does not mean power or nature in general, but always the power of some one, the peculiarity, the individuality of a person. This will appear from the following passages :—

ii. 3, 8. *Tisráḥ devīḥ svadháyā barhíḥ ā idám ákkhidram pāntu.*

May the three goddesses protect by their power the sacred pile unbroken.

iv. 13, 5. *Káyā yāti svadháyā.*

By what inherent power does he (the Sun) move on ?

iv. 26, 4. *Akkráyā svadháyā.*

By a power which requires no chariot, *i.e.* by himself without a chariot.

The same expression occurs again x. 27, 19.

In some places “mad” joined with *svadháyā*, seems to mean to delight in his strength, proud of his might.

v. 32, 4. *Svadháyā mādantam.*

Vritra who delights in his strength.

vii. 47, 3. *Svadháyā mādantíḥ.*

The waters who delight in their strength. See x. 124, 8.

In other passages, however, as we shall see, the same phrase (and this is rather unusual) requires to be taken in a different sense, so as to mean to rejoice in food.

i. 164, 38. *Svadháyā gribhítáḥ.*

Held or grasped by his own strength.

iii. 17, 5. *Svadháyā ka sambhúḥ.*

He who blesses by his own strength.

iii. 35, 10. *Índra píba svadháyā kit sutásya agnéḥ vā páhi gihváyā yagatra.*

Indra drink of the libation by thyself (by thy own power), or with the tongue of Agni, o worshipful.

To drink with the tongue of Agni is a bold, but not unusual expression. v. 51, 2. *agnéḥ pibata gihváyā.*

x. 15, 3. Yé svadháyâ sutásya bháganta pitvâh.

Those who by themselves share in the offered draught.

x. 15, 12. Tvám agne iñtáh gâtá-vedaḥ ávât havyāni su-rabhīni kritvī, prā adāḥ pitṛibhyaḥ svadháyâ té akshan addhi tvám deva prā-yatā havīmshi. 12. Yé ka ihá pitáraḥ yé ka ná ihá yān ka vidmá yān u ka ná pra-vidmá, tvám vettha yāti té gâtá-vedaḥ svadhābhiḥ yaṅām sú-kritam gushasva. 13. Yé agni-dagdhāḥ yé ágni-dagdhāḥ mādhye divāḥ svadháyâ mādáyante, tébhiḥ sva-rāt ásu-nītim etām yathā-vasām tan-vām kalpayasva.

Thou, o Agni Gâtavedas, hast carried, when implored, the offerings which thou hast rendered sweet: Thou hast given them to the fathers, they fed on their share. Eat thou, o god, the proffered oblations. Our fathers who are here, and those who are not here, our fathers whom we know and those whom we do not know, thou knowest how many they are, o Gâtavedas, accept the well-made sacrifice with the sacrificial portions. 13. They who, whether burnt by fire or not burnt by fire, rejoice in their offering in the midst of heaven, give to them, o king, that life, and thy (their) own body, according to thy will.

i. 165, 6. Kvā syā vaḥ marutaḥ svadhā āsit yāt mām ékam sam-ādhatta ahi-hātye.

Where was that custom of yours, o Maruts, that ye should have joined me who stand alone in the fight with Ahi?

vii. 8, 3. Káyâ naḥ agne ví vasaḥ su-vriktím kām ūm (íti) svadhām rinavaḥ sasyámānaḥ.

In what character dost thou light up our altar, and what character dost thou assume when thou art praised!

iv. 58, 4. Venāt ékam svadháyâ níḥ tatakshur.

They (the gods) made one out of the sun, by their own power.

iv. 45, 6. Vísván ánu svadháyâ ketathaḥ pathāḥ.

You (Asvins) look after all the paths by your own strength.

i. 64, 4. Sákám gaṇñire svadháyâ.

They (the Maruts) were born together according to their nature; very much like ánu svadhām, i. 6, 4. One can hardly render it here by "they were born by their own strength," or "by spontaneous generation."

Svadháyâ, however, meaning originally by its own powers, or nature, comes to mean in several passages, by itself, *sponte suâ*.

vii. 78, 4. *Ā asthât rātham svadháyâ yugyámānam*.

She, the dawn, mounted the chariot which was harnessed by itself, by its own power, without requiring the assistance of people to put the horses to.

x. 129, 2. *Ānīt avātām svadháyâ tát ékam*.

That only One breathed breathlessly, by its own strength, *i.e.*, by itself.

In the same sense *svadhābhiḥ* is used in several passages :

i. 113, 13. *Amritā karati svadhābhiḥ*.

The immortal Dawn moves along by her own strength, *i.e.* by herself.

viii. 10, 6. *Yāt vā svadhābhiḥ adhi-tīshṭhathaḥ rātham*.

Or whether ye mount your chariot by your own strength, ye *Asvins*.

i. 164, 30. *Gīvāḥ mritāsya karati svadhābhiḥ āmartyaḥ mārtyena sā-yoniḥ*.

The living moves by the powers of the dead, the immortal is the brother of the mortal.

iii. 26, 8. *Vārshishṭham rātnam akrita svadhābhiḥ*.

He (Agni) made the best jewel by his own powers, *i.e.* by himself.

v. 60, 4. *Varāḥ-iva ít raivatāsaḥ hīranyaiḥ abhī svadhābhiḥ tanvāḥ pipisre*.

Like rich suitors, they (the Maruts) by their own strength, *i.e.*, themselves, adorn their bodies with gold ornaments.

There are doubtful passages in which the meaning of *svadhābhiḥ*, too, is doubtful. Thus, i. 180, 6. In vi. 2, 8, *svadhā* looks like an adverb, instead of *svadháyâ*, and would then refer to *párigmā*.

But *svadhā* means also food, lit. one's own portion, the sacrificial offering due to each god, and lastly, food in general.

i. 108, 12 *Yāt indrágnī (íti) út-itā sūryasya mādhye divāḥ svadháyâ mādáyethe (íti)*.

Whether you, Indra and Agni, delight in your food at the rising of the sun or at mid-day.

iii. 4, 7. Saptá prikshāsaḥ svadhāyā madanti.

The seven horses delight in their food.

x. 14, 7. Ubhā rāgānā svadhāyā mādantā.

The two kings delighting in their food.

ix. 113, 10. Yātra kamāḥ ni-kāmāḥ ka, yātra bradhnāsyā
vishṭāpam, svadhā ka yātra trīptiḥ ka tātra mām amṛitam
kridhī,

Where wishes and desires are, where the cup of the bright
Soma is, where there is food and rejoicing, there make me im-
mortal.

i. 154, 4. Yāsya trī pūrṇā mādhurā padāni ākshiyamānā
svadhāyā mādanti.

He (Vishnu) whose three places, full of sweet, imperishable,
delight or abound in food.

viii. 32, 6. Ūpa svadhāḥ gahi.

Come towards thy portions.

v. 34, 1. Svadhā āmitā. His unlimited portion or offering.

ii. 35, 7. Dhenūḥ svadhām pīpaya.

The cow yields her food, her portion, her milk.

i. 168, 9. Āt it svadhām ishirām pāri apasyan.

Thereafter (the Maruts) saw the vigorous food.

i. 176, 2. Ānu svadhā yām upyāte.

After whom, or for whom, his food is scattered.

In the tenth book svadhā is used very much as it occurs in
the later Sanskrit, as the name of a peculiar sacrificial rite.

x. 14, 3. Yān ka devāḥ vavridhūḥ yé ka devān svāhā anyé
svadhāyā anyé madanti.

Those whom the gods cherish, and those who cherish the
gods, the one delight in Svāhā, the others in Svadhā; or, in
praise and food.

Verse 4, note 2. The expression garbhatvam ā-īrire, is
matched by that of iii. 60, 3, Saudhanvanāsaḥ amṛita-tvām
ā īrire, the Saudhanvanas (the Ribhus) obtained immor-
tality. The idea that the Maruts assumed the form of a
garbha, lit. of an embryo or a new-born child, is only
meant to express that the storms burst forth from the womb
of the sky as soon as Indra arises to do battle against the
demon of darkness. As assisting Indra in this battle, the

Maruts, whose name retained for a long time its purely appellative meaning of storms, attained their rank as deities by the side of Indra, or, as the poet expresses it, they assumed their sacred name. This seems to be the whole meaning of the later legend that the Maruts, like the Ribhus were not originally gods, but became deified for their works.

Vahni.

Verse 5, note 1. Sāyana explains *vahnibhiḥ* in the sense of *Marudbhiḥ*, and he tells the oft-repeated story how the cows were carried off by the *Panis* from the world of the gods, and thrown into darkness, and how Indra with the Maruts conquered them and brought them back. Everybody seems to have accepted this explanation of Sāyana, and I myself do not venture to depart from it. Yet it should be stated that the use of *vahni* as a name of the Maruts is by no means well established. *Vahni* is in fact a most difficult word in the Veda. In later Sanskrit it means fire, and is quoted also as a name of Agni, the god of fire, but we do not learn why a word which etymologically means carrier, from *vah*, to carry, should have assumed the meaning of fire. It may be that *vah*, which in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin means chiefly to carry, expressed originally the idea of moving about (the German *be-wegen*), in which case *váh-ni*, fire, would have been formed with the same purpose as *ag-ní*, *ig-nis*, fire, from Sk. *ag*, *áy-ō*, *ag-o*. But in Sanskrit Agni is so constantly represented as the carrier of the sacrificial oblation, that something may be said in favour of the Indian scholastic interpreters who take *váhni*, as applied to Agni, in the sense of carrier. However that may be, it admits of no doubt that *vahni*, in the Veda also, is distinctly applied to the bright fire or light. In some passages it looks very much like a proper name of Agni, in his various characters of terrestrial and celestial light. It is used for the sacrificial fire.

v, 50, 4. *Yátra váhniḥ abhí-hitaḥ*.

Where the sacrificial fire is placed.

It is applied to Agni:

vii. 7, 5, *ásádi vritáḥ váhniḥ ā-gaganvān agníḥ brahmā*.

The chosen light came nigh, and sat down, Agni, the priest.

Here Agni is, as usual, represented as a priest, chosen like a priest, for the performance of the sacrifice. But, for that very reason, *vahni* may here have the meaning of priest, which, as we shall see, it has in many places, and the translation would then be more natural: He, the chosen minister, came near and sat down, Agni, the priest.

viii. 23, 3. *Váhniḥ vindate vásu.*

Agni finds wealth (for those who offer sacrifices?)

More frequently *vahni* is applied to the celestial Agni, or other solar deities, where it is difficult to translate it in English except by an adjective.

iii. 5, 1. *Āpa dvārā támasaḥ váhniḥ āvar. (ity āvaḥ).*

Agni opened the two doors of darkness.

i. 160, 3. *Sáḥ váhniḥ putráḥ pitróḥ pavitra-vân punāti dhīraḥ bhúvanāni mâyáyā.*

That light, the son of the two parents, full of brightness, the wise, brightens the world by his power.

Agni is even called *váhni-tama* (iv. 1, 4) which hardly means more than the brightest.

ii. 17, 4. *Āt ródaśi (íti) gyótishā váhniḥ ā atanot.*

Then the luminous (Indra) stretched out or filled heaven and earth with his light.

ii. 38, 1. *Ūt ūm (íti) syáḥ deváḥ savitā—váhniḥ asthāt.*

The bright Savitar, the luminous, arose.

Besides this meaning of light or fire, however, there are clearly two other meanings of *vahni* which must be admitted in the Veda, first that of a carrier, vehicle, and, it may be, horse; secondly, that of minister or priest.

vi. 57, 3. *Agāḥ anyásya váhnayaḥ hári (íti) anyásya sám-bhrítā.*

The bearers of the one (Pūshan) are goats, the bays are yoked for the other (Indra).

i. 14, 6. *Ghrítā-prishtāḥ manaḥ-yúgaḥ yé tvā váhanti váhnayaḥ.*

The horses with shining backs, obedient to thy will which carry thee (Agni).

viii. 3, 23. Yásmai anyé dása práti dhúram váhanti váhnayaḥ.

(A horse) against whom other ten horses carry a weight; i.e. it requires ten horses to carry the weight which this one horse carries. (See x. 11, 7: váhamānaḥ ásvaiḥ.)

ii. 37, 3. Médyantu te váhnayaḥ yébbhiḥ íyase.

May thy horses be fat on which thou goest.

ii. 24, 13. Utá ásishtáāḥ ánu srinvanti váhnayaḥ.

The very quick horses (of Brahmanaspati) listen. These may be the flames, but they are conceived as carriers or horses.

i. 44, 13. Srudhí srut-karna váhnibhiḥ.

Agni, who hast ears to hear, hear, on thy horses. Unless váhnibhiḥ is joined with the words that follow, devaíḥ sayāvabhiḥ.

iii. 6, 2. Vakyántām te váhnayaḥ saptá-gihvāḥ.*

May thy seven-tongued horses be called. Here váhnayaḥ is clearly meant for the flames of Agni, yet, I doubt whether we should be justified in dropping the simile, as the plural of vahni is nowhere used in the bald sense of flames.

In one passage váhni is used as a feminine, or at all events applied to a feminine subject:

viii. 94, 1. Yuktā váhniḥ ráthānām.

She is yoked as the drawer of the chariots.

The passages in which vahni is applied to Soma in the 9th Mandala throw little light on the subject. (x. 9, 6; 20, 5; 6; 36, 2; 64, 19; 89, 1; x. 101, 10.)

Instead of viśām vispátiḥ, lord of men (vii. 7, 4), we find ix. 108, 10, viśām váhniḥ ná vis-pátiḥ. One feels inclined to translate here váhniḥ by leader, but it is more likely that váhni is here again the common name of Soma, and that it is inserted between viśām ná vis-pátiḥ, which probably forms one phrase.

In ix. 97, 34, tisráḥ vākaḥ írayati prá váhniḥ, we may take váhni as the common appellation of Soma. But it may also mean minister or priest, as in the passages which we have now to examine. Cf. x. 11, 6.

* Cf. i. 58, 7: saptá guhvāḥ.

For besides these passages in which *vahni* clearly means vector, carrier, drawer, horse, there is a large class of verses in which it can only be translated by minister, *i.e.* officiating minister, and, as it would seem, chiefly singer or reciter.

The verb *vah* was used in Sanskrit in the sense of carrying out (*ud-vah*, *ausführen*), or performing a rite, particularly as applied to the reciting of hymns. Hence such compounds as *ukthā-vāhas* or *stōma-vāhas*, offering hymns of praise. Thus we read :

v. 79, 4. *Abhī yé tvā vibhā-vari stōmaiḥ grinānti váhnayaḥ.*

The ministers who praise thee, splendid dawn, with hymns.
i. 48, 11. *Yé tvā grinānti váhnayaḥ.*

The ministers who praise thee.

vii. 75, 5. *Ushāḥ ukkhati váhnibhiḥ grinānā.*

The dawn lights up, praised by the ministers.

vi. 39, 1. *Mandrāśya kavéḥ divyāśya váhneḥ.*

Of the sweet poet, of the heavenly priest

vii. 82, 4. *Yuvām ít yutsú prītanāsu váhnayaḥ yuvām kshémasya pra-savé mitá-gñavaḥ īsānā vásvaḥ ubháyasya káravaḥ indrávarunā su-hávā havāmahe.*

We, as ministers, invoke you only in fight and battles ; we, as supplicants, (invoke) you for the granting of treasure ; we, as poets, (invoke) you the lords of two-fold wealth, you, Indra and Varuna, who listen to our call.

vi. 32, 3. *Sāḥ váhnibhiḥ rīkvabhiḥ góshu sásvat mitá-gñubhiḥ puru-krítvā gigāya.*

He (Indra) was victorious often among the cows, always with celebrating and suppliant ministers.

I have placed these two passages together because they seem to me to illustrate each other, and to show that although in the second passage the celebrating and suppliant ministers may be intended for the Maruts, yet no argument could be drawn from this verse in favour of *vahni* by itself meaning the Maruts. See also viii. 6, 2 ; 12, 15 ; x. 114, 2.

iv. 21, 6. *Hótā yāḥ naḥ mahān sam-vāraṇeshu váhniḥ.*

The Hotar who is our great priest in the sanctuaries.

i. 128, 4. Váhniḥ vedhāḥ ágāyata.

Because the wise priest (Agni) was born.

The same name which in these passages is applied to Agni, is in others, and, as it will be seen, in the same sense, applied to Indra.

ii. 21, 2. Tuvi-grāye váhnaye.

To the strong-voiced priest.

The fact that váhni is followed in several passages by ukthaiḥ would seem to show that the office of the vahni was chiefly that of recitation or of addressing prayers to the gods.

iii. 20, 1. Agním ushásam aśvínā dadhi-krām ví-ushāṣishu havate váhniḥ ukthaiḥ.

The priest at the break of day calls with his hymns Agni, Ushas, the Aśvins, and Dadhikrā.

i. 184, 1. Tā vām adyā taú aparām huvema ukthāntyām ushāsi váhniḥ ukthaiḥ.

Let us invoke the two Aśvins to-day and to-morrow, the priest with his hymns is there when the dawn appears.

In a similar sense, it would seem, as váhniḥ ukthaiḥ, the Vedic poets frequently use the words váhniḥ āśā. This āśā is the instrumental singular of ās, mouth, and it is used in other phrases also of the mouth as the instrument of praise.

vi. 32, 1. Vagrīne sám-tamāni vākāmsi āśā sthāviráya taksham.

I have shaped with my mouth blessed words to the wielder of the thunderbolt, the strong Indra.

x. 115, 3. Āśā váhniḥ ná sokīṣhā vi-rapsīnam.

He who sings with his flame as the poet with his mouth. See also i. 38, 14. Mimihí ślókam āsyē, make a song in the mouth.

Thus we find váhniḥ āśā in the same place in the sixth and seventh Mandālas (vi. 16, 9; vii. 16, 9) in the phrase váhniḥ āśā vidúḥ-taraḥ, applied to Agni in the sense of the priest wise with his mouth, or taking váhniḥ āśā as it were one word, the wise poet.

i. 129, 5. Váhniḥ āśā, váhniḥ naḥ ákṣha.

Indra, as a priest by his lips, as a priest coming towards us. From the parallelism of this passage it would seem that

Professor Roth concluded the meaning of *āsā** to be near, or *coram*.

i, 76, 4. *Pragā-vatā vākasā vāhniḥ āsā ā ka huvé ní ka satsi ihā devāh.*

With words in which my people join, I, the poet, invoke, and thou (Agni) sittest down with the gods.

vi, 11, 2. *Pāvakāyā guhvā vāhniḥ āsā.*

Thou, a poet with a bright tongue, o Agni!

The question now arises in what sense *vahni* is used when applied without further definition to certain deities. Most deities in the Veda are represented as driving or driven, and many as poets or priests. When the *Asvins* are called *vāhni*, viii, 8, 12; vii, 73, 4, it may mean riders. But when the *Viśve devāh* are so called, 1, 3, 9, or the *Ribhus*, the exact meaning is more doubtful. The *Maruts* are certainly riders, and we can even prove that they were supposed to sit on horseback and to have the bridle through the horse's nostrils (v, 61, 2). But if in our verse 1, 6, 5, we translate *vahni* as an epithet, rider, and not only as an epithet, but as a name of the *Maruts*, we cannot support our translation by independent evidence, but must rely partly on the authority of *Sāyana*, partly on the general tenour of the text before us, where the *Maruts* are mentioned in the preceding verse, and, if I am right, in the verse following also. On the other hand, if

* *Ās*, mouth, the Latin *os*, *oris*, has been derived from a root *as*, to breathe, presented in the Sanskrit *as-u*, spirit, *asu-ra*, endowed with spirit, living, the living god. Though I agree with Curtius in admitting a primitive root *as*, to breathe, from which *as-u*, breath, must have sprung, I have always hesitated about the derivation of *ās*, and *āśya*, mouth, from the same root. I do not think, however, that the lengthening of the vowel in *ās* is so great a difficulty as has been supposed (Kuhn, *Zeitschrift*, xvii. 145). Several roots lengthen their vowel *a*, when used as substantives without derivative suffixes. In some cases this lengthening is restricted to the *Anga* base, as in *anaśvāh*; in others to the *Anga* and *Pada* base, as in *visvavāt*, *visvavādbhih* etc.; in others again it pervades the whole declension, as in *turāshāt*. (See Sanskrit Grammar, § 210, 208, 175.) Among ordinary words *vāt* offers a clear instance of a lengthened vowel. In the Veda we find *ritishāham*, vi. 14, 4, and *ritishāham* (*Sanhitā*), i. 64, 15. We find *vāh* in *apsu-vāh* (*Sām. Ved.*), *indra-vāh*, *havya-vāh*. *Sah* at the end of compounds, such as *nri-sah*, *pritanā-sah*, *bhūri-sah*, *satrā-sah*, *vibhā-sah*, *sadā-sah*, varies between a long and short *ā*. (See Regnier, *Etude sur l'idiome du Veda*, p. 111.) At all events no instance has yet been pointed out in Sanskrit showing the same contraction which we should have to admit if we derived *ās* from *av-as*, or from *an-as*. From *an* we have in the Veda *ānā*, mouth or face, i. 52, 15. From *as*, to breathe, the Latin *omen*, originally, *os-men*, a whisper, might likewise be derived.

vahni can be thus used as a name of the Maruts, there is at least one other passage which would gain in clearness by the admission of that meaning, viz.,

x, 138, 1. Táva tyé indra sakhyéshu váhnayaḥ—ví adardiruḥ valám.

In thy friendship, Indra, these Maruts tore asunder the cloud.

Verse 5, note 2. I have translated víḥu by stronghold, though it is only an adjective meaning firm. Dr. Oscar Meyer, in his very able essay *Quæstiones Homericæ*, specimen prius, Bonnæ, 1867, has tried to show that this víḥu is the original form of Ἰλιος, and he has brought some further evidence to show that the siege and conquest of Troy, as I pointed out in my *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. ii. p. 470, was originally described in language borrowed from the siege and conquest of the dark night by the powers of light, or from the destruction of the cloud by the weapons of Indra. It ought to be considered, however, that víḥu in the Veda has not dwindled down as yet to a mere name, and that therefore it may have originally retained its purely appellative power in Greek as well as in Sanskrit, and from meaning a stronghold in general, have come to mean the stronghold of Troy.

Verse 5, note 3. The bright cows are here the cows of the morning, the dawns, or the days themselves, which are represented as rescued at the end of each night by the power of Indra, or similar solar gods. Indra's companions in that daily rescue are the Maruts, the storms, or the breezes of the morning, the same companions who act even a more prominent part in the battle of Indra against the dark clouds; two battles often mixed up together.

Verse 6, note 1. The reasons why I take gíraḥ as a masculine in the sense of singer or praiser, have been explained in a note to i. 37, 10.

Verse 6, note 2. Yáthâ matím, lit. according to their mind, according to their heart's desire. Cf. ii, 24, 13.

Verse 7, note 1. The sudden transition from the plural to the singular is strange, but the host of the Maruts is frequently spoken of in the singular, and nothing else can here

be intended. It may be true, as Professor Benfey suggests, that the verses here put together stood originally in a different order, or that they were taken from different sources. Yet though the Sâma-veda would seem to sanction a small alteration in the order of the verses, the alteration of verses 7, 4, 5, as following each other, would not help us much. The Atharva-veda sanctions no change in the order of these verses.

The transition to the dual at the end of the verse is likewise abrupt, not more so, however, than we are prepared for in the Veda. The suggestion of the Nirukta (iv. 12) that these duals might be taken as instrumentals of the singular, is of no real value.

Verse 7, note 2. *Drikshase*, a very valuable form, a second person singular conjunctive of the First Aorist *Âtmanepada*, the termination "sase" corresponding to Greek *ση*, as the conjunctive takes the personal terminations of the present in both languages. Similar forms, viz., *prikshase*, x, 22, 7, *mamsase*, x, 27, 10; *Ath. Veda*, vii, 20, 2-6, and possibly *vîvakshase*, x, 21, 1-8, 24, 1-3, 25, 1-11, will have to be considered hereafter. (*Nirukta*, ed. Roth, p. 30, Notes).

Verse 8, note 1. *Arktati*, which I have here translated by he cries, means literally, he celebrates. I do not know of any passage where *arkati*, when used, as here, without an object, means to shine, as Professor Benfey translates it. The real difficulty, however, lies in *makha*, which Sâyana explains by sacrifice, and which I have ventured to translate by priest or sacrificer. *Makha*, as an adjective, means, as far as we can judge, strong or vigorous, and is applied to various deities, such as *Pûshan*, i, 138, 1, *Savitar*, vi. 71, 1, *Soma*, xi. 20, 7, *Indra*, iii. 34, 2, the *Maruts*, i. 64, 11; vi. 66, 9. By itself, *makha* is never used as the name of any deity, and it cannot therefore, as Professor Roth proposes, be used in our passage as a name of *Indra*, or be referred to *Indra* as a significant adjective. In i. 119, 3, *makha* is applied to men or warriors, but it does not follow that *makha* by itself means warrior, though it may be connected with the Greek *μαχος* in *σύμμαχος*. (See Curtius, *Grundzüge*, p. 293; Grassmann, in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xvi, 164.)

There are two passages where *makha* refers to an enemy of the gods, ix. 101, 13; x. 171, 2.

Among the remaining passages there is one where *makha* is used in parallelism with *vahni*, x. 11, 6. *vívakti váhniḥ, svapasyáte makháḥ*. Here I propose to translate, The poet speaks out, the priest works well. The same meaning seems to me applicable likewise to the phrase *makhásya dāváne*, to the offering of the priest,

i. 134, 1. *Á yáhi dāváne, váyo, makhásya dāváne*.

Come, Vayu, to the offering, to the offering of the priest.

viii, 7, 27. *Á naḥ makhásy adāváne—dévāsaḥ úpa gantana*.

Come, gods, to the offering of our priest.

Professor Roth proposes to render *makhá* in these passages by 'attestation of joy, celebration, praise,' and he takes *dāváne*, as I have done, for a dative of *dāvan*, a *nomen actionis*, meaning, the giving. But although *dāváne* may thus be taken as a dative singular of *dāvan*, I doubt whether it can be so interpreted in every passage in which it occurs. There seem to me to be certain passages where we have to admit a noun *dāvana*, and to take *dāváne* as a locative sing.

vi. 71, 2. *Devásya vayám savitúḥ sávīmani*

Srēshṭhe syāma vásunaḥ ka dāváne

May we be in the favour of the god Savitar, and in the best award of his treasure.

Here *srēshṭhe*, though it might be drawn back to *sávīmani*, is more naturally joined with *dāváne*, while, if we took *dāváne* as a dative, the parallelism of the two lines would be destroyed. We should then have to translate: May we be in the best favour of the god Savitar, and for the giving of treasure.

I should prefer the locative likewise in ii. 11, 1, *syāma te dāváne vásūnām*, and ii. 11, 12, *sadyáḥ te rayáḥ dāváne syāma*, though I am aware that the majority of passages* where *dāváne* occurs favours Professor Roth's explanation.

Verses 9 and 10, note 1. Although the names for earth, sky, and heaven vary in different parts of the Veda, yet the

* Rv. i. 61, 10; 122, 5; 134, 2; 139, 6; ii. 1, 10; iv. 29, 5; 32, 9; v. 69, 1, 4; vi. 65, 3; viii. 25, 20; 45, 10; (92, 6); 46, 25; 27; 63, 5; 69, 17; 70, 12; ix. 93, 4; x. 32, 5; 44, 7; 50, 7.

expression *diváh rokanám* occurs so frequently that we can hardly take it in this place in a sense different from its ordinary meaning. Professor Benfey thinks that *rokana* may here mean ether, and he translates "come from heaven above the ether;" and in the next verse, "come from heaven above the earth." At first, every reader would feel inclined to take the two phrases, *diváh vâ rokanât ádhi*, and *diváh vâ pârthivât ádhi*, as parallel; yet I believe they are not quite so.

The following passages will show that the two words *rokanám diváh* belong together, and that they signify the light of heaven, or the bright place of heaven.

viii. 98, 3. *Ágakhaḥ rokanám diváh.*

Thou (Indra) wentest to the light of heaven.

i. 155, 3. *Ádhi rokané diváh.*

In the light of heaven.

iii. 6, 8. *Uraú vâ yé antárikṣhe—diváh vâ yé rokané.*

In the wide sky, or in the light of heaven.

viii. 82, 4. *Upamé rokané diváh.*

In the highest light of heaven.

ix. 86, 27. *Tritīye prishṭhé ádhi rokané diváh.*

On the third ridge, in the light of heaven. See also i. 105, 5; viii. 69, 3.

The very phrase which we find in our verse, only with *kit* instead of *vâ*, occurs again, i. 49, 1; viii. 8, 7; and the same sense must probably be assigned to viii. 1, 18, *ádha gṃáh ádha vâ diváh brihatáh rokanât ádhi*.

Either from the earth, or from the light of the great heaven, increase, o Indra!

Rokana also occurs in the plural:

i. 146, 1. *Vísṡá diváh rokanā.*

All the bright regions of heaven.

(Sây.: All the bright palaces of the gods). See iii. 12, 9.

The same word *rokana*, and in the same sense, is also joined with *sûrya* and *nâka*.

Thus, i. 14, 9. *Sûryasya rokanât vísṡân devân—hótâ ihâ vakshati.*

May the Hotar bring the *Viśvé Devas* hither from the light of the sun, or from the bright realm of the sun.

iii. 22, 3. *Yāḥ rokané parástāt sūryasya.*

The waters which are above, in the bright realm of the sun, and those which are below.

i. 19, 6. *Yé nākasya ádhi rokané, diví devāsaḥ āsate.*

They who in the light of the firmament, in heaven, are enthroned as gods.

Here *diví*, in heaven, seems to be the same as the light of the firmament, *nākasya rokané*.

Thus *rokanā* occurs also frequently by itself, when it clearly has the meaning of heaven.

It is said of the dawn, i. 49, 4; of the sun, i. 50, 4; and of Indra, iii. 44, 4,

Vīsvam ā bhāti rokanám, they light up the whole sky.

We also read of three *rokanas*, where, though it is difficult to say what is really meant, we must translate, the three skies. The cosmography of the Veda is, as I said before, somewhat vague and varying. There is, of course, the natural division of the world into heaven and earth (*dyu* and *bhūmi*), and the threefold division into earth, sky, and heaven, where sky is meant for the region intermediate between heaven and earth (*prithivī*, *antariksha*, *dyu*). There is also a fourfold division, for instance,—

viii. 97, 5. *Yát vā āsi rokané divāḥ*

Samudrásya ádhi vishṭápi,

Yát pārthive sádane vritra-hantama,

Yát antáriksho ā gahi.

Whether thou, o greatest killer of *Vritra*, art in the light of heaven, or in the basin of the sea, or in the place of the earth, or in the sky, come hither!

v. 52, 7. *Yé vavridhánta pārthivāḥ yé uraú antáriksho ā, vrigāne vā nadīnām sadhá-sthe vā mahāḥ divāḥ.*

The Maruts who grew, being on the earth, those who are in the wide sky, or in the compass of the rivers, or in the abode of the great heaven.

But very soon these three or more regions are each spoken of as threefold. Thus i. 102, 8, *tisráḥ bhūmíḥ trīṇi rokanā.*

The three earths, the three skies.

ii. 27, 9. *Trī rokanā divyā dhārayanta*

The Ādityas support the three heavenly skies.

v. 69, 1. Trī rokanā varuna trīn utā dyūn trīni mitra dhārayathaḥ rāgāmsi.

Mitra and Varuna, you support the three lights, and the three heavens, and the three skies.

Here there seems some confusion, which Sāyana's commentary makes even worse confounded. What can rokanā mean as distinct from dyu and rāgas? The fourth verse of the same hymn throws no light on the subject, and I should feel inclined to take divyā-pārthivasya as one word, though even then the cosmic division here adopted is by no means clear. However, there is a still more complicated division alluded to in iv. 53, 5 :

Trīḥ antāriksham savitā mahi-tvanā trī rāgāmsi pari-bhūḥ trīni rokanā, tistrāḥ dīvaḥ prithivīḥ tistrāḥ invati.

Here we have the sky thrice, three welkins, three lights, three heavens, three earths.

A careful consideration of all these passages will show, I think, that in our passage we must take divāḥ vā rokanāt ādhi in its usual sense, and that we cannot separate the two words.

In the next verse, on the contrary, it seems equally clear that divāḥ and pārthivāt must be separated. At all events there is no passage in the Rig-Veda where pārthiva is joined as an adjective with dyu. Pārthiva as an adjective is frequently joined with rāgas, never with dyu. See i. 81, 5; 90, 7; viii. 88, 5; ix. 72, 8; in the plural, i. 154, 1; v. 81, 3; vi. 31, 2; 49, 3.

Pārthivāni also occurs by itself, when it means the earth, as opposed to the sky and heaven.

x. 32, 2. Vī indra yāsi divyāni rokanā vī pārthivāni rāgasā.

Indra thou goest in the sky between the heavenly lights and the earthly.

viii. 94, 9. Ā yé visvā pārthivāni paprāthan rokanā divāḥ.

The Maruts who stretched out all the earthly lights, and the lights of heaven.

vi. 61, 11. Ā-praprūshi pārthivāni urú rāgaḥ antāriksham.

Sarasvatī filling the earthly places, the wide welkin, the sky. This is a doubtful passage.

Lastly, *pārthivāni* by itself seems to signify earth, sky, and heaven, if those are the three regions which *Vishnu* measured with his three steps; or East, the zenith, and West, if these were intended as the three steps of that deity. For we read:

i. 155, 4. *Yáñ pārthivāni tribhíñ ít ví-gāmaabhiñ urú krá-mishṭa.*

He (*Vishnu*) who strode wide with his three strides the regions of the earth.

Oxford, *March*, 1868.

THE HÁJÍÁBÁD INSCRIPTION.



TAKEN FROM PLASTER CASTS IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

*The first inscription is a copy of the original text of the
Hájíábád inscription, the second is a copy of the original
text of the inscription.*

ART. IX.—*Sassanian Inscriptions.* By E. THOMAS, Esq.

So long ago as the year 1847, during a temporary absence from my duties in India, I volunteered to undertake the classification of certain imperfectly determined and but partially deciphered series of coins in the East India House collection—in continuation and completion of Professor Wilson's comprehensive description of the more popular departments of Central-Asian Numismatics already embodied in his *Ariana Antiqua*. Among the subdivisions so treated may be cited the Kufic Mintages of the Ghaznavides, a detailed notice of which was inserted in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1848 (vol. ix.),¹ as well as a second article, bearing more immediately upon the subject under review, on "the Pehlvi Coins of the early Muhammadan Arabs," which appeared in the twelfth volume of that *Journal*. In entering upon the examination of the available specimens of the latter class of national representative currencies, I found myself called upon to encounter a novel and very difficult branch of Oriental Palæography, the study of which, indeed, had but recently been inaugurated by the publication of Professor Olshausen's most instructive work "*Die Pehlwie-Legenden*:"² while it was manifest that the obscure language, of which this imperfect alphabet constituted the graphic exponent, was dependent for its elucidation upon still more fragmentary and defective grammatical or lexicographical means: obstacles which the since accelerated progress of modern ethnography has, up to this time, failed to remove. Under these conditions I

¹ A further paper on the same subject will be found in vol. xvii. *J. R. A. S.* for 1858.

² *Die Pehlwie-Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten Sāsāniden*, etc. Kopenhagen, 1843. A translation of this work is to be found in the *London Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix., 1848.

naturally approached this new investigation with sufficient diffidence, and sought to secure the critical soundness of any suggestive deductions that might present themselves, by a decisive appeal to every archæological test within reach. Foremost among these were the monumental writings of the earlier Sassanian kings, who, in traditional imitation of the Achæmenians, from whom, indeed, they boasted a but temporarily obscured descent—indulged ostentatiously in mural sculpture and attendant lapidary epigraphy. The Rock Inscriptions of Ardashîr Bâbekân and his proximate successor are couched in duplicate versions, varying dialectically, and written in mere modifications of the same normal alphabet; the one ordinarily employed to define the Pehlvi of Eastern Persia, and out of whose literal elements modern Zend was elaborated, is now conventionally termed "Sassanian:" its counterpart transcript, which adheres more closely to Chaldean literal forms, was once designated "Parthian," from its occasional official employment under that intrusive dynasty, but has latterly been known as Chaldæo-Pehlvi. The parallel versions of the original inscription of Sapor I. in the Hâjjiâbâd Cavern, which had been secured many years ago in the form of direct plaster impressions by Sir E. Stannus,¹ sufficed to furnish a thoroughly trustworthy outline of the manipulative type of each letter of the concurrent alphabets; these forms were separately compared, selected examples copied, and, finally, the duplicate series were incorporated into a classified table, which may be cited with still undiminished confidence, as freely representing the epochal current forms of the joint Pehlvi characters, and as furnishing an efficient illustration of the divarications from a given standard gradually introduced in succeeding ages.

On a later occasion, following up the same subject, I availed myself of another hopeful source of palæographic data, afforded by the signets and seals of the Persian nation at large, fabricated during the period of the Sassanian rule,

¹ The original impressions are now in Dublin; secondary casts are to be found in the Assyrian Room in the British Museum, and the Royal Asiatic Society possesses parallel reproductions. It is from the latter that the illustrative Photograph has been derived.

the identificatory legends of which almost uniformly followed the Eastern type of the concurrent systems of writing. I had scarcely, however, arranged my materials for the elucidation of this branch of the enquiry, when I was called upon to return to the scene of more important avocations; but desiring that the various Antiquarian remains I had succeeded in bringing together should be placed at the disposal of those who might, perchance, have both greater leisure and ability to do justice to the study, I published a cursory notice, pretending to be little more than an introductory explanation of the contents of the three plates of gem and other legends already prepared, which figure in the thirteenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The leading object of the present notice, as confessedly preliminary and tentative as its predecessors, is to draw the attention of resident European officials or chance travellers in the East to an elaborate biliteral inscription, originally engraved along the face of the terrace of the Fire Temple at Pái Kúl¹ (lat. 35° 7' 16" N., long. 45° 34' 35" E.), eye transcripts of which were made, under considerable disadvantages, by Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Hector in 1844, and from whose pencil *fac-similes* the modernized version now printed has been derived.

Sir Henry Rawlinson describes the present condition of the engraved slabs as anything but promising for the acquisition of a full and complete copy of the ancient writings. The inscribed stones, which formed the terrace-wall supporting the edifice, are stated to have become displaced, and to have mostly rolled down the slope of the hill at hazard, so that their relative continuity would with difficulty be re-established, even if in the majority of cases the beginnings and ends of the lines of each block had not seemingly suffered extensive damage and abrasion. But, with all this, there is so

¹ "At the northern extremity of the district of Zoháb is the little plain of Semíráh, a natural fastness of the most extraordinary strength, which is formed by a range of lofty and precipitous mountains extending in a semicircle from the river Diyálah, here called the 'Abi-Shírwán, and enclosing an area of about eight miles in length and four in breadth." . . . "I searched eagerly for ancient monuments, and though I failed to discover any in the plain itself, yet across the river, at a distance of about three farsakhs, on the road to Suleimáníyah, I heard of sculptures and statues which would well merit the attention of any future traveller in this country. The place is called Pá'ikal'ah, the foot of the castle, or But Khánah, the idol temple."—Rawlinson, Jour. R. Geog. Soc., ix. pp. 28-30.

much to excite interest in the broken sections we are already in possession of, that I confidently make the appeal to those who may happen to be in a position to improve our existing copies by means of photography, impressions, rubbings, new hand-tracings, or, better still, by intelligent transcripts in modern Pehlvi—for aid in the cause, towards which the portions of the text, now printed, will contribute something in the way of a first proof, and for the encouragement otherwise of future Palæographers, we may hope that, under a closer examination, the duplicate legends may aid each other both in defective passages and in the correction of the present disjointed order of sequence: while, as the first investigation was necessarily hasty, new discoveries of materials may happily reward more deliberate explorers, even as we can now appeal to the immense advance upon the imperfect transcripts of Niebuhr and Morier, achieved by the less hurried and amplified facsimiles of M.M. Flandin and Coste.¹

In order to bring the entire subject under one view, I have collected together all the fragmentary inscriptions of the Sassanidæ at present known, commencing with those interpreted by De Sacy, which I simply reproduce in their corresponding literal equivalents in modern Hebrew and Persian type. The same course has been pursued with the highly interesting bilingual inscription of Sapor, from Hájíábád. Sir H. Rawlinson's unpublished copies of the Páí Kúli legends, as well as his improved transcripts of the Ták-i-Bustán epigraphs have, however, been more exactly imitated in modern Pehlvi type, which has been made so far competent to resume its primitive duty by the introduction of three letters of the earlier alphabet, which have been lost in the degraded writing of the extant MSS., and finally a similar plan has been followed in the representation of the legible portions of two long and, for the present, most tantalizing inscriptions of Sapor: artists' designs of which have

¹ Ker Porter remarks (i. p. 574), M. de Sacy "has followed Niebuhr's copy, which, strange to say, having been made so many years anterior to mine, exhibits an inscription much more defaced than I found it. This may be seen by comparing the large letters in my copy on the drawing with the large letters in M. de Sacy's Greek transcript." [Mem. sur div Ant. p. 31].

been given in Flandin's great work,¹ though I am not aware that any attempt has hitherto been made to decipher or explain these singularly comprehensive documents. I am indebted to the same publication for the unique inscription of Narses, at Sháhpúr, which, together with the legends from the Royal signets of Varahrán *Kirmán Sháh* have equally been admitted to the honours of the adapted semblance of their contemporary Pehlvi.

None of the original drawings or published engravings of the more important inscriptions are sufficiently exact or continuously complete to recommend them for imitation in *fac-simile* engravings, and even the plaster-casts from Hájíábád, however well they reproduce portions of the associate inscriptions, as exhibited in the Photograph, would not, in their present state, suffice to form an unbroken or perfect copy. The expedient has therefore been again adopted of recognizing these absolute impressions from the sculptured rock as a basis for the construction of standard alphabets of either class. In each case, the best examples of the normal character have been selected from the often-varying outlines of the same letter as fashioned by the local mason, and regard has always been paid to the corresponding outline of the given letter in other monuments of the period, whether lapidary, numismatic, or sigillary. The result has been embodied in the double column of alphabets engraved on wood, arranged with the ordinary type in the accompanying table; and, as in the absence of all other positive examples of lapidary writing, these letters have to play a conspicuous part as representative types of their several palæographic systems, no effort, short of cutting the individual letters, has been spared on my part to secure a true and effective rendering of the special characteristics of each symbol.

The primary derivation of these alphabets may obviously be traced to Phœnico-Babylonian teachings. Specimens of that form of writing occur, so to say, *in situ*, as early as the time

¹ Voyage en Perse, M. M. Eugène Flandin et Paul Coste, entrepris par ordre de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères. D'après les instructions dressées par l'Institut. Paris, 1851. 6 vols. folio, plates, etc., and 2 vols. 8vo. text.

of Sargon, B.C. 721, when the individual characters present themselves in a fixed and cultivated form, far removed from the early stages of crude invention, an indication that, apart from the almost simultaneously established geographical range of cognate letters, would claim for them an extended anterior currency, which it would be as difficult to limit as to define; my own impressions have always leant towards the concession of a far earlier development of that division of national civilization, which is comprised in the "art of writing," than the majority of Palæographers are prepared to recognize. Let Hieroglyphics and Cuneiform retain their ancient fame; but the question succeeds, as to how close upon their earliest traces did other systems of writing assert themselves, more facile in materials and more suitable for the purposes of commercial and private life than the formal sculptured figures of the Egyptian temples, or the complicated arrow-headed syllabary of Mesopotamian Palaces, which latter mechanism, however, in its transitional variations, so firmly retained popular favour in virtue of its applicability to the ever-ready clay, the comparative indestructibility of which had been established by many ages of local use.¹

Egyptologers, on their part, concede a very archaic date for the use of parallel systems of writing, and the age of Phœnician, with our present information, need no longer be narrowed within the limits defined by its surviving monuments, the majority of which must be held to have disappeared with the perishable material chiefly used for their reception. It is clear that some form of Phœnician, constituting a kind of current hand, was in official use under the Assyrian kings, as the authoritative definition of the lion-weights in the letters of that alphabet sufficiently declares; and we are further justified in assuming, in all cases where two Scribes are represented in the royal sculptures, that in intentional contrast to the Cuneiform manipulator, the second amanuensis, who uses a reed and a parchment

¹ Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. x, pp. 32, 340, and vol. i. N.S. p. 245. See also the names of Seleucus Philopater (187-175 B.C.), Antiochus (175-164 B.C.), and Demetrius (146-139 B.C.), upon the Cuneiform tablets of terra-cotta in the British Museum, deciphered by Oppert, "Expédition en Mésopotamie," ii. 357.

roll, is designed to portray a man writing with ink in some one of the, as yet, but slightly divergent provincialisms of archaic Phœnician.

Sargon's Record Chamber has already proved itself a perfect storehouse of palæographic data, and, if I am not mistaken, may claim to add another to its list of contemporary alphabets. Mr. Layard, in his admirable description of his own discoveries at Koyunjik, interested his readers in an unusual degree by an account of the still surviving association of the hieroglyphic signet of Subaco, with that of the Assyrian king on a lump of clay, which was supposed to have formed the connecting attestation of the less permanent substance upon which some royal treaty or compact had been engrossed. In the same closet were found several impressions of smaller seals on suitably-sized bits of clay, which at the time attracted no attention; these, however, on closer scrutiny, seem to bear four varying letters, which can scarcely represent anything but ancient Ethiopian characters; at least two, if not three out of the four letters are readily identifiable with certain corresponding characters of the modern alphabets.¹ It is not necessary, for the purpose of proving the currency of this form of writing, that we should be able to detect any of the leading names, either of Subaco, his relatives, or ministers. The importance of the identification consists in the very unexpected determination of the definite antiquity of the writing of the Ethiopian and cognate nationalities, and the very close bearing this date has upon the alphabetical schemes of the

¹ Mr. Layard's account of the discovery of these seals is as follows:—"In a chamber or passage [leading into the archive chamber] in the south-west corner of the palace of Kouyunjik, were found a large number of pieces of fine clay bearing the impressions of seals, which, there is no doubt, had been affixed, like modern official seals of wax, to documents written on leather, papyrus, or parchment. Such documents, with seals of clay still attached, have been discovered in Egypt, and specimens are still preserved in the British Museum. The writings themselves have been consumed by the fire which destroyed the building or had perished from decay. In the stamped clay, however, may still be seen the holes for the string or strips of skin by which the seal was fastened; in some instances the ashes of the string itself remain, with the marks of the fingers and thumb. The greater part of these seals are Assyrian; but with them are others bearing Egyptian, Phœnician, and doubtful symbols and characters. But the most remarkable and important of the Egyptian seals are two impressions of a royal signet, which, though imperfect, retain the cartouche, with the name of the king, so as to be perfectly legible. It is one well known to Egyptian scholars as that of the second Sabaco, the Æthiopian of the twenty-fifth dynasty. On the same





Indian Ethiopians,¹ and the kindred nations to the south-eastward, in which many points of constructive identity have already been recognized.






piece of clay is impressed an Assyrian seal, with a device representing a priest ministering before the king, probably a royal signet."



The annexed woodcut outlines represent six of the Ethiopian seals, copied from the extant clay-impressions of the original signets, that have survived both "Nineveh and Babylon." My object in this, and I trust in all similar cases, is not to force







identities, but to place before my fellow labourers coincidences that may perchance elicit new truths. It is not pretended that the literal symbols here found associated with Egyptian hieroglyphics and Assyrian cuneiform will tally or accord exactly with the transmutations incident to the alphabetical developments of the once powerful, but for many centuries obscure, nationalities that in the interval must have remained more than ordinarily indebted to the advancing world around them. Under this latitude of identification, we may freely appeal to the later forms of Ethiopic, Amharic, or other cognate conservators of traces of the ancient writing, though it is more to the general paleographic configuration than to absolute and complete uniformity of outline that any test must be applied.

It may be said in regard to the seals now presented, that they convey in all but five independent letters; the most marked of the number is the , which occurs with sufficient clearness on three occasions. There can be little hesitation in associating this form with the modern Himyaritic  *sh* or the Ethiopian  *shä*, especially when the subjunct vowel *i* is added,  which is so distinctly seen in a varied form, even under possible repetition, in the ancient example.

The second figure of special mark is the , which offers a more dubious range of identification among the derivative Ethiopian forms of  *bi*,  *bä*, extending even to the Amharic  *khä*, and many other possible renderings; but the most curious coincidence is in the near connection of the sign with the Sanskrit  of Northern India (Prinsep's Essays, ii. p. 40, pl. xxxviii.).

The third character, which almost seems to have been in a transition stage at the time these seals were fashioned, may be reduced in the modern alphabets to the Ethiopian  *tä* or  *mä*; but of the prevailing coincidences of formation under the general Ethiopian scheme there can be little question.

The imperfect outline , which recurs on four occasions, may be an Amharic  *jä*, or other consonantal combination of *j*, with a different vowel: an approximate likeness is also to be detected to the Coptic  *j*; or the old figure may, perchance, constitute the prototype of the modern Himyaritic  *m*.

¹ Herodotus, ii. 94; vii. 70. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. 650; iii. 264, note 1; iv. p. 220. J. R. A. S. xv. 233.

The career of Phœnician writing in Mesopotamia and the proximate provinces of Western Persia, during the nine centuries and a half intervening between the reigns of Sargon and Ardashîr Bâbekân, can only be obscurely traced. We know that the same twenty-two letters, which fulfilled their foreign mission in the creation of the alphabets of Greece and Rome, penetrated but little changed in their normal forms to the pillars of Hercules; while in the opposite direction, under the treatment of the Vedic Aryans, they constituted the basis of an elaborate alphabet of forty-nine signs, the date of whose adaptation is unascertained, but which has now been discovered to have attained full and complete development from Bactria up to the banks of the Jumna, in 250 B.C.¹ How the original alphabet matured its literal forms nearer home we are not in a condition to determine;² there is little doubt but that Cuneiform writing on its part maintained its position in official and commercial documents for a far longer period than might have been anticipated, but whether this extended vitality was due to the improved intelligence of professional scribes, to its superior accuracy of definition as compared with the limited scope of Phœnician,³ or to the more material question of the cheapness and durability of the clay, whose surface, on the

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 114; Journ. R. A. S. vol. i. N.S. p. 468; Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iii. N.S. (1863) pp. 229, 235, "Bactrian Alphabet."

² M. de Vogüé has given us a comprehensive *résumé* of the progress of Phœnician writing to the westward, which I quote in his own words:—"1. Antérieurement au VI^e siècle, l'alphabet commun à toutes les populations sémitiques de la Syrie est l'alphabet phœnicien archaïque, souche de l'écriture grecque et de tous les systèmes graphiques de l'occident. 2. Vers le VI^e siècle, l'écriture phœnicienne type, celle que j'ai appelée *Sidonienne*, se constitue définitivement: le plus beau monument de cette écriture est le célèbre sarcophage d'Esmunazar; en même temps la branche araméenne se sépare de la souche commune. Le caractère principal de ce nouvel alphabet est l'ouverture des boucles des lettres *beth*, *daleth*, *ain*, *resh*. Mais pendant deux siècles environ, à côté de ces formes nouvelles se maintient un certain nombre de formes anciennes; l'altération de toutes les lettres n'est pas simultanée, de sorte que l'alphabet conserve un caractère mixte qui m'a conduit à lui donner le nom d'Araméo-Phœnicien. Le meilleur exemple de cette écriture est l'inscription du Lion d'Abydos. 3. Vers la fin du V. siècle, l'alphabet araméen se constitue définitivement sur les pierres gravées, sur les médailles des satrapes de l'Asie mineure." Rev. Arch. ix. (1864), p. 204.

³ M. Oppert makes some interesting remarks upon this subject; among the rest, "L'épigraphie assyrienne, d'ailleurs, malgré les complications inhérentes à l'écriture anarienne, a un avantage précieux sur l'épigraphie des autres peuples sémitiques. Les mots y sont séparés et les voyelles sont exprimées, ce qui constitue un avantage encore plus important pour l'interprète des textes."—Journal Asiatique, 1863, p. 478.

other hand, was so eminently unfitted for the reception of the curved lines of the latter, we need not now stop to enquire.

Many incidental examples of the local Phœnico-Babylonian of various epochs are to be found associated with the concurrent Cuneiform on the clay tablets described by Sir H. Rawlinson (B.C. 700–500).¹

Towards the westward the Persian Satraps of the Achæmenidæ employed the indigenous Phœnician,² and anonymous Darics, presumably of the Great king, bear upon their surfaces the word 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 in similar characters.³

But the earliest occasion upon which we can detect a tendency towards the identities and characteristics subsequently developed in the Chaldæo-Pehlvi is upon the coinage of Artaxias of Armenia, B.C. 189.⁴ In this instance the letters 𐎠, 𐎡, 𐎢, 𐎣, and 𐎤 notably depart from the style of the Phœnician of Sargon, and seem to have already assumed a near approach to the forms ultimately accepted as conventional in the alphabet reproduced in the woodcuts (p. 265). The peculiarities of this type of writing may afterwards be traced through the Armeno-Parthian coinages,⁵ and irregularly on the Imperial Parthian mintages, both in silver and copper, dating from 113 A.D. up to the close of the dynasty.⁶ These, with the casual appearance of some of the more marked Chaldæo-Pehlvi forms on the dubiously-classed money of Characene,⁷ added to the odd juxtaposition of some of their special symbols with the local writing on the Kermán coins of Kodes (Kobád),⁸ complete the list of examples at present known.

Of the fellow or Sassanian-Pehlvi alphabet no writing whatever has as yet been discovered prior to Ardeshr̥r Bābekān,

¹ Journ. R. A. S. (new series), vol. i. pp. 187, 244.

² M. de Luynes "Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie. Paris, 1846.

³ Gesenius, Pl. 36, fig. c.; Mionnet, Nos. 35, 36. Trésor de Numismatique, Pl. lxi. figs. 1, 2.

⁴ Numismatic Chronicle, xviii. 143; vol. vi. N.S. p. 245, and vii. 237.

⁵ Numismatic Chronicle, vol. vi. N.S. 1866, *note*, p. 245.

⁶ Numismatic Chronicle, xii. 68; xvii. 164; Lindsay, Coinage of Parthia, pl. iv. figs. 87, 89, 90, 93–96.



⁷ Prinsep's Essays, i. 32.

⁸ Numismatic Chronicle, iv. p. 220. (A new coin in the possession of General Cunningham gives the local name in full 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴).

with the exception of isolated letters, probably referring to local mints occasionally to be met with on the field of some of the Drachmas of the Parthians.¹

The differences between the rival alphabets we are more immediately concerned with, will be seen to be rather constructive than fundamental; one leading theory evidently regulated the contrasted forms of the letters in each, the eventual divarications of the two systems, as in so many parallel cases, being due to the fortuitously most suitable and readily available material for the reception of the writing, which so often determined the ultimate method of graphic definition. The seemingly more archaic structure of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi clearly carried with it the reminiscence of Babylonian teachings, in which the formation of the letters was largely influenced by the obvious facilities of delineation. The ancient scribes of the Assyrian sculptures are represented as making use of a reed, or other description of pen, with which they wrote upon a flexible leather or parchment scroll, employing the indicator or, possibly, the first and second fingers of the left hand, to support the material at the point of contact of the pen in the ordinary line of writing; under these conditions the most obvious tendency would be towards down strokes, and thus it is found that almost every letter of Sargon's Phœnician consists primarily of a more or less perpendicular line, the minor discriminations being effected by side strokes more varied in construction but of less thickness and prominence; as time went on, the practice developed itself of forming as many letters as possible after one and the same process of manipulation, the essential difference between the characters being marked by scarcely perceptible variations in the leading design; hence arose the perplexing result of the general sameness and uniformity, and consequent difficulty of recognition of the imperfectly contrasted letters so marked in Chaldæo-Pehlvi, and still so troublesome in modern Hebrew.

The course followed by the pen in the Chaldæo-Pehlvi

¹ Parthian coin of Sanabares, dated 313 (A.D. 2), in the British Museum, with a Parthian  and a Sassanian  on the obverse field. See also Numismatic Chronicle, xvii. 169; Lindsay, pl. xi. Arsaces XXX.

caligraphy was singularly repetitive, starting from a given point at the top of the line of writing, it proceeded slightly downwards with a backward sweep, more or less prolonged; from this angle the characteristic perpendicular curve commenced, to be supplemented by the concluding turn of the pen which so often constituted the effective definition of the value of the letter. This formation is followed in the letters 𐭪, 𐭫, 𐭬, and less obviously in 𐭭. The letters 𐭮, 𐭯, and 𐭰 commence with similar leading lines, but have discriminating marks added by a second application of the pen; in like manner 𐭫 is distinguished from 𐭬 by a separate foot crescent, a sign which finds its parallel in the dot of the Syriac ܕ. The remaining letters also had much in common, but in these instances the initial point of the character was thrown slightly backwards on the head-line of the writing, and the down-stroke proceeded more abruptly, finishing with a minute and nearly uniform curve to the left; under this heading may be classed the simple forms ' and 𐭪, and the combined outlines 𐭫, 𐭬, 𐭭, 𐭮 (𐭯), 𐭰, and 𐭱. Even the letter 𐭲 probably consisted originally of an inclined duplication of the ' , with a prolonged foot-line connecting the two down-strokes. The single exception to the descending curves is afforded by the letter 𐭳, which must be supposed to have been constructed like the upward arch of the associate 𐭮, which in the Syriac *waw* grew into a round ܘ, the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi form of which, passing through the Sassanian 𐭶, finally settled itself into the Arabic ۞.

The variation in the configuration of the letters of the Sassanian Pehlvi, as compared with its fellow alphabet of more determined Semitic aspect, may be attributed to the simple action of a different method of manipulation, involving a less restrained movement of the hand, and greater freedom in the onward or backward sweep of the pen than was compatible with the conventional restrictions of the caligraphy of Western Asia. There is every reason to believe that the ancient races to the east of the Tigris, in common with the partially civilized populations ranging over Central Asia and the Himalayas, very early in the world's history, appreciated

the utility of birch-bark, and, even in the infancy of letters,¹ its applicability to the purposes of writing would readily have suggested itself. At all events, we have direct and independent evidence of its use in Afghánistan some centuries B.C.,² and we can cite very credible and unconstrained testimony to the fact that much of the sacred literature of the Ancient Persians was engrossed upon this substance,³ con-

¹ To show how forms of writing in early times must have been determined by circumstances and accessible materials, it may be noted that even so late as the days of Muhammad, when there were civilized teachers from the many nations around them, the Arabs had still to engross the stray sayings of their Prophet upon stones and other strange and readily available substances. Sir Wm. Muir tells us, "after each passage was recited by Muhammad before the Companions or followers who happened to be present, it was generally committed to writing by some one amongst them upon palm-leaves, leather, stones, or such other rude material as conveniently came to hand." *Life of Mahomet*. London, 1861. Vol. i. p. iii.—Dr. Sprenger, in his *Life of the Prophet* (German edit. Berlin, 1865, iii. p. xxxix.), enumerates leather and parchment, slate, palm-leaves, camel's shoulder-blades. Said's copy was written on leaves of palm or on scrolls and papyrus.

² H. H. Wilson. *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 59, 60, 83, 84, 94, 106-7, 111.

³ I am quite aware that tradition affirms that the substance employed was 12,000 "Cow-skins" or parchments (Masaudi, French edition, ii. p. 125. Hyde de relig. vet. Persar. 318), which might be understood as perfectly consistent with all the probabilities if it were admitted that, of the two copies of the sacred books mentioned in the subjoined extract from the Dinkard, the one deposited at Persepolis and the other at Ispahán, that the former was written in the Chaldeo-Pehlvi on skins, and the latter in the corresponding alphabet on birch-bark.

The following passages from the Dinkard, lately published by Dr. Haug, relating to the original collection, destruction, and subsequent attempts at the recovery of the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians are of sufficient interest, both historically and geographically, to claim a notice in this place. This portion of the Pehlvi text is admitted to have been added and incorporated only on the final rearrangement of the scattered materials of the ancient books. Nor does Dr. Haug himself seem quite satisfied with his own interpretation, which, considering the degraded character of the text, is scarcely to be wondered at.

1. "The book 'Dinkard' is a book on the religion, that people may obtain (a knowledge of) the good religion. The book 'Dinkard' has been compiled from all the knowledge acquired (to be) a publication of the Mazdayasnian (Zoroastrian) religion. 2. It was at first made by the first disciples of the prophet Zertostht Sapetmen. . . . 3. The excellent king Kai Vishtásp ordered to write down the information on each subject, according to the original information, embracing the original questions and answers, and deposited them, from the first to the last, in the treasury of Shaspigán ("Pasargadæ," Haug). He also issued orders to spread copies (of the original). 4. Of these he sent afterwards one to the castle (where) written documents (were preserved), that the knowledge might be kept there. 5. During the destruction of the Iránian town (Persepolis). The *dashu-i-nipisht* is supposed to have been the library of that metropolis—Haug) by the unlucky robber Alexander [ارکسندر] after it had come into his possession, that (copy which was) in the castle (where) written documents (were kept) was burnt. The other which was in the treasury of Shashpígán fell into the hands of the Romans [ارومایان] (Greeks). From it a Grecian [یونانیك] translation was made that the sayings of antiquity might become known. 6. 7. Ardeshir Bábekán, the king of kings [ارواشتر مرگان] [مرگا پاك] kings [ارکسندر]

siderable remains of which, indeed, preserved with unusual care, were discovered at Isfahán by the Arabs in A.D. 961.¹ This material, while it would on the one hand, in its smooth surface, offer ample facilities for the unchecked flow of the

appeared. He came to restore the Iránian empire; he collected all the writings from the various places where they were scattered. . . . It (the Dinkart) was then (thus) restored, and made just as perfect as the original light (copy) which had been kept in the treasury of Shapán ('Shaspigán'—Haug) [= اصنهان. See extract from Hamza, note 1, below.]

"The beginning of the Ardái Viráf Námah" (from two Pahlavi MSS.).

1. "It is thus reported that after the religion had been received and established by the holy Zertosht, it was up to the completion of 300 years in its purity, and men were without doubts (there were no heresies). 2. After (that time) the evil spirit, the devil, the impious, instigated, in order to make man doubt the truth of religion, the wicked Alexander, the Roman [ارکسگدر ارومایاک], residing in *Mudhrá* (Egypt) that he came to wage a heavy fight and war against the Iránian country. 3. He killed the ruler of Irán, destroyed the residence [بیا] and empire, and laid it waste. 4. And the religious books, that is, the whole Avesta and Zand, which were written on prepared cow-skins with gold ink, were deposited at Istakhr Bábegán, in the fort of the library. But Aharman, the evil-doer, brought Alexander, the Roman, who resided in Egypt, that he burnt (the books), and killed the Deesturs, the Judges, the Herbad, the Mobeds," etc. [چند دستوران و داتوران و هیرتان و مگوتان]. "An old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, or the "Farhang-i-oim yak," the original Pehlvi work upon which Anquetil's vocabulary was based, edited by Hoshengji Jamsapji, and printed under the supervision of Dr. Martin Haug. Stuttgart, 1867."

¹ Hamza Isfaháni (obit. A.H. 350, A.D. 961) gives an interesting narrative of the discovery of certain ancient Persian archives, written on birch-bark. I quote the substance of the passage in the Latin translation of Dr. Gottwaldt—Anno cccx. (A.D. 961), latus ejus aedificii quod Saraveih nominatur atque intra urbem Djei (Isfahán) situm est, corruit et domum rexit, in qua fere L utres erant, e corio confecti atque inscripti literis, quales antea nemo viderat. Quando ibi depositi fuissent, ignotum erat. Cum a me quaesitum esset, quae de mirabili illo aedificio scirem, hominibus promsi librum Abu Mascharis, astrologi Balchensis, cujus nomen est: Liber de diversitate Tabularum astronomicarum. Ibi ille: Reges (Persarum), inquit, tanto studio tenebantur disciplinas conservandi, tanta cupiditate eas per omne aevum perpetuandi, tanta sollicitudine eas ab injuriis aëris et humi defendendi, ut iis inter materias scriptorias eam eligerent, quae illas injurias optime ferret, vetustati diutissime resisteret ac mucori et obliterationi minime obnoxia esset, id est, librum (corticem interiorum) fagi, qui liber vocatur tûz. Hoc exemplum imitati Seres et Indi atque populi iis finitimi ad arcus, quibus ad sagittandum utuntur Ad arcem igitur, quae nunc intra Djei sita est, profecti ibi disciplinas deposuerunt. Illud aedificium, nomine Saraveih, ad nostra usque tempora perduravit; atque ex eo ipso cognitum est, quis id condiderit, propterea quod abhinc multos annos latere ejus aedificii collapsio camera in conspectum venit, ex argilla secta constructa, ubi multi majorum libri inventi sunt, in quibus depositae erant variae eorum disciplinae, omnes lingua persica antiqua scripti in cortice tûz. Hamzae Ispahanensis (Annalium Libri, x. pp. 152, xxv.) St. Petersburg, 1844.—Abú Rihán Al Biróni (circa 940 A.D.) also records: Mais dans les provinces du centre et du nord de l'Inde, on emploie l'écorce intérieure d'un arbre appelé *touz* [توز] C'est avec l'écorce d'un arbre du même genre qu'on recouvre les arcs; celle-ci se nomme *boudji* [بوج] (Bhúrjja).

Renaud, Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 305. See also Prinsep's Essays, ii. 45.

pen, would, in the extreme tenuity of its texture, demand some more equable and uniform support than the primitive expedient of extended forefingers : and, as improved appliances were enlisted in its cause, it may have come to be held in deserved favour, especially when its other merits, so gravely enlarged upon by the local annalist, are taken into consideration. Certain it is that to this day, among the Bhoteahs and other natives of the Himalaya, birch-bark maintains its ancient uses, and many a petition and other documents engrossed on its surface find their way among the "stamped papers" and the like civilized records of the Courts of the British Government in those mountains. It is then to the enhanced freedom of penmanship incident to the employment of birch-bark that I am disposed to attribute the leading peculiarities of this style of writing. The material in question secured to the amanuensis an unchecked power of forming curves and an unrestrained action of the pen in any given direction ; but its ultimate effect upon the identity of the Sassanian character was mainly due to the gift of continuous onward movement in the line of writing, which eventually developed itself into the Kufic scheme, where a single line drawn from right to left constituted the basis of the entire alphabet in its conjunct form,¹ and the innate contrast between the two styles of writing maintains itself to the last, and may be detected at the present day in the pervading descending stroke of the Hebrew finals, and in the prolonged sweep, in the general line of writing, of certain Arabic terminal letters ; while, under the larger and more comprehensive view of the same question, we may trace in the contrasted formation and relative location of the short vowels, a practical and conclusive illustration of the original caligraphic type of either system.

The ruling ideal of this Pehlvi scheme of writing proceeded upon a groundwork of curves, the leading model of which declares itself in the letter *t*, which commenced towards the top of the general line of writing, being extended slightly upward and continued backwards and downwards,

¹ I do not know whether the singular identity of the employment of a central leading-line, in our own Oghams, has as yet been the subject of notice.

after the fashion of a reversed Roman C. This formation enters more or less into the composition of the letters ت, چ, د, ر, س, ش, ک, ل, و, م, ۛ, and ۛ *long*. In process of time, as the writing became more cursive, the initial point of the ۛ, and of those letters which more immediately followed its tracing, was thrown higher up and further back in the ordinary line, while the concluding turn of the curve was prolonged and occasionally run into other letters. The single character in this alphabetical series that was discriminated in its *final* form, from its normal initial or medial representative, was the short ۛ; and the manner in which this was effected would almost imply that it was intended in the very act to check the onward flow of the writing in the way of an upward stop, as the final was made to commence even below the middle of the horizontal line of letters and the concluding point of the three-quarters of a circle was not allowed to reach the ordinary foot lines [ۛ].

It remains for me to notice more particularly a few of the letters of either alphabet with reference to their derivation and values, and their relative bearing upon the corresponding signs of other systems. First in order presents itself the independently-organized symbol for *ch*, a letter of considerable importance in Aryan tongues, but which the Greeks and Romans, in servilely following Semitic originals, so strangely failed to provide a literal representative for. The Chaldaeo-Pehlvi contented itself with a like deficiency, and supplied the place of the *ch* by *sh*. The Sassanian character ۛ *ch* was clearly based upon the ۛ *h* of its own alphabetical scheme, the additional power being given by the foot-stroke backwards, which was one of the leading peculiarities of this style of writing. The letter in its adapted form bears a faint, but not impossibly an intentional, resemblance to the Bactrian ۛ *ch*.

The Sassanian alphabet, again, is itself defective in the Semitic aspirate ۛ *kh*, which the Greeks converted into *H*, a sound that fell short of the compound ۛ *hu* in Sassanian,

which was, perhaps, the best equivalent that the latter writing admitted of. It is to be remarked that, in spite of Indian influences, the Bactrian *kh* itself did not, for some time, assume a very definite or constant form.¹















The greatest obstacle, without any exception, to a satisfactory and positive interpretation of the early Sassanian inscriptions is incident to the inconvenient identity of the sign which has to answer for the sounds both of *r* and *w*. The Chaldaeo-Pehlvi forms of *r* and *w*, like the Bactrian *r* and *w*, have something in common, and the association survives in the modern Hebrew *ר*, *ו*; but in all these cases there is a distinct, though not very marked, means of discrimination. Whereas, in the Sassanian-Pehlvi, there is not only no aid to the determination of whether the symbol **2** stands for *r* or *w*; but in many cases, where it is clearly the former, it has often to be read by the light of modern interpretation, as *ل*. Moreover, whenever two of these signs occur together, thus **22** they present all the above alternatives, and, in addition, may chance to represent an oft-recurring malformation of the letter **2** due either to imperfect execution in the original, or, more frequently, to faulty copying by the modern draftsman; but in some cases the double **22** constitutes the authorised and constant formation of the *ش*, altogether apart from any possible errors of original designers, contemporary engravers, or travellers from the West, who have in later days made these inscriptions known to us. The alphabet had not yet arrived at the equally perplexing transformation whereby the letters *w* and *n* came to hold a single literal representative in common in the *و*=*w* and *و*=*n* of the Arabico-Pehlvi coins and modern MSS. writing;² but this latter, the "grand Schiboleth du Pehlvi" of Joseph Müller,³ is far

¹ Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 147.


² The eventual complication or conglomeration of signs under which the **2** as *و* fell into community and association with the symbol *و*, the ancient *و*, is still an enigma; but as it does not come within the range of the writing of the Sassanian Inscriptions, I commend it to the attention of those who still find a difficulty in reconciling the Pārsī "Ašhoma" with the proper Ašhāma of earlier date. (See, for instance, *Oīm Yak*, p. xxvii.)

³ *Journal Asiatique*, 1839. "Essai sur la langue Pehlvi." *J.R.A.S.* xii. 269.

less obstructive in practice than the earlier association of *r* and *w*. In order to meet this peculiarity in the Sassanian writing, I have had the letter *a* cut in *fac-simile* and prepared for use with the modern Pehlvi type.

The *s* of the joint alphabets demands a passing comment, as in its near identity in both systems, and the complete dissimilarity of either outline to any archaic or other derivative form of the letter in Phœnician, it would seem that its origin must be sought for elsewhere; it is singular that the Bactrian symbol for *ṣ*  in 250 B.C.  (in Aryan Indian ) , and the Armenian correspondent of *s*  in B.C. 189, should so nearly accord, and that their general formation should be preserved so completely in the Pehlvi alphabets of the Sassanians. The following are the gradational representatives of each class     . The concluding example is taken from the Sassanian section of the Hájíábád sculpture, and its configuration is aptly illustrative of the method in which the normal letter was formed, namely, by a second application of the pen to the leading design. In the present instance the body of the character is composed of the often-recurring *t* with a reduced *z* supplemented to it. The accelerated penmanship of more practised scribes gradually transformed the letter first into  and eventually into  and  , whence it finally progressed into the Pehlvi  , the Zend  , and the Arabic .

I have still to advert to two very serious difficulties in the decipherment of these alphabets; the one dependent upon the great similarity existing between the signs for *x* and *z* in the Chaldæo-Pehlvi, which often renders them hopelessly indistinguishable; this is the case even in the positive reproduction of the inscription at Hájíábád, so it may be imagined what amount of reliance is to be placed upon the drawings of mere copyists. As a general rule the letter *x* is simple and direct in its downward course, while the *z* is more curved in its sweep, and more marked in the initial and final points.

The second obstruction to assured interpretation consists more in the oral sound to be attributed to the several letters *a* = *r* and  = *l* in the Sassanian writing. At times it would

seem that these letters were knowingly used indifferently ; on other occasions ignorance of or insensibility to the true force of the Semitic **ا** may have prevailed ; though in some instances, again, discrimination in their contrasted employment is evident, especially in words in which a complication already exists, arising out of the community of the sounds of **z** and **w** inherent in their common sign **z**.¹ If, in addition to these constructive difficulties, we add the imperfect phonetic aptitude or the want of system in the use of the symbols for **z**-**د** and **ت**-**ت**, **گ**-**گ** and **ک**-**ک** ; and more important than all, the authorised dialectic interchange of **ب** **B**, **پ** **P** (**ف** **F**), and **و**, **w**, we have offered a goodly list of reasons why European interpreters have made such scant progress in Pehlvi readings.

One of the most curious questions in the whole range of this enquiry is presented in the history of that strangely influential vowel in the Persian tongue, the letter **i** ; we have already seen the important part played by the normal form of that character in the supplementary definition of the concurrent signs of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi, and attention has been drawn to a somewhat parallel fundamental influence exercised by the typical curve of the Sassanian **i**, among the other letters of its own alphabet ; it is further clear that neither of the very differently-fashioned letters of the joint Pehlvi systems of writing can be referred to corresponding Semitic originals as the latter are ordinarily determined ; all of which adhere with more or less fidelity to a vague reminiscence of the archaic **ا**. A singular evidence of the community of Aryanism in alphabets suggests itself in these facts, though I am not prepared to claim any Noachian antiquity for the coincidence, but merely desire to show that the various branches of the Aryan pastoral races, as they are known to the modern world,² only began to understand and appreciate the value of

¹ تیلدت and تیردت—فلمات and فرمات—ملکا and مرکا . It is a curious fact that all the early Numismatic legends use **z** both for **z** and **w**. **ب** does not appear till later, and then only irregularly. See J.R.A.S. xiii. 178.

² Report of the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, 9th April, 1866; *Athenæum*, April, 1866; *Numismatic Chronicle* (1866) vol. vi. p. 172; *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, July, 1866, p. 138.

the art of writing when they came into contact with urban populations in their own migratory advance and domestication among more civilized peoples, or when they achieved, in force, the conquest of earlier-settled nationalities. In this present case, at least, it is strange that the self-same leading idea should have prevailed throughout, in the adoption of the crude form of the vowel *i*, within a range that can be traced upwards from our own capital or italic *I*, through the Roman and Etruscan outline of the letter, and the independent Greek design,¹ whose but slightly modified shape is found typical in Armenia² some centuries B.C., and which re-appears almost identically in its normal tracing with our own matured result, in the Bactrian reconstruction, under Aryan treatment,³ of the simple elements of the once *current* writing of Babylon.

The Sassanian alphabet manifestly incorporated the old Phœnician $\text{𐤎} = i$ (the Persian Cuneiform 𐎶)⁴ into its own system, and as it was already in possession of an ordinary short *i*; the Semitic letter was devoted to the representation of the long or duplicated sound of that vowel.⁵ A curious course

¹ The following forms of the Greek *iota* approach very closely to the Chaldæo-Pehlvi outline 𐭪 𐭫 𐭬 . See also Gesenius, pl. ii.; Mionnet, volume "Planches," etc., 1808, pl. xxxi. Nos. 1, 2; "Inscriptiones Græcæ Vetustissimæ," H. G. Rose (Cambridge, 1825), table i. Nos. 11, 15, 18. etc.; "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum," A. Boeckh (Berlin, 1828), p. 6. "Sed imprimis insignis est litteræ Iota forma 𐌶 , quæ etiam in ære Petiliensi reperitur, et tum in nummis aliquot urbium Magnæ Græciæ, tum in nummo Gortyniorum, . . . derivata ex Oriente."—Swin-ton, *Insc. Cit. Oxford*, 1750.

² Coins of Artaxias, *Numismatic Chronicle*. October, 1867, No. 3 [|],

³ The Bactrian medial *i* is composed of a single line thus 𐭪 . In composition it crosses the body of the leading consonant. The initial *i* is formed by the addition of the sloping line to the short *a*, thus 𐭫 .—*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. iii. pl. vi.; Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. p. 161.

⁴ There is some similarity of ideas in the form of the Pali ī of Asoka's Inscriptions. Ex. gr. 𑀘 ghī , 𑀙 ghī .

⁵ M. François Lenormant has devoted a lengthy article in the *Journal Asiatique* of Août-Septembre, 1865 (pp. 180-226), to "Études Paléographiques sur l'Alphabet Pehlvi, ses diverses variétés et son origine," in which he has done me the honour to quote largely from my first paper on Pehlvi writing which appeared in the twelfth volume of this *Journal*, 1849, as well as from a parallel notice on Arsacidan coins, etc., inserted in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of proximate date, without seemingly having been aware of the publication of my second contribution on the same subject, which was printed in our *Journal* for 1852 (vol. xiii. p. 373). M. Lenormant has not been altogether fortunate in the passages

attended the maturation of this literal sign in the parallel alphabet, which, though in the retention of its primitive forms, claiming so much more of a Semitic aspect, provided itself, from other sources, with a short *i*, and lost all trace of the proper Semitic **𐎠** of Sargon's time, and hence had to invent anew the long *i* required for the due expression of the language it was eventually called upon to embody. The process by which this was effected is instructive, and may be said, in its





of my Essay which he has selected for adverse criticism,—a licence, however, I must confess he has been wisely chary of indulging in.



M. Le Normant is mistaken in supposing that Sir H. Rawlinson ever designed to insert a long **𐎠** *final* in the word *Baga*, so that his over-officious attempt at correction, in this instance, proves altogether superfluous (J.R.A.S. x. pp. 93, 94, 187), but the implication, in the general run of the text, is, that I myself had attributed this error to Sir Henry, which I certainly never contemplated doing, nor, as far as I can gather from anything I have printed, did I give any colour for a supposition that I desired so to do (J.R.A.S. xii. 264; Numismatic Chronicle, xii. 74). Sir Henry undoubtedly suggested that the group of letters ordinarily following the king's titles in the Sassanian coin legends and inscriptions should be resolved into the letters *s. o.*, and hence he inferred, most correctly, that the term in question was *Baga*, divine (Sanskrit **वम**), supposing that, in the ordinary course of Aryan tongues, the several consonants optionally carried the inherent short vowel *a*. My correction merely extended to the separation of the character composing the second portion of the group into the since universally accepted *g. i*.





M. Lenormant has gone out of his way to assert that "Le savant anglais a prétendu, en effet, que le pehlvi ne possédait pas de *D*." This is not quite an accurate statement of the case. If I had not recognised the existence and frequent use of an **𐎠**, which letter duly appears in my alphabets (J.R.A.S. xii. pl. i.), I could have made but very little progress in Pehlvi decipherments. The question I did raise with regard to the origin of the earliest form of the Sassanian **𐎠** (xii. 266), as found in the Hâjîâbâd sculptures, was not only perfectly legitimate and fairly and frankly stated, but there is even now no resisting the associate facts that the Chaldæo-Pehlvi version of Inscription No. vi. *infra*, makes use of the **𐎠** in the penultimate of **𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠**, and that the corresponding **𐎠** of the Sassanian text **𐎠** is susceptible of being resolved into the typical elements of **𐎠𐎠**. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the Chaldæo-Pehlvi **𐎠** was still unidentified, though I even then suggested the attribution which has since thrown new light upon the entire question (N.C. xii. 78). In short, the point of interest at that time was to determine the course and progress of the discrimination and graphic expression of the approximate sounds of *z* and *s* in the alphabets under discussion.

As regards my proposed rectification of M. De Sacy's **𐎠** in **𐎠𐎠𐎠** Boman, which M. Lenormant confidently designates as "inutilement contesté par M. Edward Thomas" (J.A. p. 193), I am sanguine that the ample data adduced below will satisfy more severe critics than the mistaken interpretation M. Lenormant insists upon sharing, in common with so many of Anquetil's ancient errors, may be safely left to find its own correction.

Finally, I am bound to place on record a distinct protest against the general accuracy of M. Lenormant's illustrative facsimiles. I imagined, in the first instance, that the French artist had reproduced in a crude and clumsy way the conscientious originals of the English engraver; but I see that M. Lenormant claims whatever credit is due upon that score for himself, in the declaration, "nous avons relevé nous-même les figures que nous donnons sur les plâtres offerts à la Société Asiatique de Londres par M. Rawlinson" (J.A. p. 188).

very mechanism, to add an independent proof of the true value attaching to the fellow character . The configuration of the  clearly proceeded upon the duplication of the simple or short *i* (); and in order to avoid the possible confusion of the new compound with the ordinary  a concluding curve was carried upwards and backwards from the second *i* through its own down-stroke and into the leading letter.

In course of time both these double letters disappear from public documents, but the Sassanian letter is preserved in the Parsi alphabet,¹ and is but little changed in its Zend form . While the short *i* was subjected to considerable modifications, till, on the Arabico-Pehlvi coins it appears as  in its independent definition, or in the latest introductory stage towards the Naskhi "*Kasrah-i-Izáfat*."

As regards the true force of the fellow letters, though we may, for simplicity sake, designate them as long or double *i*'s, it is clear that the duty they had to perform in the less matured orthography of the third century A.D. will be represented by a very extended range of optional transcriptions when reduced into the elaborated characters of the present day, leaving the Chaldæo-Pehlvi letters to answer for their parallel power in the double *u*. The Sassanian counterpart must clearly be admitted to stand, according to the context, for , , , or , and their several medial correspondents.

An apt illustration of the difficulty the limited characters of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi had to contend with in the definition of the mixed Aryan and Semitic speech they had to respond to, has lately been contributed, on the occasion of the natives of Persia having been called upon to reconstruct an alphabet suitable for the expression of their modern tongue out of the self-same literal elements they had abandoned so many cen-

¹ Spiegel, *Grammatik der Pârsisprache*. Leipzig, 1851. I observe that Dr. Haug still adheres to the old lesson his Parsi instructors at Surat so erroneously taught Anquetil in 1760, and persists in interpreting the power of this letter as *م*. See preface to the "*Farhang-i-oim yak*," p. 21. Though he seems at one time (1862) to have been prepared to accept the reading of *j*, converting the old 'Boman' into '*Bari*.' "*Sacred language of the Parsees*," Bombay, 1862. p. 45.

turies ago. The motive for this experiment arose out of the desire of our Bible Society to furnish the Jewish converts in Persia with a version of the New Testament in the Hebrew character, with which they were already familiar, but textually couched in the spoken language of the country.¹ The subjoined table will show how this singular compromise was effected, and its details are of considerable value in the present inquiry, as giving us a clearer perception of how the modern ear was prepared to deal with the sounds of the actually current speech, and how, with a clear field and enlarged and matured powers of alphabetical development, those sounds were held to be critically defined and discriminated in the general reconstruction of the ancient alphabet.

HEBREW ALPHABET ADAPTED TO THE DEFINITION OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE.³

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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One of the most curious results of this adaptive revival of the ancient letters is to prove to us, what I have already perseveringly contended for, that is, the use of some form of a double *i*, and some acknowledged method of writing such a compound with a view to avoid the possible confusion of the independent repetition of the short vowel, amid a series of letters in their nature so imperfectly discriminated *inter se*. Examples of

¹ The New Testament in question, designated "JUDÆO-PERSIC," was printed by Messrs. Harrison & Co. in 1847, under the editorship of Mr. E. Norris, from a text arranged by the natives of Persia according to their own perceptions of equivalent letters.

³ Michaeli's *Arabische Grammatik* (Gott. 1781) arranged the discriminative marks as follows: — \bar{a} = ا, \bar{h} = ه, \bar{n} = ح, \bar{j} = ج, \bar{s} = خ, \bar{r} = ر, \bar{z} = ز, \bar{d} = د, \bar{b} = ب, \bar{t} = ط, \bar{f} = ف, \bar{p} = ق, \bar{m} = م.

such repetitions occur here in every page, as לְיִי, "a Levite," גַּאִי, "a place;" יַעֲנִי יְהוּדָאִי אֶסְכְּרוּמִי, "namely, Judas Iscariot" (John xii. 3); בִּסְמוֹ יְרִיחוֹ מִי רֶפֶת, [he] "went towards Jericho." In its medial duplicate form it occurs in דֶּר אִיִּין מוֹשֶׁה, "in the law of Moses" (Luke xxiv. 44); but its most frequent appearance is in verbs, as בְּנוֹיִיד, מִינְמֵאִי, כְּשֵׁאִיִּיד, etc., where the introductory *y* is absolute. The *kasrah* form of the short *i* is expressed by the sign over the line, thus, וִי, "he," דֶּר זֵאנָה פֶּדֶר מֶן, "in the house of my father" (John xiv. 2).

The comparative table of alphabets inserted below will, I trust, prove sufficiently explanatory in itself, though it may be needful to indicate the derivation of and authority for some of the less common forms. The excellent series of Numismatic Phœnician was cut for the Duc de Luynes, for the illustration of his work on the Satrapies. The outlines are chiefly derived from the forms of the Phœnician alphabet in use on the coins of Cilicia and Cyprus.

The old Syriac may be useful in the present instance among the associated Pehlvi alphabets for the purposes of comparison, in its near proximity in point of date and local employment. This font was prepared under the supervision of the late Dr. Cureton, whose account of the sources from whence it was derived is as follows:—

"It was principally copied from MSS. of the sixth century, and represents the earliest form of the character known to us. It is identical with that of the most ancient MS. in the British Museum—date A.D. 411; but the forms of the letters are made a little more carefully than they were written by the person who copied that MS., and imitate more closely those of some better scribe, although about a century later."

The modern Pehlvi was engraved by Marcellin Legrand of Paris, under the direct superintendence of M. Jules Mohl, and to my understanding offers the best and closest imitation of the ancient writing as yet produced. I have so far departed from the primary intention of the designers as to employ the letter 𐭌, to which they had assigned the value of a *kh*, as the more appropriate representative of the simple *h*, in order to avoid the confusion incident to the use of the unpointed 𐭌, which in the original scheme was called upon to *do duty indifferently* for either *a* or *h*.

In order to complete the alphabetical illustrations connected with the later history of Sassanian writing, I append a comparative table of the Pehlvi and Zend characters, which in itself demonstrates the direct derivation of the latter series from its more crude model, and enables us to trace the amplification and elaboration of the earlier literal forms to meet the wants of the more refined grammar of the Zend, a reconstruction which seems to have been aided by the high degree of perfection already reached in the alphabetical definitions of cognate Aryan languages.

PEHLVI AND ZEND ALPHABETS.

VOWELS.

SHORT VOWELS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 a.	𐭌 i.	𐭌 u.
„ Zend,	𐭌 a.	𐭌 e.	𐭌 i.
LONG VOWELS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 ai.	𐭌 i.	
„ Zend,	𐭌 a.	𐭌 i.	𐭌 u.
„ Zend,	𐭌 o.	𐭌 o.	𐭌 do.

CONSONANTS.

GUTTURALS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 k.	𐭌 hu.	𐭌 g.
„ Zend,	𐭌 k.	𐭌 kh.	𐭌 q. 𐭌 g. 𐭌 gh.
PALATALS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 ch.		𐭌 j.
„ Zend,	𐭌 ch.		𐭌 j.
DENTALS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 t.		𐭌 d.
„ Zend,	𐭌 t.	𐭌 th.	𐭌 d. 𐭌 dh.
LABIALS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 p.		𐭌 b.
„ Zend,	𐭌 p.	𐭌 f.	𐭌 b.
SEMI-VOWELS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 i or y.	𐭌 r.	
„ Zend,	𐭌 (𐭌 med.) y.	𐭌 r.	𐭌 (𐭌 med.) v.
„ Pehlvi,	𐭌 v. or w.	𐭌 h.	
„ Zend,	𐭌 w.	𐭌 h.	
SIBILANTS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 s.	𐭌 sh.	𐭌 z.
„ Zend,	𐭌 s. (ç.)	𐭌 sh. 𐭌 s.	𐭌 ; 𐭌 z.
NASALS, Pehlvi,	𐭌 n.		𐭌 m.
„ Zend,	𐭌 n.	𐭌 n̄. 𐭌 an. 𐭌 z̄. 𐭌 ḡ.	𐭌 m.

INSCRIPTION No. 1.

The first inscription of the series under review is engraved upon the most prominent of the Sassanian sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam,¹ wherein Ormazd is represented as bestowing a second or Imperial cydaris upon Ardeshr̄ Bábekān on the occasion of his final victory over the last of the Arsacidæ, whose prostrate body is exhibited on the battle field beneath the feet of the equestrian group, and whose individuality is distinctly marked by the snake-crested helmet of the Mede.² Ormazd's costume consists of a high mural crown, with closely twisted curls rising in a mass above it; his beard is cut square, and his flowing locks are curled elaborately over his shoulders, above and behind which float the conventional Sassanian fillets.³ In his left hand he holds a sceptre or baton, erect, and with

¹ Ker Porter, vol. i. pl. xxiii. p. 548; Flandin, vol. iv. pl. 182. A similar sculpture, reproducing the same leading figures on foot, is copied in pl. xxvii. Ker Porter; Flandin, 192, 3.

² Astyages—اژدرها, "a dragon;" مار, "a serpent;" Moses of Khorene, i. 123, 167. *Hia* = *Mar*, "serpent;" Anquetil, ii. p. 497; Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. xv. 242; Zohak of the Shāh Nāmā, Haug, 167. अहि, "a serpent;" अहिबिल, a name of Krishna and Indra, "subduing a demon!" The Dahāk of the Yasna is described as "tribus-oribus-præditum, tribus-capitibus," etc. (Kossowicz). Masaudi's tradition speaks of "deux serpents nés sur les épaules de Dahhak" (iii. p. 252). Les descendants d'Astyages établis en Arménie portoient encore le nom de Vischabazouni ce que signifie *race de dragon*. Cette denomination leur venoit du nom du roi des Mèdes.—St. Martin, i. 286.

³ Flandin's copy, in plate 182 of his work, altogether omits these pennants, though Ormazd has them to the full in other plates, 186, 192 bis; (Ker Porter, xxvii. No. 1). Ormazd is frequently represented in other compositions amid these sculptures. For instance, in plate 44, Flandin, at Firozābād, where he again appears in the act of presenting a cydaris to Ardeshr̄. This bas relief is remarkable for the subsequent addition of a *modern* Pehlvi legend, which is only dubiously intelligible in Flandin's copy. Ormazd is depicted in a new and modified form in the bas-relief at Tāk-i-Bustān (pl. lxvi. Ker Porter, vol. ii.; Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 269; and pl. 14, Flandin, vol. i.), where he is introduced as apparently sanctioning the final abdication of Ardeshr̄ and the transfer of the Sassanian diadem to Sapor.* Ormazd in this case stands at the back of the former monarch, with his feet resting on a lotus flower; he holds the peculiar baton or sceptre in the usual position, but this time with *both* hands; and instead of the hitherto unvarying mural crown, the head seems uncovered, but closely bound with the conventional diadem, with its broad pendant fillets, while the head itself is encircled with rays of glory, after the Western idea of a nimbus.†

* The association of Sapor in the government, or perhaps only his recognition as heir apparent, is illustrated by the coins of the period. See *Num. Chron.* xv. p. 181.

† A similar form is given to Ormazd's head-gear in the coin of Hormisdas II., quoted p. 43 post.

his right he extends towards the conqueror a circlet, to which are attached the broad wavy ribbons so exaggerated in their dimensions at this period.

Ardešhîr wears a close-fitting scull-cap shaped helmet, from the centre of which ascends a globe-like balloon, which is supposed to typify some form of fire or other equivalent of our Western *halo*. The head-piece is encircled with a diadem, from which depend the Dynastic flowing fillets, and the helmet is completed for defensive purposes by cheek-plates and a sloping back-plate. The beard seems to have been injured if we are to trust Ker Porter's copy; but Flandin represents it as ending in a tied point, a fashion seemingly only introduced by Sapor. The hair is disarranged, possibly to indicate the recent combat. The remaining details of the sculpture are unimportant in their bearing upon the present inquiry, but it must be noted that the inscriptions, in either case, are cut upon the shoulder of the horse bearing the figure each of the triple legends are designed to indicate, so that there can be no possible doubt about the identification of the persons, or the intentional portraiture of the contrasted divinity and king; the former of which is of peculiar interest in disclosing the existing national ideal of the form and external attributes of Ormazd, so distinctly defined as "the god of the Arians" by Darius himself in his celebrated Cuneiform record at Behistun, iv. 12, 13 (J.R.A.S. xv. 130, 144),

The style of the legend embodying the monarch's titles, though tinged with ever-prevailing Oriental hyperbole, is modest in regard to the extent of his dominions, which are confined to *Irân* proper; and the like reserve is maintained in the epigraphs upon both Ardešhîr's money, and many, if not all, of Sapor's coins;¹ though the inscriptions at Pâi Kûlî, if they are found hereafter to have emanated from the founder of the dynasty, about which there may still be some vague doubt—would seem to prove that the *An Irân*, or countries other than *Irân*, in modern speech, associated as *Irân* and

¹ Varahran I. seems to have been the first to record the *An Irân* on his currency, but want of space in the field of the coins may well have counselled previous omissions.

Turán, had already been comprehended in Ardeshr's later conquests.

INSCRIPTION No. 1.—ARDESHÍR, BABEK, A.D. 226, at Naksh-i-Rustam.

- I is a transliteration, in modern Hebrew letters, of the original Chaldaeo-Pehlvi Lapidary Text.
 II is a transliteration, in modern Persian characters, of the associate Sassanian-Pehlvi Text.
 III is a transcript of the original Greek translation, which is appended to the duplicate Oriental epigraphs.

I. פתבר זניי מודיון אלהא ארתהשתר מלכין מלכא אריאן
 II. پتکري زني مزدیسن بگي ارتهشتر ملکان ملکا ایران

III. ΤΟΤΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΤ ΘΕΟΤ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

מנשהר מן יאזתן ברי אלהא פאפב מלכא
 منوچتری من یزتان بری بگي پاپکي ملکا

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ εκγενΟΤΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΙΟΤ ΘΕΟΤ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Image of the person of [Or]mazd-worshipper, divine ARTAΞSHATR, *King of Kings* of Irân, of celestial origin from god, the son of divine ΠΑΡΑΚ, King!

No. 1 a.

I. פתבר זניי אהורמזר אלהא
 II. پتکري زني اهرمزد يز. ي

III. ΤΟΤΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΔΙΟΞ ΘΕΟΤ.

Image of the person of ORMAZD, *God!*¹

¹ The debased C=Σ, S=E, and ω=Ω, of the original inscription, have been replaced by the ordinary modern type forms of the several letters.

² The reading of Ormazd's name in the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi is doubtful in the later copies (De Sacy, p. 27; Ker Porter, Pl. xxiii.; and Flandin, Vol. iv. Pl. 180); but it is obvious, as above given in Flower's reproduction, A.D. 1667 (Hyde, p. 547); and in Chardin's facsimile of 1674 (Pl. lxxiii. vol. ii.)

³ Most of the linguistic details of this, or, perhaps, a less curt translation, have for long past been comparatively uncontested. The *Zanii* I have not as yet had an opportunity of fairly or fully submitting to public criticism. The Mazd-Yaçna elements of the compound it has been the custom of late to recognise as "Ormazd-Worshipper," may perchance require re-examination when discovered to be associated with the full and direct definition of the name of ORMAZD, in apparent contrast to the abbreviated form, on one and the same stone. *Bagi*, with its palpable context of the Semitic *Alhâ*, has from the first been accepted in its true purport, though doubts and difficulties remained in regard to the correct definition of the final *gi*, which are now, I imagine, fully disposed of. *Minu Chatri* (and מנח שחר) were freely interpreted by De Sacy with the aid of the Greek transcript, and all that more recent philology has been called upon to contribute has been the more exact determination of the roots and incidental formation of the compound in the now recognised *مینو* or *مینو*, "Mundus superior," and the *Ohitra* of such constant recurrence in the Cuneiform inscriptions and in the nominal combinations of the archaic Persian speech.

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

This inscription is engraved on an unfinished tablet, to the left hand, and immediately *outside* of the area of the bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rajab (Ker Porter, xxvii. No. 2; Flandin, 192 B), embodying one of the many representations of Ardeshr's receiving the cydaris from Ormazd: but there is nothing in the absolute relation of the two sculptures to show that the inscription in question was intended to refer to this particular group of the dynastic memorials graven on the surrounding rocks, though the probabilities are greatly in favour of such a supposition. Ker Porter does not seem to have been aware of the existence of this side compartment;¹ and although Morier² alludes to the single figure who is portrayed in the act of engrossing the identical record, he does not appear to have detected the inscription itself. It was left for M. Flandin³ to repeat, in all innocence, a discovery which, in earlier times, had already been placed on record by Ouseley;⁴ but to the former artist we are indebted for the only full copy known in Europe, which has evidently been most carefully traced on the spot and elaborately engraved in his work; but however meritorious as a studied and conscientious drawing, it is that and nothing more: had M. Flandin been but in the smallest degree acquainted with the crude forms of the eighteen letters of the alphabet employed in the text, the value of his labours would have been infinitely enhanced, possibly with far less patient toil to himself. As it is, this epigraph, the most full and perfect of the entire series, is disappointing in the extreme; and it is only by very bold guesses (such as no professed savant would adventure), that any recon-

¹ Ker Porter, i. 573.

² Morier, "Persia, Armenia, etc." p. 138.

³ Dans le coin à gauche, et en haut du rocher, en dehors du cadre où est sculpté le bas-relief, est une figure dont le buste seul a été exécuté. Peu visible par la manière dont elle est rendue, elle était en partie cachée par un arbrisseau qui avait pris racine dans une fissure du roc. En relevant les branches pendantes pour mieux voir cette figure, nous découvrîmes, sous leur feuillage, une inscription pehlvi très-bien conservée et qui n'avait pas moins de trente de une lignes presque complètes. Je crois pouvoir affirmer que cette inscription était complètement inconnue, car il n'en est fait mention par aucun voyageur. C'est donc une heureuse découverte, non-seulement pour l'étude de la langue pehlvi, mais encore pour l'intelligence de ce monument sur lequel elle jettera certainement un jour nouveau.—Text, vol. ii. p. 135.

⁴ "Travels in Persia in 1810, 1811, 1812." vol. ii. pl. xlviii. No. 3.

struction of the purport of the original can be extracted from the distorted and disjointed characters in the French publication.

The inscription seems to have been originally executed in well-defined letters; but as far as M. Flandin's copy enables us to judge, no effort was made towards the separation or division of the words, nor are any of those very useful discriminative *final i's* to be detected in its lines. A large amount of independent synonyms may, nevertheless, be readily identified, though much concession has to be made for the uncertainty of the orthography of the period, and its manifest and startling contrast to the mode of spelling accepted in modern Persian: and in this consists almost the sole advantage of the inscription at this moment, in that even if one half of the terms now mechanically transcribed may be safely introduced into the meagre vocabulary of Sassanian Pehlvi hitherto authoritatively ascertained as opposed to the dubious and composite infiltrations of the ancient Pehlvi accepted in Bombay, some definite advance in this obscure study will be fairly established. I do not propose to enter into any analysis of this inscription, as I have but little faith in the trustworthiness of the text even in its now partially amended form. I may mention that the modern Pehlvi version here given adheres as scrupulously as possible to the engraved facsimile, while the Persian transcript is avowedly suggestive, and, as such, has been inserted more for the secondary purpose of aiding those who may need an introductory gloss upon the rarely-seen Pehlvi type, rather than for any authority that can be claimed for it. Indeed, in certain cases where the meanings of words were sufficiently obvious, I have departed from the limitation of mere reproduction, and modified the Persian correspondents in defiance of the imperfection of the Pehlvi original, in order to dispense with needless tests and references; but in many instances, where obscure passages recur in the Pehlvi, I have designedly changed the Persian equivalents assigned in the first instance, in the hope that one or the other of the optional modernised versions may hereafter lead to a correct determination of the value of the doubtful constructive elements of this, for the time being, obscure mediæval text.

The most curious question, however, relating to the inscription in its available form is, that in spite of its length and apparent completeness, as well as the free legibility of a portion of its contents, there are no means of determining, with absolute precision, the monarch in whose laudation it was composed. The natural impression suggested by the position in which the epigraph is placed points primarily to Ardeshír Babekán, and several times in the text itself lend support to such a conclusion, the word كيتروم, from כתר, a crown (in line 27) more immediately connects the inscription with the bas-relief it may be supposed to explain; and, singular to say, it is not at all improbable that the missing name of Ardeshír may after all be hidden amid the obscure cross strokes of the broken letters in the first line of the facsimile, the artistic imperfection of which, however, I have hesitated to correct in my Persian transcript, but which may fairly be converted, with very scant violence to probabilities, into هسني کرتير بگي ارتهشتر, a reconstruction that would sufficiently accord with the general tenor of the context, which concludes the current line with the conventional titular من نژدان .

The unusual title of *Mir Shahinshahi*, the latter a term specially affected by Ardeshír, also connects the record with that monarch; as in like manner does the singular designation of ملكا زي شهپهرين, “King of the King’s sons,” or what in modern days would be سلطان سلاطين, a name or title indicative of royal origin, and so directly identified with the family intitulations, that Sapor retained the شهپهر intact as his Imperial epithet.

Of the ordinary titles occurring in the course of the writing, some are highly instructive in regard to the comparative nomenclature of the period, such as هرپرست, “fire-worshipper” [priest] (2), ميريت (28, 30, 31), ميريت (23) كرتير, (28) the Persian synonym¹ of the Greek *ιεράρχης*, which latter term, however, when quoted from Western sources,

¹ The German philologists endeavour to identify the Greek *iepos* with *ishird* “robust.” But a more simple association seems to present itself in the various words for *fire*, Pehlvi 𐭥𐭫𐭮, Persian هير, Sanskrit हिर.

was transmuted into the aspirated گيراک (Inscription V. 4). In addition to which may be cited پانهشتری (24), पाणु, पाण, hodie پادشاه, etc.¹

This inscription, even in its partially intelligible form, is also valuable as exhibiting so many of the essential characteristics of true Persian speech, in the multiplicity of the final i's, and in the dominance of the inevitable verb کردن, which even in this brief space crops up in all manner of moods and tenses.

¹ The following passages from the classic authors and other external sources, bearing upon the pompous intitations affected by the successive ruling dynasties in Persia, are calculated to throw light upon the inquiry more immediately in question, as to the terms likely to be found in the original manifestoes embodied in the court language and composed under official supervision, we have now to deal with.

ARSACES I.

"Certatimque summatum et vulgi sententiis concinentibus, astris (ut ipsi existimant) ritus sui consecratione permistus est omnium primus. Unde ad id tempus regis ejusdem gentis pretumidi, adpellari se patiuntur Solis fratres et Lunæ: utque Imperatoribus nostris Augusta nuncupatio amabilis est et optata; ita regibus Parthiis abjectis et ignobilibus antea, incrementa dignitatum felicibus Arsacis auspiciis accessere vel maxima. Quamobrem numinis eum vice venerantur et colunt, eousque propagatis honoribus, ut ad nostri memoriam non, nisi Arsacides is sit, quisquam in suscipiendo regno cunctis anteponatur: et in qualibet civili concertatione, quæ adsidue apud eos eveniunt, velut sacrilegium quisque caveat, ne dextera sua Arsacidem arma gestantem feriat vel privatum."—Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. c. vi. § 4.

SHAPÚR II.

"Rex regum Sapor, particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunæ, Constantio Cæsari fratri meo salutem plurimam dico."—Ammianus Marcellinus, xvii. c. 5, § 3.

"Agitatis itaque sub onere armorum vigiliis, resultabant altrinsecus exortis clamoribus colles: nostris virtutes Constantii Cæsaris extollentibus, ut domini rerum et mundi: Persis Saporem et Saanasaan adpellantibus et Pyrosen, quod rex regibus imperans, et bellorum victor interpretatur."—Ammianus Marcellinus, xix. c. 2, § 11.

ΚΗΥΣΡÚ ΝΑΥΣΗΡΩΛΝ.

ἡ δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς γράμμασι μὲν ἐγράφη Περσικοῖς, τῇ δὲ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ κατὰ ταῦτα δῆπουθεν ἰσχύει τὰ ῥήματα "θεῖος, ἀγαθός, εἰρηνοπάτριος, ἀρχαῖος Χοσρόης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, εὐτυχής, εὐσεβής, ἀγαθοποιὸς, φτίνι θεοὶ μεγάλην τύχην καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν δεδώκασι, γίγας γιγάντων, ὃς ἐκ θεῶν χαρακτηρίζεται, Ἰουστινιανῷ Καίσαρι, ἀδελφῷ ἡμετέρῳ."—Menander (Protector) de legationibus Romanorum ad Gentes, § 3.

ΒΑΗΡÁΜ ΧΗΥΒÍN ΤΟ ΚΗΥΣΡÚ ΡΑΡΒÍΖ.

Βαρὰμ φίλος τοῖς θεοῖς, νικητής, ἐπιφανής, τυράννων ἐχθός, σατράπης μεγιστάνων, τῆς Περσικῆς ἀρχῶν δυνάμεως, ἐμφρων, ἡγεμονικός, δεισιδαίμων, ἀνεκονοίδιστος, εὐγενής, εὐτυχής, εὐεπὴβολός, αἰδέσιμος, οἰκονομικός, προνοητικός, πρῶτος, φίλανθρωπος Χοσρόη τῷ παιδί Ὁρμίσδου.—Theophylactus Simocatta, iv. c. 7, § 18.

ΚΗΥΣΡÚ ΡΑΡΒÍΖ.

Χοσρόης βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, δυναστευόντων δεσπότης, κύριος ἐθνῶν, εἰρηνάρχης, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σωτήριος, ἐν θεοῖς μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός καὶ αἰώνιος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεός ἐπιφανέστατος, ὑπερένδοξος, νικητής, ἡλίω συνανατέλλων καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ χαρίζομενος ὄμματα, ἐκ προγόνων ἐπίσημος, βασιλεὺς μισοπόλεμος, χαριστικός, ὁ τοὺς ἄσωνας μισθοῦμενος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Πέρσαις διαφυλάττων, Βαρὰμ στρατηγὸς Περσῶν, ἡμετέρῳ δὲ φίλῳ.—Theophylactus Simocatta, iv. c. 8.

TENTATIVE TRANSCRIPT OF INSCRIPTION No. II. IN MODERN PERSIAN.

هسني کتر بگ رسوت زي پون نزا... يي. هز منوچيهر من يزدان
 يزير هين هر برست ا. يهر دزيکي يي شين. زم پميرتي وزروني هراچ
 ايزون پترهيت سیدهتاي و بزارو يزدان ارهکيتي هپاهزد ک. هپرن
 از راهي پانکاسه کرتبي هز ماتون مغرينه ول رتل گدروس و چيتي
 ودر شهري چهرني مهيت وري هنرکتاي هدرسون بزايي. ريسيني پنچ
 لسدر پروني ميزونکي هوي رکم پهرهيت اگيت مد... يت اهيتري يهوت وود
 اميرهي لولوي ول يزدان لرنيهت مهيت مومريا اهنهکس.... ليد... ييل شمس
 وهيشتي ودر شهري ول زک يزريت درانتاديهم وراتدي وهشمر دت
 مهرت برسماه وهتاي و براميندان زني ههيم ویتمار
 لشم زني مرزو و مهرهيت اديننت دم و دبیر هميرهن امري وهرياشتر
 يهشن هوي مرفرن نفشي چلودا مهاتيتري تهني يهين
 هوي مردم زني هيشتي وکرتکن [کاپير و شتري تيرتوسه
 وستاهيتري يهشن هوي مومنيا زي شوامکيه زي تنت
 و پت پورسات زک پون يزدان مشهتون سهي روبان راتي
 وراستي اير يهشن و مرمه زني يريتما شم هرتيتيري
 ميکين پون بينديان کير پتوست ههترميائي مهرتسرتي

- 17 من هرمني هر فرمان ارايوت زي رکمي ههنمي ايري دومن ايد
- 18 و هيشتي ايتي و درسهري ايتي يمني کري تري گذر زاهور و هيشتي
- 19 و زرونت مروچکري زک ول در شهسرمي من رمن کريکرت هوي ومده
- 20 کريپت بر سزيتنت ولي لزي تفترندي تري پنبهري و ايمتيدپ
- 21 يهمنتوت اپش ولي استوندي روبا و پتاديبي من ميهمنتوت
- 22 چيزوني کري تري همتون ايم زني نامدي رهاچ. را و نفشتي ايد
- 23 ميري کري تر من کلي اولوني من شتردران ي مشهون بير تري زک
- 24 و مزونيري پاتهش تري مردامم دبیر و نفشي سمسرا ديته
- 25 من مزي پاتهش تري و ماتانيدتي بون هر يمدوت ايک مزو پاستر
- 26 و دنا پاتهش تري ماتيدان اوريزکي استاهورن امديرهتنت زک
- 27 يدريتنت ايکاني زک شتي و هوي مير شهنشهي و ملکان ملکا کيتروم
- 28 ميريت و ايرهت شمکري هريمي اهر مک. ملکان ملکا و رنهلي ملکان
- 29 ملکا زي شهپهرين کري تري زي اوهرمزي ميريت شمکري هوي مشنهان
- 30 ملکان. ول هلاوه کري تري بريزون رويان تير اير اوهرمزي ميريت شمکري
- 31 هوي مپشتي برهکي دين کري تر سمشه

SASSANIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

- [illegible]

INSCRIPTION No. 3.—PÁI KÚLÍ INSCRIPTIONS—SASSANIAN.

Sir Henry Rawlinson has most disinterestedly entrusted me with his own private note-books containing his original sketches of the Pái Kúli Inscriptions, as well as with an earlier Cuneiform copy-book, in which I find Mr. Hector's independent tracings of the epigraphs on four of the slabs.

I have intentionally avoided submitting any of my tentative readings to Sir Henry, as not only has his time been of late fully occupied by more important duties, but I have been anxious that he should not be in the least degree compromised by any of my errors or imperfect interpretations derived from the fragmentary materials he has so amiably supplied me with.

1. The first inscription among Sir Henry Rawlinson's sectional copies is, perhaps, the most interesting of the whole series, giving, as it does, the name of Ardashir Bábekán, coupled with his title of King of Kings (ارتخشتر ملكان ملكا). The third line, like so much of the entire text, seems to continue his laudatory intitulation, زي ايران شتري, "of Irán King." The succeeding line proceeds اتر كيدا شتري و فرمات, "Lord of the Fire Temple" (on whose terrace the inscription is engraved). The *Framáta* is here seen to retain its place in the official speech from the anterior date of the Cuneiform manifestoes of Darius,¹ while its modern counterpart perseveringly reaches our ears in the oft-cited *Firmans* of the Porte. The conclusion of the record on this stone is obscure, and it is only by supposing extreme laxity of orthography in the original, and claiming, under such shelter, a momentary excuse for very hazardous suggestions, that the words may be rendered

¹ Persian version, x. 286, 310; Scythic, xv. 146; Persian (Oppert) J.A. 1852. p. 152. The grand Vizier of Persia, in later times, was called بزرگت فرماندار, in Armenian, *Vsourk-Hramanatar*. Journal Asiatique, 1866, p. 114.

. شفیل و کرتکان توم. "Lord of Elephants,"¹ and Chief of Officials, otherwise "Head of the Executive."²

(2) The second lapidary sub-section opens with the words هربت نمرارمني. The *Hirbad* (הִרְבַּד), Fire-Priest of the Scythian *Namri*,³ a nomad tribe of ancient celebrity, possibly by this time permanently settled in close proximity to the kingdom of Armenia, with which their name is here associated.

(3) The third stone carries on the lines of a previous sentence in the title ملکان ملکا [یران ملکا - in Mr. Hector's copy], which is followed, perhaps connected with, the succeeding word فلكي, which admits of varying renderings from فلك, "heaven," فلك, "a fire-worshipper" [فلك, "fire"], etc., according to the short vowels it may be necessary to supply, supposing always that even the three leading Pehlvi letters are assured in the modern Persian form in which they are here reproduced. The word occurs again in section 12, and in a questionably modified form in 21. The پارسى in line four answers to the province of Persia, and the ولي "Dominus," will be found to recur frequently in this and other inscriptions. (No. 14, etc.).

(4) The opening هسكي شتري in section 4, like so many imperfectly defined and, dubiously complete names, necessarily attracts attention without contributing in its isolated form the means of a positive identification; يزدان کرتكاري is fairly legible, and, with a continuous context, ought to present no difficulties. رامى, supposing it to be an undivided word, is

¹ 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 Chald. "beautiful."

² "Tuma," Tau'má (Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. x. pp. 101, 178, 196, etc.); Scythic, *takma* (Norris, xv. 114, 134, etc.); "Takman, fortis" (Fox Talbot, xix. 155); *Takhma* (Takhmuras; Haug, 194). تهم Oppert, J.A. xvii. 565. The superlative *Tama* may have something in common with the term (Haug, 89), or possibly تومي may after all be merely an imperfect rendering of تخم, "race, seed, origin." Cf. Τεύχεα, Τυκτός, Τέκνον.

³ Darius's Cuneiform Inscriptions, J.R.A.S. (Norris, xv. 150; Rawlinson, xv. 235 and xix. p. 263); Oppert, J.A. 1867, p. 197.

readily recognizable, and associates itself with the technical رام, "rest," رامشتری, and other essentially Aryan terms.¹

(5) No. 5 suggests but little worthy of remark beyond the combination of سکان ملکا. The name of Sakán is well defined, and the ي preceding the designation is carefully marked as a final.² The word بیدون is of frequent occurrence (v. 3, 6).

(6) The contents of No. 6 offer but little matter for safe speculation, with the exception of the concluding شیران شتر.

(7) No. 7 presents nothing remarkable beyond the شیران ملکا which may be a mistake for شیران ملکا, owing to the mason, perchance employed indifferently on the duplicate epigraphs—having made use of a Chaldæo-Pehlvi N, a letter which is nearly identical in outline with the ordinary Sassanian B of these inscriptions.

(8) The commencement of the third line seems to retain the conclusion of the name of ارتشتر. The title of بریتان in line four also recurs frequently, and is readily identifiable with Anquetil's *Barbita* = "Salar en chef" (Z.A. ii. 486).

(9) The ninth tablet contains a title or, perhaps, a name of some interest, which may be read conjecturally, as هگنو or هرگوبت; the designation occurs again in the sixth line, where it is preceded by the definite title of گیراک *Hierarch*. The هر probably stands for هیر, "fire," as it is thus written in هریت *Hirbad*; but the determination of the compound گوبت is more open to question, unless it may be associated with the Sanskrit *Gupta* गुप्त from गुप् "to protect" (see also Nos. 17, 18, etc.). The word لب which follows is possibly incomplete, but the obsolete Semitic לבי or לביא, "lion," so largely idealized and so consistently retained by the ancient kings in official seal devices and sculptured illustrations, and affectingly reproduced by the Sassanians in bas-reliefs and in titular composition as لب کوشان, "lion slaying,"³ might claim a leading dominance in this place, but it may be better to revert to the

¹ J.R.A.S. xiii. pp. 395, 399.

² "Saka," J.R.A.S., xii. 468; "Sacan," xv. 150.

³ This term occurs on a beautiful gold coin of Hormuzdas II. (303-310 A.D.),

term **לב**, "heart," **לב** (from **לכב**, "to be fat"), which would more nearly accord with the general tenor of the inscription, and explain the frequent recurrence of the allied **נפשי**.

Among other words on this stone may be detected the important pronoun **זכ**, "he," "who," "that," the original Persian Cuneiform **𐭫𐭪** (**𐭫𐭪**) *si*, "qui, que," also "quod, quia," which is associated with the Chaldee **ܐܝܢ**, the relative pronoun and sign of the genitive.¹ The Hebrew **זה**, "this," the Arabic **الذي**, "who," and **ذلك**, "that," have all to be considered in their bearing upon the word, as the duties the Pehlvi **س** had to be answerable for were manifold. Anquetil was obliged to allow the term a very extended range of meanings in his single specimen page of Pehlvi translations of the Bun-dehesh (p. 341, vol. ii.); but in his vocabularies he rather limits it to "cela, celui-là," the modern Persian **آن** (pp. 496, 504).

The **زي** in these early Pehlvi readings seems to have been the contrasted form reserved for the sign of the genitive, which eventually settled itself into the **ز** of the Sháh Námah² and later Persian writings: while the **زک**, which was probably pronounced *zaka*, subsided into the present **که**.

The **شتری** in line five is critically doubtful, as I have substituted, on the authority of the very indubitable form of

brought from Persia by Sir H. Rawlinson, and now in the British Museum. The following is a description of the piece: *Obverse*—King's bust, to the right; the head is covered with a lion's skin, after the classical precedent on the coins of Alexander the Great; this is again surmounted by flames of fire (?), at the back of which float the broad Sassanian fillets. Legend:

مزدیسن بگی اوهرمزدي لبا کوشان ملکان ملکا

Reverse: The usual Fire Altar, to the right of which appears the figure of Ormazd (?) offering a chaplet to the king, whose form, together with the head-dress copied from the obverse, occupies the left of the altar. Legend:

مزدیسن بگی اوهرمزدي لبا کوشان ملکان ملکا

Above the flame of the altar and below the circular legend the word **ملکی** is inserted.

¹ De Saulcy, J.A. 1855, p. 187.

² **سپاهی زرومي و از پارسي ز بکړين و ز کرد و ز قادسي**
Macan. iii. 1432.

final given to the ي by Sir H. Rawlinson, an initial ش, in supercession of his apparent س.

The succeeding هرتا may, with equal propriety, be transliterated as هوتا, a form we should look for with much interest as a dialectic advance towards the ultimate orthography of خُدا, in spite of the incidental appearance of a later though, perhaps, mere provincial variety of the title in shape of کدي on the coins of Fīroz (A.D. 458-484). This is the *Khoda*, "Roi," of Anquetil (ii. 442, 515), and the conventional Pehlvi term for "king."¹

(10) The tenth detached portion of the original mural record, among other words which need not be dwelt upon, concludes with وهمکي شتري گبر. It would be unwise to insist upon گبر, as, however appropriate, it appears in too unconnected and broken a form to be fairly relied upon.

(11) The eleventh stone is remarkable for the preservation of the name of Hormazd (اوهرمزدي = اوهلمزدي). The پيروي in

¹ M. Mohl (p. x. Preface, *Shāh Nāmah*) has suggested a very original but scarcely conclusive explanation of the disuse of this term in its proper and archaic meaning, by assuming that when the word خُدا came to be accepted by the followers of Muhammad in the sense of "God," that they were able to obliterate all ancient memories of the linguistic import of the designation, and to raise their *Allah* to the exclusively divine title, heretofore so simply affected in the ordinary acceptation of "king" by common mortals. It would, perhaps, be a more satisfactory way of explaining the difficulty, to infer that men of old, in the East, on attaining royalty, were given to advance a simultaneous claim to divine honours, and with this notion to assume the designations and attributes of their local gods; but as the world grew older, the words so employed reverted to their proper and normal linguistic import, which had been thus temporarily and conditionally misapplied; terms which, in the case in point, had already in a manner ceased to convey any exceptional mundane distinction. See a note on the subject of the Armenian god *H'aldia* in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vii. N.S. (1867) p. 151. Masaudi tells us a good deal about the origin and use of the term; among other passages, in chap. xxiv. (vol. ii. p. 237, Paris edit.), he remarks—"Les rois perses, depuis l'origine des temps jusqu'à la naissance de l'islamisme, sont divisés en quatre dynasties. La première, qui s'étend de Keyomert à Aféridoun, est celle des *Khodahdms* (خداهان), mot qui a le sens de *rebb* (رب) "maître," comme on dit *rebb-el-metd* "maître d'un bien," *rebb-ed-dar*, "maître de maison." In the time of Khusrú Parvīz the State Seal for Khorāsān still retained the title in خُدا خراسان (p. 228), Aryan philologists propose to derive the word from خود, "self-coming" (خود آمدن), while the Sanskrit authorities suggest *Svādatta* स्व + दत्त, "self-given," or preferably *Svādhd* स्व + धा, "self-generated." (Benfey).

line four may be another form of *بیرونی*, which is a frequent adjective in the Sassanian inscriptions.

(12) No. 12, though much defaced, retains some indications of value in the possible restoration of line two, in the form of *پرستی ول هوری*. The word *هور* is not necessarily and exclusively "the Sun," but also applies to "fire, light," though the former interpretation is preferable in this place, as *هر* only occurs as the abbreviated form for *fire* in combination.

(13) The term *پرستا* again appears in No. 13, and is to be met with in various forms in the counterpart Chaldaeo-Pehlvi version.

(14) The words *پاتکرس* and *انکی*, if we could but rely upon their correct isolation in the general and undivided continuity of the writing, would claim a passing notice, while the *نغشی* as a standard expression identifies itself with *نفس*, *دش*, "life," "the vital spirit;" but the interest in this tablet centres in the conclusion, which, though greatly defective in the original, or its reproduction, seems to contain the word *سوشنتای*. The *Soshyanto* of the Parsis were "the ancient prophets" of the Zoroastrian creed.¹ I must repeat that the divisions in the modern Pehlvi representation of Sir H. Rawlinson's *fac-simile* are purely arbitrary, and that I have no reserve whatever in altering or re-arranging the connection of the letters.

(15) No. 15 contributes a more ample legend than its fellows, and has the additional merit of being reported by its English transcribers as "very plain" in its writing; the words *شایتي*, *یزدي*,² *شتری* are fairly legible towards the commencement; *پاردان* and *دولتان*,³ followed by *ملکا*, appear in the third line; but the point of the highest interest in the whole inscription from first to last is the mention of the name

¹ Haug, *Language of the Parsees*, pp. 219, 196, 164. A far more serious and critical examination of the earlier chapters of the *Zend Avesta*, by Dr. Cajetan Kossowicz, (Paris, 1865), gives *Saos'yand* as "Salvator."

² I am doubtful about this word, as the copy reads preferentially *ی گدی*. The *Gs* and *Zs* are very difficult to distinguish in Sir H. Rawlinson's *fac-similes*.

³ *Partan* = Avestah-"pur" ou "Parole."—Anquetil, ii. pp. 448, 449.

of Zoroaster, with the appropriate introductory intitulation
 ۱. و بگدت زي زوراد چت The detached passage concludes
 کمر من رب نفسي ول بآ زي.

(16) In the second line of No. 16 بریتانی may be suggestively substituted for the بریدنان, which, however, I have faithfully represented in the Pehlvi, in strict accordance with Sir H. Rawlinson's copy.

(17) No. 17 is one of the most complete and most carefully traced of the whole series, but the facilities of interpretation are not, as yet, commensurate; the third line may be reproduced in modern Persian as شتردارسي بریتا ربا; line four admits of many optional conversions, but ربا و اهان پال is the best merely mechanical transcript; line five proceeds ملکا من شترني من دومن امير, and a very speculative restoration might define the contents of line six as هشن (وطن) نيكي هشن.

(18) No. 18 repeats the word هشن, or, as it may be preferably rendered, هروني, "Princely," and adds a third and very clear example of the هرگوپت, preceded by the word کاروان. Though Mr. Hector's copy gives a totally different version of the contents of line three, which may be freely rendered کت ايران هري پش or هوي پور, while the هرگوپت is transferred, in all its completeness, to line four.

(19) The nineteenth tablet, though very promising at first sight, seems to have been defective in the preservation of the definite forms of the letters. The opening شکرني زمن may be suggested, as the first word occurs elsewhere. The conclusion of the last line gives the letters of يکشمون درهم; but Mr. Hector's transcript runs يک شيگان شمون درهم.

(20) No. 20 presents us with the name of Tiridates, followed by the title of King, تيلدت ملکا. Tiridates was the early name of Sapor I. before he became prominent under the titular designation of "Son of the King," and the

¹ The Armenian version of the name is *Zorataschd*. E. Dulaurier, *Journal Asiatique*, 1852, p. 32. See also Haug, p. 252, for variants of the original designation.

eventual associate in his father's sovereignty; though, in this instance, as his definitive identification and regal title appears in full in No. xxv. we are bound to conclude that the name of Tiridates here made use of applies to some other ruler or independent local Sovereign. In line three may be read, with every reserve, **و مچانم شهي و ولد**; but under a different arrangement of the words and a rejection of the dubious **ش**, the Pehlvi letters will equally correspond to **مچان مروهي**. The fourth line commences with a name optionally **ميافش** or **اپش** (مي), which is followed by the titles of **شتري** and **گيراک**, *ιεράρχης*, *Hierarch*. Sir H. Rawlinson notices that there is a blank space at the bottom of the inscribed face of this stone, as if the last line of writing had formed a portion of the conclusion of the main inscription.

(21) The twenty-first tablet is considerably damaged and defaced; but the fourth line runs continuously **ملکا و افليک شتردار**.

(22) No. 22 is the last of the Sassanian series copied by Sir H. Rawlinson. In the first line may be seen the personal pronoun **هوي** (ܗܘܝ, Chald. ܗܘܝ), Zend, *ava*, "he or she," the Cuneiform Persian *Hauva*, and the modern Persian **او**, **اوي**, **وي**.¹ The second line gives the frequently-recurring **ربا**, with a word which may be rendered **ديديمي**, a transliteration, however, that can scarcely be accepted in this place. The several terms **ترکيبي**, **کرتي**, **زدي**, and **نام** may be tentatively modernized, and the concluding line may be restored under protest in regard to the original copy of the final **پت** as **همکي شترې هريت**.

¹ An apt illustration of the difficulty of expressing these and other gradational sounds in the imperfect Pehlvi alphabet is contributed by the anomalous state of the power of the literary definition in Kurdistân at the present day:—"Les Kurdes lettrés sont, en général, les gens qui ne savent qu'imparfaitement leur langue maternelle. Ils correspondent avec leurs autorités et entre eux-mêmes, soit en persan, soit en turc, soit en arabe. Si parfois ils se voient obligés d'écrire en kurde, ils le font à l'aide de l'alphabet persan. En effet, toutes les consonnes persanes sont identiques avec celles des kurdes, du moins pour ce qui concerne le dialecte de Soléimanié; mais celui-ci contient beaucoup de voyelles et de diphthongues qu'il serait impossible de reproduire au moyen de l'orthographe en usage chez les Persans. Comment, par exemple, figurer en persan les articulations *ae, ee, oo, dou, seou, dou, aoue*, etc., qui se rencontrent si souvent et se suivent les unes les autres, sans l'intervention des consonnes, dans les mots kurdes?"—J. A. 1857, p. 302.

PĀĪ KŪLĪ INSCRIPTIONS IN CHALDÆO-PEHLVI.

Sir H. Rawlinson's eye appears to have been less trained to the peculiarities of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi than to an appreciation of the outlines of the more simple letters of the fellow or Sassanian alphabet, so that while his transcripts in the latter character are, as it were, *written*, the former are elaborately but mechanically *copied*, and in some instances (Nos. 24, 27, 30, and 32), so great was the desire of accuracy, that the letters are traced in double lines, as is usual in exact engraving. The writing itself, as I have already pointed out (p. 251 *ante*) presents great sameness in the different alphabetical signs, and in many cases a very slight inflection constitutes the essential discriminative mark of the given letter. There are no obvious finals, and the words do not seem to have been separated, as is effected to a great extent in portions of the Hájíábád Inscription. Under these circumstances my conjectural restorations must necessarily partake, perchance even in a larger degree, of the imperfection of the materials at command: which of themselves appeared to promise and may, perchance, eventually afford a better text and a greater amount of information than their more voluminous counterparts in the Sassanian character.

In the ordinary course of the arrangement of the present article, under the conception of retaining in full prominence a systematic discrimination between the contrasted forms of the associate alphabets, I have reserved the closely-identical modern Hebrew type for the representation of the since-severed and now obsolete outlines of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi originals, while devoting the current Persian of our days to the embodiment of the Sassanian Pehlvi, from whose archaic elements it claims so much of direct descent. But on this occasion, where, in default of positive facsimiles, I have been obliged to elevate the Hebrew into a leading text, I resort to the less classic *Naskhī* type for my commentary, not only for the purpose of giving a second and possibly more suggestive identification of the true Persian original, in its now conven-

tional alphabet, but also as affording a readier means of comparison with the *gloss* upon the more ample materials available in the less ephemeral Sassanian characters, which almost intuitively fell into the literal signs of that since amplified alphabet.

No. 23. The first of Sir H. Rawlinson's Chaldæo-Pehlvi Inscriptions, though carefully copied, is so imperfect in what remains of the original writing, that it would be useless to speculate upon any matter simply dependent on contexts. The word **لبا**, so frequent in the Sassanian series, occurs twice either in its full integrity or as a portion of other words, under the confessedly optional re-arrangement of the letters now presented, amid which it may be again remarked that no discriminative finals are to be detected.

No. 24 exhibits a more extended range of subjects for legitimate speculation. In the second line **ز یازتن رب هشر** seems to be fairly assured in transliteration and simple in interpretation; the aspirated **השטר**, **השטר**, the Sanskrit **शत्रु**, from **श**, "to rule," corresponds with the concurrent Sassanian **شتر**; while the **פתיסא** *Patiša* in line three recalls the ancient Cuneiform orthography. The preceding words **وزنان وکوشمنین** may, under very slight modifications, chance to carry new significance, as *Ionians* **یونان** (Greeks, etc.), and enemies **دوشمنین**, with the Chaldean plural termination and the long *u*, which is rejected in the modern orthography. The same remark may be applied to **ایک من لکما و هاپتی** in line four; and **یازتن و هی کشاگنی اسبتم**, with much that is already intelligible awaits but little extraneous aid for satisfactory interpretation. In line six the oft-recurring **پتی** is succeeded by **יאותן שמי** *Yāztan Shamei*, "God of Heaven," which brings the whole tenor of the inscription back to Semitic regions; or, if a more distinctly Pehlvi rendering be sought in the **شמי** (the Pehlvi **دادار شمی** "in the name of Almighty," the *Giver* of the Zoroastrian prayer), the context of the succeeding word may be improved into **هک شمت**.

<p>No. 24.</p> <p>..... זכאשו.ון</p> <p>פשו. .רכל ז יאזתן רב השתר</p> <p>ו זונאן ו כרשמנין פתיסא ...</p> <p>איכ מן לכמא ו האפתי זכה ו</p> <p>יאזתן ודי כשאגני אסכתם ...</p> <p>פתי יאזתן נשמי המבה נשמת.</p>	<p>No. 23.</p> <p>..... כדרא</p> <p>..... רברבו</p> <p>..... פאסנכנ</p> <p>..... לבא ו אזאת</p> <p>..... המיסהוניר</p> <p>..... לבא פרהש</p>
<p>No. 26.</p> <p>..... ינשב יאזתא ...</p> <p>ואב יאכין ול נמינפשיי.</p> <p>החאים ו ראבה שתרדדי ...</p> <p>ו פרמיתן ו מג הרב פת א ..</p> <p>. ל כמאל חיאת לגלי היתת .</p> <p>וכ מגו פתגלאי תג נאשת ...</p>	<p>No. 25.</p> <p>..... כדרהניוניב</p> <p>י אהיתית ו סכנדר לכ</p> <p>נה ו שתר ו שתאי מגו ר ...</p> <p>אן חשתר חסישתהותוי ...</p> <p>וחלי ו הגת ו יהות הסנו ...</p> <p>שהיפודר מלכא כאושתר ...</p>
<p>No. 28.</p> <p>..... מלכא אריאן ו</p> <p>..... היירגו דניפי ו</p> <p>..... יתאימוון ו אתר.זכ</p> <p>..... הנ זמני .רב כוזת</p> <p>..... הות ו זפיבאתרש</p> <p>..... זדוכאזורתרי</p>	<p>No. 27.</p> <p>..... ראמ ו וישתאודה</p> <p>..... מיי אריאן השתר</p> <p>מזלנפתי יאזתן כאשת ו תר .</p> <p>..... זפרת ו אנכלין פואמר ...</p> <p>..... כתר ו כרתכני פתרהוינגי ..</p> <p>..... ראית היוזא איבהנ.</p>

No. 25 exhibits in the second line the full constituent elements of the word "*Sakandar*," but the name seems out of place, and the isolation of the letters is altogether arbitrary. The יהוד - יהוד in line five is of importance, as the designation, which can only apply to the Jews, will be met with hereafter in the Hájíábád Inscription; and, otherwise, there are many suggestive points in this text if we could but divide and determine the letters with anything like authority. The tablet concludes with the unmistakable name of Shápúr, conjoined with the adjunct of "king" in their proper Semitic forms of **شهبهر ملکا شاپوردر ملכא**.

No. 26. After a detached or incomplete word of no present importance, the first line terminates with the letters یازتا, which are dubiously suggestive of *Avesta*. The اکي اکين of line two is followed by the Arabic ال (Pehlvi رل), and the name of نمي (perhaps نمر) is succeeded by the oft-recurring نفسي. Line three seems to read هخايم وراب هشتدری (Inscrip. No. VI. lines seven and twelve); line four proceeds **پت هرب پت** — the latter combination is curious if we may rely upon the transliteration. کمال حیاة is followed in line four by the لگلي, which there will be further occasion to notice in the Hájíábád Inscriptions. پتکلاي تن گاشت concludes this section, though I must confess that I have but little confidence in the existing data or the result now obtained from them.

The transcription of the first line of No. 27 may be optionally varied from the Hebrew text to **رام و تشاوه ه** as the letters are very imperfectly preserved. **اریان هشت** is clear in line two. **میلن پتي** or **مزلن** followed by **یازتن گاشت** may be suggested as a tentative reading of line three; and, under even more reserve, **زرت وانکلین پوامر** for the fourth line. **راویت هويزا ایهن** may be received for the moment as a possible reproduction of line five.

The 28th tablet commences with **ملکا اریان**, "King of Irán." In the second line may be doubtfully traced a variation of the

name **هیرگو** followed by some damaged letters forming the word **رنیپی** or **دنیپی**. Line three is likewise defective in the outlines of the letters, which, however, may be tentatively rendered **ایتر-زک** or **ایتر-زک**, **یتایمون**. Line four runs — **همن زمینی رب کوزت**. Line five, under a mere servile reproduction of the original copy, may be transcribed **هوت وزتیباترش**; but the second word is freely convertible into **یزکا** or other possible variants. The sixth line contains the letters **زدوکا زورتی**.

29. The legible portions of this section comprise letters answering severally to **هشتر و همک هشترایشا**. Line four, **پنر پلک ملکا**, **پنر پت و پوشت** [پرشت] **وشمی می**. Line five, **و باتیز و دکتشن هوتوی**, **و مکورن ملکا**. Line six, **هشتر استنبک**.

No. 30 commences **هشتر استنبک**. Line two continues from a preceding tablet **پیتی هشتر هرتلین**. Line three, to judge from the copy, must be much damaged, **پتی** at the beginning and **ایک** at the end are all that can be relied upon. The letters decipherable in line four contribute the following possible combination: **کپوی دوهن پرشکرت**.—The **سریه کرتیر** in line five, if correct, is exceptional, as the ever-recurring verb **کردن** of the Sassanian system has not hitherto been met with in this Chaldaeo-Pehlvi transcript. The **سپول** in line six may equally well be converted into **ستول**, **بتول**, or other new combinations; for among the originally fully-contrasted forms of the ancient letters I can extend no certain faith to Sir H. Rawlinson's copies of the **𐭪** and the **𐭫**, as discriminated from one another: and worse still, the **𐭬**, which, at the time his copies were made, was unknown, or rather unproven,—may so easily be taken for either of the approximated outlines of the first-named more common letters, that the natural difficulties of a right interpretation of the damaged writings of Pâi Kûlî are almost hopelessly enhanced! The apparently isolated words which stand at the foot of this tablet seems to afford a second example of a derivation of the verb **کردن** in the form of **کرثی**.

In No. 31 the previous reading of فرمیتن in No. 26 is fully confirmed by its definite repetition in this place. Line two suggests many uncertain details, though the best version seems to be *هیهو و من رکنتم امیوت ایاله ورهیهو*. But the interest of this tablet centres in line three, where, if we could rely upon our standard text, we might transcribe freely the words *وپاترو و کرتکني پتره و اکياک ماگیوش*; a variant of the *اکياک* has been met with before in No. xxvi., but the *ماگیوش*, if it could be assured, would throw additional light upon this apparently religious manifesto of the Zoroastrian creed. The *پتیسه* (possibly the *پتیس* of No. xxiv.) commences line four, followed by *کنهیت و یایکلن هشتر کریت*. The *هویتی* of the printed text in line five may require correction into *هریتی*. The *اکایمود* at the end of the line is a word to be compared and commented on hereafter. *یازتن کری و هشتر* complete all that remains of the last line.

The 32nd and last tablet is the most curious of the whole broken series, and in the seeming completeness within itself, as judged by its remaining fragments, must have either constituted a portion of a summary or recapitulation apart from the rest of the inscription, otherwise any preconceived idea of the absolute continuity of the text from stone to stone in the ordinary line of writing must be altogether at fault. Though it is by no means improbable that the record of the original manifesto of Ardeshir was finished after the accession of Sapor, even if it was not supplemented by him with independent tablets devoted to his own glorification. Such an inference would accord well with the frequent appearance of Sapor's name, as associated with the full honors of royalty, in certain passages whose consecutive order it is, at present, impossible to determine. The five letters still extant in the first line resolve themselves almost naturally into the Aryan *ناگرا* (नगर), but the long vowels tend to cast a doubt about the identity of the word. After some obscurities, line two presents us with the word *سورین*, which, adverting to the sub-

No. 30.	No. 29.
<p>השטר אסתנבכ</p> <p>פיתי השטר הרתלין</p> <p>פתי ו ח . ח . היתת איכ</p> <p>כהוידוהג פרשכרת</p> <p>סריהכרתי רש</p> <p>ספולשיה ... ול . וכן</p> <p>כריי</p>	<p>מותאיכ</p> <p>כהכתר</p> <p>השטר ו המב השטר אישא .</p> <p>לנפת ו פוגת ו שמי מיי ...</p> <p>פנרפלזכ מלכא ו מכורן מלכא</p> <p>ו באתי זורכתשן הותוי ו ...</p> <p>פאכר</p>
No. 32.	No. 31.
<p>נאנרא</p> <p>ונמתיאתר סורין ו ...</p> <p>פארס ו כרנת ותן ו אסוד</p> <p>ארמינר ו אריאן השטר</p> <p>אתהשטרי מלכא ו כ ...</p> <p>מנו אמארלישתפ</p>	<p>פרמיתן ו אבכ</p> <p>הומנרכנב אמיות איאלה ו רהיו</p> <p>ופאתרו כרתכני פתרה ו אביאכ מאגיוש</p> <p>פתיסה ו כנהית ו יאיכלן השטר כרית ..</p> <p>הופתי השטר הות ו ... אכאימור</p> <p>אזתן כריי ו השטר</p>

sequent associations, may possibly stand for the country of Syria, but which I prefer to consider as the ancient, much-esteemed title of *Surena*, a name the Romans learned to know but too well in the course of their Persian wars.¹ The country of *Persia* seems clear enough; *کرت و تن (وطن)* presents a

¹ Plutarch in Crassus; Strabo, xvi. c. i. § 24; Ammian. Marcell. xxiv. c. ii. § 4, c. iv. § 12; Zosimus, iii. c. xv.; Mos. Khor. i. 313; J.A. 1866, p. 130. The title was possibly derived from *سر*, "King" (*سرین*). There is a term having something of the like import in Modern Persian in *سورستار*, "Regis Minister" (Vullers).

difficulty, but *Assyria* can scarcely fail to represent that even then renowned kingdom. *ارمينر*, in line four, may reasonably be corrected into *Armini*, especially in its direct conjunction with *اریان هشتري*. The name of *ارتھشتري* is confessedly a restoration out of the very imperfect tracing of the original pencil copy, but the letters *אתהשת* are sufficiently assured to justify the insertion of the missing *ר* after the initial, and the needful termination before *מלכא*. The concluding line is nearly illegible.

Sir H. Rawlinson has favoured me with the subjoined Note on the locality and surroundings of Pāi-Kūlī, which unfortunately reached me after the preceding pages had been set up in type.

These ruins which I first heard of in 1835 whilst employed in the neighbouring district of Zohab (see *Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc.*, vol. ix. p. 30), I had an opportunity of examining in some detail during a two days' visit which I paid them in 1844, in company with Mr. Alexander Hector, on a return trip from Sulimanieh to Baghdad. They are situated at the South-Eastern extremity of the rocky ridge of Seghermeh, at the distance of about four miles from the right bank of the river Shirwān or Diyāleh, and just beyond an easy pass which crosses the shoulder of the hill from the Karadagh valley. The hill which intervenes between the ruins and the river, and which is a lower and less rugged continuation of the Seghermeh range, is named Gúlān. The district on the river is called Bani-Khilān, and is well known from the ford of that name by which the river is crossed on the high road from Zohab to Sulimanieh. The exact position of the ruins is in latitude $35^{\circ} 7' 16''$, and longitude $45^{\circ} 34' 35''$. With these indications any traveller may succeed in finding the locality, but to enable him to inspect the ruins at his leisure it will be indispensable that he should be attended with a suitable escort, as the districts along the river, being a sort of debatable ground between the Persian and Turkish empires, are overrun with marauding Kurds who pay no respect to either Prince or Pasha.

The ruins, which are called indifferently *Pāi-Kūlī* ("the

foot of the pass"), and *But-Khaneh* ("the idol temple"), crown the summit of a shoulder which runs out from the range towards the East and thus presents a sloping declivity circling round from N.E. to S.E. It is difficult to determine the design of the original edifice, so completely has it been ruined, but it may be conjectured to have been a quadrangular construction, about one hundred feet square, formed of rubble and brick and faced with large blocks of grey stone of which the exterior surface was smoothened; and probably the building itself was crowned with a cupola. At present indiscriminate heaps of brick and mortar, rubble and stone, cover the entire summit of the hill, and nowhere is any portion of the wall in its original state to be recognized. Scattered along the brow, however, and at different points on all three sides of the steep slope, which extends perhaps 150 yards from the ruins to the plain below, are to be seen at least 100 blocks of hewn stone, the débris apparently of the building above; and as a considerable number—perhaps half—of these blocks are engraved on their smoothened face with writing, and the inscribed blocks would all seem to have fallen from the Eastern wall of the building, I conceive that it was on that face only, fronting the rising sun, that the commemorative record was placed. This record, like most of the other memorials of the early Sassanians, was engraved in two different characters and languages, which used to be called Parthian and Sassanian, but which it is now proposed to distinguish as Chaldæo-Pehlevî and Persian-Pehlevî. I copied the inscriptions on thirty-two blocks of stone, ten of these inscriptions being in Chaldæo-Pehlevî and twenty-two in Persian-Pehlevî; and these were all the fragments of writing which were exposed and which were tolerably legible; but there are, I doubt not, an equal number of fragments still to be recovered by any traveller who has the means and the leisure to turn over the many blocks lying with their face downwards, and also to disinter those which are now half imbedded in the soil, or covered over with the rubbish, on the summit of the hill. Amongst this rubbish I further observed one slab about four feet square, rudely sculptured with

the head and shoulders of a Sassanian king, the figure being intended in all probability for Ardeshir Babegan; and it is very possible other similar slabs would be found if the ruins were thoroughly examined. I always, indeed, cherished the idea of being able, on the occasion of some future visit, to take an exact paper-cast of the inscribed surface of every block throughout the ruins, by which means I might succeed in reconstructing the work, after the manner of a child's puzzle; and I am still of opinion that this reconstruction might be partially, if not completely, effected,—notwithstanding that the edges of the blocks are in many cases chipped and worn;—since it would be assisted, not only by the coincidence of the lines of writing, but by the identifications of the different words and phrases as the general tenour of the inscriptions became gradually intelligible.

It only remains that I should say a word as to the purport of the original building. In popular tradition the place is known as the *But-khaneh* (or “idol-house”), probably from the figure of Ardeshir, which is still the prominent feature of the ruins; but I found that the educated Kurds—and there are many such at Sulimanieh—considered Pâi-Kúlî to be the site of a Fire-Temple of the Magi; and such I believe to be a true explanation of this really interesting spot, although I have never met with a notice of the locality among the many copious descriptions of Sassanian antiquities that are found in the early Arabic Historians and Travellers, and although the inaccessible position of the ruins and the present desolate and inhospitable character of the surrounding country are singularly inappropriate to a great scene of popular pilgrimage. In all probability, however, the country has very much altered in appearance since the Sassanian period. At present there are no permanent villages or fixed inhabitants between the Turkish frontier at Khannikin and Sulimanieh, but along the course of the Diyâleh, throughout this interval of space, are to be seen on both banks numerous traces of ancient populousness and prosperity. On the Persian side of the river, for instance, the ruins of Sheikhân, of Hurín, and Hershel have been already described by me (see Geograph.

Journal, vol. ix. p. 30), while in following the Páï-Kúlí route from Sulimanieh to Khannikín, I now found a series of ancient remains which convinced me that the old road conducting from Ctesiphon to the Atropatenian Ecbatana must have followed this line. The road in question is mentioned by many of the early Arab geographers (by Ibn Khurdadbeh, for instance, and by Mosáer, as quoted by Yacút in the *Mo'ejem-el-Baldán*); it left the great Persian road at Kaşr-i-Shirín, and proceeded north to Dér Kán, now called Housh Kerek, where there are some extensive and very remarkable Sassanian ruins; it crossed the Diyáleh at Binkudra, a corruption of the old Syriac title of Ba-Nihudra, and led from thence to Shirwáneh, a place which has given its name to the river and where there is a magnificent artificial mound, that would be well worth excavating. Further on there are the remains of an extensive city near the river, now called Shar-i-Verán ("the ruined city"), but which I cannot identify in ancient geography. An easy stage conducts from Shar-i-Verán to Páï-Kúlí, and from that point the old road crossed the Goura Kileh ("Gueber's fort") range, which is a S.E. prolongation of the Karadagh hills, direct to Yassín Teppeh, the ancient Shahrizúr, leaving the modern town of Sulimanieh at least fifteen miles to the left hand. This route was of great importance under the Sassanians. An ancient custom, dating probably from the time of Ardeshir, required that each king should on his accession proceed from Ctesiphon along this road to be crowned in the Fire-Temple of Azarakhsh at Shíz; and in connection with such a line of pilgrimage Shahrizúr itself acquired such celebrity that it was popularly named *Nim-ráh*, or "the half-way house," the distances respectively from Ctesiphon to Shahrizúr by the Páï-Kúlí route, and from Shahrizúr to Shíz (or Takht-i-Sulimán), being about 185 miles, as explained by me in my examination of the march of Heraclius on Ganzaca in the tenth volume of the Geographical Journal, p. 101. I think it very probable, then, that the Fire-Temple at Páï-Kúlí was instituted in connection with this route from Ctesiphon to Ganzaca, and that the legend, the fragments of which are

here published, may contain some allusion to the royal progresses.

H. C. RAWLINSON.

INSCRIPTION No. 4.

The bas-relief at Naksh-i-Rajab,¹ which the subjoined inscription is intended to illustrate, consists of a group representing Sapor heading a procession on horseback, while around and behind him are ranged the nobles of his court with his guards on foot. The face and head-dress of the monarch have been intentionally damaged, but the slope of the coronet of the latter can be traced in outline, and seems to accord with the low mural crown depicted in other sculptures and ordinarily in use upon his coins; this is surmounted by the customary globe of fire or ether; side masses of bushy curls, with the national fillets fluttering lightly at the back, complete the details the iconoclast has suffered to remain.

One of the peculiarities of Sapor's costume as contrasted with the more simple garments of his father, which hang heavily and formally over his limbs,² is that his vestments seem to be composed of silk or linen of the finest texture, and fall wavily and lightly in their folds, with their loose ends floating freely in the air. The inscription, as in an earlier example (No. 1), is engraved as far as space permitted on the shoulder of the charger. The immediate attendants wear various forms of the Parthian helmet,³ with distinguishing devices on the right side of the casque, the subordinate guards who fill in the rear of the design wear uniform but unadorned helmets of the Parthian pattern, and stand with their hands crossed over the hilts of the long straight sword in use at the period.

¹ Niebuhr, ii. pl. xxxii. p. 125; Ker Porter, pl. xxviii; Flandin, bas-relief A, pl. 189, and enlarged engraving, pl. 191; De Sacy, p. 31; Ouseley, Travels, pl. lv.; Rich. Babylon, pl. xii.; Ker Porter, vol. i. pl. 28; Flandin, vol. iv. p. 573, pl. 190.

² See Ardeshir in pl. xxiii. and xxvii. fig. 2, Ker Porter; and 182 and 192 Flandin.

³ "Their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection." Plutarch in Crassus. Am. Marc. xxiv. c. 4, § 5.—There is a specimen of one of these caps in the British Museum; it is a head-piece of considerable merit, light, well-balanced, with a good slope from the sides towards the crested ridge at the apex, and anything but after the design of the apparently top-heavy Parthian caps, the profile system of representation reduced those helmets to in rock sculpture and coin devices.

INSCRIPTION No. 4.—SHÁHPŪR I. A.D. 240-273, at Naksh-i-Rajab.

I. פתכר זני מדיין אלהא שהיפודר מלכין מלכא אריאן ו
II. پتکري زني مزدیسن بگي شهپوهري ملکان ملکا ایران و

III. TO ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΤΟΤΤΟ ΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΤ ΘΕΟΤ ΣΑΠΟΡΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

אנאריאן מנשדור מן יאזתן ברי מדיין אלהא ארתהשתר מלכין
انیران منوجتري من یزتان بري مزدیسن بگي ارتهشتر ملکان
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚ ΓΕΝΟΤΣ Θεων νου ΜΑΣΔΑΣΝΟΤ

מלכא אריאן מנשדור מן יאזתן בריי אלהא פאפך מלכא
מלکا ایران منوجتري من یزتان נבי בگي پاپکي מלکا

ΘΕΟΤ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΤ βασιλεως ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚ ΓΕΝΟΤΣ Θεων ΕΚΓΟΝΟΤ
ΘΕΟΤ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.

Image of the person of [Or]mazd-worshipper, divine SHÁHPŪR, *King of Kings* of Irán and Anirán, of celestial origin from God, the son of [Or]mazd-worshipper, divine ΑΡΤΑΞΗΑΤΡ, *King of Kings* of Irán, of celestial origin from God, the son of divine ΠΑΡΑΚ, *King*!

INSCRIPTION No. 5.

The text of Inscription No. 5, in its full development, originally formed the illustrative commentary on one¹ of the best executed of the many rock sculptures² to be found in various

¹ Ker Porter, pl. xxi.; Flandin, pl. 185.

² This calamitous incident in the annals of the Roman Empire is treated under various modified details in the different sculptures devoted to its representation. At Dárâbgird (plates 31 and 33, Flandin), Sapor places his left hand on the head of Cyriades, as if in commendation, or confirmation of the position he was about to bestow upon him, in supersession of the kneeling Valerian. Sapor's helmet is, in this instance, similar to the skull-cap ordinarily appropriated to his father, but the tied point of the beard continues to mark his special identity.

In plate 48 of Flandin (bas-relief B, at Shâhpŭr), we have a single kneeling figure before the horse of the conqueror without the usual incidental accompaniments. In plate 49, bas-relief A, also sculptured at Shâhpŭr, the positions of the parties are greatly changed; and if we may judge by the seemingly elaborate drawings, the younger man is now kneeling, possibly awaiting investiture, while Sapor places his right hand on the arm of Valerian, who is clearly in fetters, as if in the act of exhibiting him to the assembled troops. Sapor's crown in this bas-relief follows the usual mural pattern. A novelty is to be noticed in this composition in the introduction of a winged figure descending from the sky and presenting to Sapor a second diadem, which floats in unbound and open folds. See also Morier's plate xiii. p. 91, Persia, Armenia, etc. London, 1812.

Plate 53 is indistinct in the definition of the persons forming the general group, but Valerian is seen kneeling with hands outstretched in the ordinary attitude, while a standing figure behind him, in the garb of a Roman, presents a circlet to Sapor. The outline of the figure standing by the side of Sapor's charger

parts of Persia, devoted to the commemoration of Sapor's successful capture of the Emperor Valerian in 260 A.D. The general arrangement of Sapor's dress in this instance is similar

is imperfect, but from the size it would seem to be designed to represent a youth. The angel with the Sassanian bandeau appears above, and in the side compartments are figured a Roman biga, an elephant, a horse, etc.

I am unable to recognise in plate 51, bas-relief D (Mörner, pl. xi.) at Shāhpūr, any association with Sapor's triumph over Valerian, but understand the general design to refer to some other boasted success of the Persian monarch, perchance over the Syrian king Šīrān (Masa'udi, cap. lxxviii.) or possibly over Odenathus himself, who, under western testimony, is affirmed, on the other hand, to have gained advantages over Sapor in the war undertaken to avenge the humiliation of the Romans. Sapor's portrait in this sculpture is more artistic in its treatment than usual; and if Flandin's copy, here reproduced, be a true rendering of the original we may fairly admit the traditional perfection of that monarch's form and features.



HEAD OF SAPOR I.

From a Bas-relief at Shāhpūr.

The head dress is changed from the ordinary mural crown into a close-fitting cap, from the sides of which rise eagles' wings, and the whole is surmounted by the conventional globe. This style of head-gear is used by Sapor in the bas-relief Ker Porter, xxiv.; Flandin, plates 187, 188; but it does not appear on the coins of the dynasty till the reign of Varahran II. (279-296), who employs it throughout. Among the other head-dresses of Sapor may be noticed a sort of Parthian cap or helmet coming to the front in the head and beak of an eagle. (*Lumismatic Chronicle*, xv. p. 180, fig. 3).

to that already adverted to under the notice of No. 4 bas-relief, but the face and head-dress are here admirably preserved; the former exhibits much of the manly beauty for which Sapor was so famed,¹ with a delicate though well-formed moustache, closely-curved or partially-grown whiskers, passing into a well-trained beard, which is retained in a quaint tie below the chin, so as to create a small prolonged imperial below the ring or binding which checked its natural flow, a fashion which, even in Sapor's own time and afterwards, merged into a jewelled drop, constituting a terminal completion of the beard itself, and whose exaggerated dimensions formed so marked a peculiarity in the medallion portraiture of later sovereigns! Sapor has the usual bushy side-curls, and still adheres to the mural crown surmounted by the conventional globe,—the Sassanian fillets float freely at the back, and similar small fillets or barred ribbons are attached to his sword hilt, his ankles, and even to his horse's head and tail. Valerian is fitly represented in the Roman costume, with the laurel chaplet on his brow, kneeling in front of Sapor's charger, with both hands outstretched, in the obvious attitude of supplication; a young man, also in Roman garb, wearing an identical chaplet, and who is supposed to be intended for Cyriades, stands by his side and receives from the hand of Sapor the circlet and wavy bands, which other sculptures indicate to be the accepted insignia of royalty.

The inscription itself, which fills in the space behind Sapor's horse, was partially copied by Niebuhr,² and a few lines were sketched but not published by Ker Porter,³ M. Flandin's⁴ transcript is a most marked advance upon the early tracings of Niebuhr in the amplitude of the text, though only questionably improving upon the legibility of the selected sections contributed by his predecessor. We have most indubitable evidence in the portions now intelligible that the inscription emanated

¹ Masa'udi—French edition, ii. p. 160, iv. p. 83; Mirkhond, in De Sacy, pp. 285-7.

² Voyage en Arabie. C. Niebuhr. Amsterdam, 1780. Vol. ii. pl. xxxiv. p. 129.

³ Ker Porter, i. 541.

⁴ Flandin, vol. i. pl. 181, p. 541.

from Sapor (line 1, 2, 6, etc.), whose name and title of *Malkán* *Malká* there can be no misreading, and equally it is clear that the great Hierarchy of Hierarchs, whose designation is so often repeated, refers to the unhappy Roman "Pontifex Maximus," Valerian himself.¹ It will be seen that none of the bas-reliefs, commemorating the capture of Valerian, give any countenance to the loose accusation of the Western writers regarding the severity of the treatment or wanton humiliation of the Roman Emperor on the part of Sapor. On one occasion only, in the entire series of sculptures, is Valerian represented in chains, and the anklets, in this case, may well be taken to be merely figurative. The few Persian authors, indeed, who notice this but little appreciated episode in the history of their own country, relate that Sapor wisely took advantage of the engineering skill of his captive, and employed him, together with free artisans obtained from Rome, in the construction of the celebrated irrigation dam, and in the general embellishment of the new city of Shuster. Tabari, it is true, reports that after completion of these works, Sapor marked and disfigured his prisoner, but the statement bears but little semblance of truth, and the *Sháh Námah*, in its version of the details, makes no allusion to any such barbarity. It is singular that in no one instance is there to be found any sign of the strictly western form of the name of Valerian, the Persian word *shatri*, in two several instances, precedes the other designations applicable to the dignity he was supposed to hold; and on the second occasion (line 11), this local title is connected with an outlying final or possibly directly initial *ul*, which, under the free licence of interpretation, the crude orthography of the associate texts fully invites, may be held susceptible of conversion into *Val shatri*,² which perchance, may have conveyed to the *indigènes*

¹ Eutropius, ix. c. 6; Zosimus, i. c. 36; Agathias, iv. 23; Trebellius Pollio in Hist. Aug. VI. vol. ii. p. 179; Aurelianus Victor de Cæsaribus, xxxii., and Epitome, xxii.; Lactantius, "de mortibus persecutorum," c. v.; Eusebius, ii. 301; Zonare Ann. xii. 23; (U.C. 1010); Abulfarage, p. 81; Gibbon, i. p. 459; Clinton, Fasti Romani, i. 284. Coins of Valerian cease with A.D. 260-1. His name, however, appears in one law of A.D. 262, and in a second of 265. Eckhel, vol. vii. 387.

² *Val* was a favourite name in these lands—as *Val* Arsaces, *Val*, King of Edessa

the nearest approximate sound of the Grecized adaptation of the original [ΟΡΑΑΕΡΙΑΝΟΞ].

The introduction of the name of AUHARMAZDI with the suffix *Malkán Malká* is strange in the extreme, if the worldly titles are supposed to be applied to the *Divinity*; but it might be better in the present state of our knowledge, and the defective context of this inscription, to limit the attribution of the designation to the Hormuzdas, the son of Sapor, who eventually succeeded to his father's throne, notwithstanding that the titular honors here conceded equal those of the reigning monarch.

There is very much else in this inscription calculated to invite comment under the linguistic and philological aspects, with so many words that may be reduced into their simplest modern forms by, so to say, the merest turn of the pen: but my object, in transliterating these primarily conscientious though necessarily deceptive reproductions of a nearly obliterated lapidary text, is accomplished in affording more ready means of comparison to future copyists, and determining a certain number of words for the illustration and confirmation of my leading text.

With regard to the restored modern Pehlvi version now printed, I may remark that I have adhered as closely as possible to the very letters given in the servile engravings from which it has been drawn.

In the case of the ordinary Persian transcript, I have allowed myself occasional latitude in suggestive modifications; but, as a general rule, I have merely transcribed the old character into its modern form, leaving the multifarious optional correspondents of the ancient letters to be determined hereafter.

Var, Vag, etc. The Sháh Námah, with a proper Aryan disregard of the contrasted sounds of R and L, reproduces Valerian's name as برانوش.

برانوش جنگی بقلب اندرون گرفتار شد با دلی پر ز خون
و ز آن رومیان کشته شد سه هزار بمالوینه در صف کارزار
هزار و دو سصد گرفتار شد دل رومیان پر ز تیمار شد

Tabari's Persian version does not give the designation of the Roman captive.

TRANSCRIPT OF Pehlvi Inscription No. V. in Modern Persian.

- 1 زي شهپوهري ملکان [ملکا] لسمای و هشاتري هريتن
- 2 سار شهپوهري ملکان ملکا کرتي هريتن زي من بيدون
- 3 وير... رونک هامرومري پون مگوستن کامکاري
- 4 شتري گيراک ول گيراک کبير کرتکان زي
- 5 پاتهشتري هتيمون و اوهرمزدي و يزدان
- 6 شهپوهري ملکان ملکا پون و زلسپرهرکن پکدون و بيدون
- 7 و زتي پاتهشترو ماتيدان مي ولي
- 8 نفشي يکريمونت ايد لتيرزي اهرت
- 9 نافع اوهرمزدي ملکان ملکا کوراي
- 10 لي پون... ان زي يزدان هسرونکي کامکاري تري
- 11 ول شتري گيراک ول گيراک کبير
- 12 و کزش هتوران... پاتهشتري
- 13 گيراک ول گيراک کرتي... هنا ارگون
- 14 ميل لسي و زرونت... ان منوان
- 15 ان مسا زک ه يونکي پون
- 16 يزدان همزون... کامکاري
- 17 کرتکان زي... افزاريهي و کبير انشي

INSCRIPTION No. V.

[illegible]

یف هشت هتیموند ریتی	18
.	19
.	20
.	25
.	27
.	29
و ارز دیسی گرکان یی	30
ول گیراکت کبیر کرتکان زی یزدان اندادی	31
شتری هتیمونت و زتی ا. تصشتری	32
کری برهت روبان و لهلان زی میریت	33
زف کبیر اتشان وی — و نی بین شتری	34
یکم وزرکان	35
اتری انشی	36
.	37
.	40
.	53
.	64

INSCRIPTION No. VI.

The celebrated bilingual Inscription of Sapor, in the Hájí-ábád cavern, seems to have been first made known to the modern world by Ker Porter, whose description of the position and surroundings of the fellow tablets is as follows:—

“The valley, or rather dell of Hájí-ábád, cannot be more than two miles in extent from end to end; the most western extremity being formed by the rocks of Nakshi-Rustam, which stretch three miles from the village of Hájí-ábád, in a direction north, 68° west. I was shewn a piece of antiquity in one of these caves, which I believe has not hitherto been noticed. It lies about a mile, nearly north, from the village. The entrance is exceedingly lofty; and within, the cavern is still more so. We see that nature originally formed it of an immense height and depth; but not satisfied with her amplitude, manual labour has added fifty yards of excavation in the vaulted roof. Along the right side, we found several square places hewn in the rock; two, nearest the entrance, at about six or seven feet from the floor of the cave, were filled with inscriptions, both were in the Pehlvi character, not much injured, but widely differing from each other; one consists of sixteen lines, the other of fourteen. I copied them with all the accuracy in my power, being much impeded by the height and darkness of their position. One portion of the three upper lines I could not make out in the least. Each inscription occupies a whole excavated tablet of about four feet in width.”

Sir Ephraim Stannus's direct plaster casts of these inscriptions, taken from the face of the living rock, were brought to Europe and published in the form of jumbled and imperfect engravings, among the Transactions of the Royal Society of Dublin in 1835. The former obviously authentic reproductions of the original very early attracted the attention of Mr. Norris, who promptly devoted himself to their decipherment, for which De Sacy's essays on kindred texts had already in a measure paved the way. The interpretation of these new

documents, however, proved a more serious task than had been anticipated, and Mr. Norris, in the self-denying hope¹ that some of the then more advanced Zend students might be in a condition to supply us with tentative translations, prepared with his own hand accurate pentagraph copies of the biliteral texts, which were eventually prefixed by Westergaard to his edition of the Bundeheesh,² but no analysis or preliminary commentary was attempted on this occasion; nor has that author, in his subsequent introduction to the Zend Avesta,³ made any seeming advance in satisfying himself of the meaning or contents of these writings, beyond the detection of the single word *بریتان*,⁴ which Anquetil had already determined from other sources. A similar reserve has been maintained by Dr. F. Spiegel, who has given us so excellent a work on the Pârsi language,⁵ as well as a series of Essays, of far higher pretensions, on the Huzváresch-Sprache.⁶ Dr. Martin Haug, indeed, was the only one of the prominent Zend scholars of that day who attempted to face the real difficulties of the interpretation, or who dared to venture beyond the safe limits, which the parallel Greek translations secured for the explanation of the opening passage, detailing the conventionally verbose titles and descent of the king.

Dr. Haug's first effort appeared in 1854.⁷ A more extended analysis is to be found in his work published in Bom-

¹ I myself had very much to thank Mr. Norris for in these early days of our joint interest in Pehlvi decipherment. See J.R.A.S. (1849), vol. xii. p. 263; Num. Chron. (1849), xii. p. 72.

I do not seek the slightest reserve in alluding to my own limited objects and contracted application of the documents in question in 1849. My studies, at the moment, merely extended to a definition of the normal forms of the lapidary letters with a view to aid the determination of the contrasted outlines of the cognate characters on the coins I happened to be engaged upon. See J.R.A.S. (1849), vol. xii. pp. 263-6-8, etc.; Num. Chron. (1849), p. 73, *et seq.*

² The Bundeheesh. N. L. Westergaard. Copenhagen, 1851. Professor Westergaard had previously directly copied the original inscriptions themselves during the course of a tour in Persia, and some of his foot notes and corrections are of considerable value.

³ Zend Avesta, "The Zend Texts." Vol. i. Copenhagen, 1852-54.

⁴ Pp. 18, 21.

⁵ Grammatik der Pârsisprache. Leipzig, 1851.

⁶ Grammatik der Huzváresch-Sprache. Vienna, 1856. Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen. Vienna, 1860.

⁷ Über die Pehlewi-Sprache und den Bundeheesh. Göttingen, 1854, p. 5.

bay in 1862,¹ and a far more imposing array of critical identifications is inserted in his introduction to Hoshengji-Jamaspi's *Farhang-i-oim-yak*, 1867.² In conclusion, the writer announces that he hopes soon to publish a full "translation and explanation of both texts" of the inscription.³ I must frankly admit that my system of reading and interpretation varies materially from that of Dr. Haug, so that I labour under the disadvantage, as an amateur learner, of differing at the outset from a practised professional teacher; but as there is no antagonism in the matter, but merely an independent search after knowledge in either case, I trust we shall speedily arrive at a translation that will satisfy ourselves and, I regret to say, the very limited circle of those who take an interest in these studies.

As regards the materials for the reconstruction of correct texts of the two inscriptions at present available, I may mention that Sir E. Stannus's casts of the Sassanian version stop short with the sixth out of the total of sixteen lines. The Chaldæo-Pehlvi text is complete in its full fourteen lines, but the plaster impressions have been taken in four separate squares, which have, as a rule, suffered greatly on the edges, and supply a very imperfectly connected line either at the horizontal or cross perpendicular points of junction (see the Photograph). The British Museum copies are in better condition than those of the Royal Asiatic Society, while we may reasonably infer that the Dublin impressions are the best of all. Ker Porter's artistic facsimiles are of great use occasionally, and M. Flandin's more labored reproductions, at times supply the correct forms of dubious letters. I have also at my disposal a worn and nearly obliterated pencil copy of the entire Sassanian text made by Sir H. Rawlinson, who, however, omitted to secure a new facsimile of the counterpart Chaldæan.

¹ *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees.* Bombay, 1862.

² *An old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, by Destur Hoshengji-Jamaspi, High Priest of the Parsis in Malwa, with notes and introduction by Dr. M. Haug. London, 1867.

Pp. xx, xxi.

HÁJÍÁBÁD INSCRIPTION, No. VI.

The opening word in either version of this inscription is defined in the plural form, in seemingly intentional contrast to the singular number, made use of on ordinary occasions, where the writing avowedly refers to an isolated individual in a given group of sculpture, or to a general composition, wherein the leading figure alone is indicated. In the present instance, the text must be supposed to advert to the general series of illustrations of Sapor's deeds delineated in the bas-reliefs in immediately proximate localities; or, probably, to some special mural representation of the mundane and higher powers more directly referred to in the text, which may have been either only preliminarily designed, partially executed, or afterwards intentionally destroyed.¹ The duplicate legends in parallel cases commence severally with פתכר and پتکري. In this epigraph פתכלן the Chaldæan plural is found in one version, and پنگلاهي in the other, which seemingly represents a vague definition of the corresponding modern Persian *neuter plural* ها, with the connecting *izáfat* attached. The specific term itself has, for long past, been identified with the modern پيکر, S. प्रतिकाार, Armenian and Aramæan, *Patkar*, "imago."

زني appears to connect itself with the Persian cuneiform *zana*,² the modern *Zan*, "a woman," but which in early times retained its leading signification as directly derived from a

¹ It is not easy to determine, with the limited information available, in what condition the three other tablets, ranging in line with these inscriptions within the cave, were found. There is nothing to show whether the rough surface was merely levelled and prepared, the tablets actually sculptured in relief or engraved in letters; or, on the other hand, whether the finished work was finally damaged or destroyed. M. Flandin's account of the walls of the interior is as follows:—"Ils se trouvent au Nord-ouest des monticules qui indiquent le périmètre de l'ancienne ville d'*Jstakhr* et près du village d'*Hadji-abad*. Dans une gorge de la montagne on aperçoit des cavernes naturelles. Dans l'une d'elles sont disposées, sur sa paroi même, cinq tablettes dont deux sont revêtues d'inscriptions pehlvis bien conservées."—Flandin, p. 155, folio, texte; octavo, texte, vol. ii., p. 138.

² Rawlinson, J. R. A. S. x. 320; xii. 432. Oppert, J. A. 1851, pp. 564, 572, *dahyundm paruzandnm*, "des pays tres peuplés." Anquetil, ii. 505, has *Zana* = تخم, "germe, semence, noyau." Cf. also जीव, ZĀO, *stvistam* زیستن, etc.

7 החאימות ו הדיא להדלהו שיתי לברא רמית ברא
7 هنتون این هتیا لهدرزك چیتان لبرا رمیتن برا

8 תמיי אנו הדיאן פללהו ינבאתר ילא יהות איכ
8 ولي وياکين هتیا رمیتن تمی وياک زک لارکون לאيهوت איכ

9 אך שיתי בנית התנדי כללכרא שדדרא אכסי יהות
9 یت چیتان چيتي هوې ادت بیروني پتياک يهوت

10 התנדי אכין לן אופדשת מנו שיתי פנייסתר
10 هوې اهرلني فرمات منو چيتاي اولندلي

11 בנית אום מנו ידא הרוב הינת נגלו פתן
11 چيتي منو يدي نب هوې زک لگلي پون

12 זניי וים היף החאימוד ו הדיא בלהו
12 زني دوني ايو هنتون و هتیا ولزک

13 שיתי היף שדי ו מנו הדיא בלהו שיתי
13 چيتاني ايو شدیتن اهر منو چتیا ولزک چیتان

14 יא מוזר להוף ידא רוב הדיין

14 رمیتن ولي لیدی نب

root in common with the Sanskrit *जन्* "to be born," *जन्* "man, individually or collectively, mankind," etc. In the present inscription it appears to carry the double sense of the *person* (of Sapor) in this place, and subsequently in *زني دوني*, for *people* of the world, in the same manner as *تن* in Persian is primarily the *body*, and secondarily, as in *تنی چند*, "some *people*."

The *𐭪*, *𐭬* in the position it here occupies or in its subsequently curtailed form can scarcely represent anything but the grammatical *𐭪*, the recognised Semitic sign of the dative, which was so often employed to mark the genitive case.

𐭪𐭭 *Baga* and *𐭪𐭭𐭩* *Bagi*, "divine," are manifest in their derivation and meaning, as is the Chaldaean *𐭪𐭭𐭩* = *𐭪𐭭𐭩*, "a son" (from *𐭪𐭭𐭩*, "to form, to create"), which coincides in both versions. The contrast between the *𐭪𐭭𐭩* *𐭪𐭭𐭩* [𐭪𐭭𐭩𐭪𐭭𐭩], "son's son," and the *𐭪𐭭𐭩* *Nepos* (𐭪𐭭𐭩), "a grandson," of the associate Sassanian text is curious, and a like discrimination is observed elsewhere in these inscriptions, while an earlier parallel of a similar term is to be found in the Cuneiform *Nayaka*, "grandfather" (J.R.A.S. xv. 160).

There is nothing that need detain us in the formal repetition of the ordinary series of titles till we come to the conjunction, in line five, which is represented in the fellow text by the word *𐭪𐭭* (the Hebrew and Chaldee *𐭪𐭭*, Syriac *𐭪𐭭*, Arabic *ف*, "also," "besides," etc.). The next words, *𐭪𐭭* and *𐭪𐭭*, clearly stand for the Arabic *امة*, "coetus, multitudo" (the obsolete Hebrew *𐭪𐭭*, "to collect," "to congregate"), which aptly falls in with the succeeding *زني*. The adventitious *𐭪𐭭* of the Western version is possibly the ordinary *𐭪𐭭* affected by Pehlvi leanings towards superfluous *núns*.¹

𐭪𐭭 and *𐭪𐭭* I have already suggested to have been

¹ For many years past I have been in the habit of representing these superfluous *𐭪𐭭*'s, or final Pehlvi *núns*, by the modern Arabic sign of *sukún* *ـْ*, "a pause," or an indication that no short vowel existed in the preceding consonant, under the impression that these mute finals in Pehlvi had something essentially in common with the characteristic home-speech of the Aryans, which originated the Cuneiform

earlier and continuously existent forms of the Pehlvi کدی, King, the خُدا of the later writings, which eventually reverted to its primary signification of the name of the Almighty among the Muhammadans, each and all of which terms seem to have a derivation in common with the Cuneiform Haldia (H'aldia).¹

But a more ample and extended identification of the divergent varieties of the same designation may be followed in Ἀλδος and Ζεὺς Ἀλδήμιος (בעל־חַלְמִי) on the one part,² and the 𐭠𐭣𐭠 unus, 𐭠𐭣𐭠, Ἀδάδ, Ἀράδ, Ἀδάρ, Χοδδάν, Χονδάν, on the other: in the latter case it is proved from independent sources that the original name of the Sun (God) descended to the King in an almost natural course as the highest of earthly authorities.³

𐭠 or "sign of disjunction" (J.R.A.S. x. 173), that so distinctly declared itself the Archemænian amalgamation of the literal signs and subsidiary adaptation of the clay-penmanship of Mesopotamia. Viewed under the former aspect the Pehlvi 𐭠 would seem to hold duties in common with the Sanskrit 𑀓 *virdma*, which indicated, in that grammatical system, a suppression of the short vowel *a* otherwise inherent in all ordinary consonants.

As far as I have been able to detect amid the mists of Pehlvi epigraphy there is no apparent grammatical purpose in the irregular addition of this concluding 𐭠 among the coin legends; its employment, indeed, seems to have been simply phonetic and curiously arbitrary in its application. It may, perchance, have had something to do with the ancient notion of emphasis, which the more definite isolation of a word would itself in a manner secure (see Oppert, J.A. (1857), pp. 143-4). At times these 𐭠's were clearly used for the simple purpose of barring a possible conjunction of letters that were not intended to be coupled or run into each other, as in 𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠. Abdulaziz-i-Abdula.—J.R.A.S. xii. 304.

𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 { محمد }
 𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 { ی ابدولا } Muhammad-i-Abdula.—J. R. A. S. xiii. 411.

¹ J. R. A. S. ix. 388, 405-6, 410, 413; Jour. Asiatique, 1836, p. 14; 1864, pp. 173, 174.

² Renan, Journal Asiatique, 1859. "Elle se retrouve peut-être dans les divinités arabes *Aud* et *Obod*, qu'on croit expliquer par عوض ou عود et ابو عوض *tempus, pater temporis*." p. 268.

³ Selden, De Diis Syris, 1682, p. 176; Renan, J.A. 1859, pp. 266, 267; Ἀλδωδὸς βασιλεὺς θεῶν, 268 and 273; Kitto's Cyclopædia of Bible Lit. and Smith's Dict. of the Bible, *sub voce*, *Hadad*; Josephus, vii. 2; viii. 6.

The king's worldly position and exalted pretensions towards a subdued God-

שְׁרִית and شديتن present no difficulties in the obvious root שָׁד and the numerous derivative associations of ancient speech to be found in נִשְׁנִי, "the Almighty," in the sense of "power," etc. In the same way ادينن, accepting the Sassanian as the leading version, falls in completely with אָדִי, from אָדָן, אָדָן, "Lord," אָדִי, "my lord," which we retain in our own conventional tongue in the derivative Ἀδωνας we learnt from the Greeks.¹ The Semitic חֲדַמְתִּי from חָדַם may, perhaps, be understood in the higher sense of the recipient of service,² rather than in the later acceptance of the word, as خدمت, "service." We may here pause for a moment to mark the contrasted dialects of the joint versions in the use of the Semitic genitive prefix ל in the one case and the employment of the Persian Izáfat in the other.

The series of words رميني line five, רמית = رميت line seven, and رميت in lines eight and fourteen, have clearly a common origin in the root רָם,³ "to be exalted." Abundant parallels of the same ruling idea are to be found in the Bible phraseology in עָלִין (from עָלָה, "to ascend"), נִשְׁמִים (from נָשָׂא, "to be high"). While the derivative examples are familiar to our ears in "Rimmon, Ramah, Ramoth-Gilead," etc.

The השתרדרין and شتردران in their absolute identity of

head had equally a fair analogy with and a simultaneous teaching in the conventional use of the mundane term for king, which was so often applied in its higher sense to the Divine power in the patriarchal ages. So that, in effect, the reigning king, the Ἀναξτελειῶν, without any conception of unduly approaching the true God, was, in effect, next to God upon earth; just as THE GOD of early thought was, under the worldly idea, only the self-created supreme king. The "My King and my God," of David's prayer (Ps. v. 2), finds numerous parallels throughout Scripture. "The Lord is king for ever and ever." "Save LORD: let the king hear us when we call" (Ps. x. 16; xx. 9). See also xlv. 4; xlvii. 2, 6, 7; xlviii. 2; Proverbs xxiv. 21; Isaiah viii. 21; xxxiii. 22. "I AM the LORD, your Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your King," xliii. 15; Zech. xiv. 9; Malachi i. 14.

¹ Renan, J.A, 1859, p. 263-4.

² "Veneratus est aliquem, quomodo dominum servus venerari debet."—Freytag.

³ Dr. Haug derives these words from רָמָה, "to throw;" but רָמָה from רָם, "a high place, especially consecrated to the worship of idols," seems to be a better identification.—Cf. Παμὰς ὁ ὑψιστος θεός. "Hadad-rimmon." Selden, ii. 10. Movers. Phœn. i. 196.

meaning, and but slightly varied transliteration and plural discriminations require but scant comment, and point with sufficient distinctness to the immemorial office of Satrap, which constituted so essential an element of Persian administration. The **بریتان** in like manner is as little open to contest either with regard to the reading or general import, and without needlessly seeking for ancient identifications we may confide in the meaning the *Parsis* but lately attributed to the word of "Salar en chef,"¹ or some modification of an equivalent dignity.

The word **ویرکان** is altogether indeterminate in the existing copies of the original, but its Chaldaean counterpart **רבאן** sufficiently attests its primary meaning, so that it is useless to speculate further upon the true form.

The closely concurring literal elements of the parallel **אנאתן** and **אנאתי** would at first sight appear to identify the joint terms with the designation of *Anáta*, the simple name of *Tanais* or *Anahit*, a divinity to whom the Achæmenians themselves confessed attachment in the days of their less severe adherence to the supremacy of Ormazd,² and whose worship was so far identified with degraded Zoroastranism as to secure for her an independent *Yasht* in the mixed invocations of the Zend Avesta.³ The succeeding epithet **شدیتن** might also be held to confirm the position it was proposed to assign to the goddess, while the attribution of the designation to a member of the ancient Chaldaic Pantheon might seem to be consecutively supported by the occurrence of the names of *Gula* (line 6), *Anu* (line 8), *Banit*, with its legitimate correspondent of *'Hpa*⁴ (in line 9), and the letters which constitute so near an approach to the designation of *Ishtar* (**יִשְׁתָּר**), in line 10). But it will

¹ Anquetil, ii. 486. The pronunciation of the Armenian *Sbarabied*, "connétable," does not differ greatly from the Pehlvi word. See St. Martin, *Mem. sur. l'Arménie*, i. 298.

² J.R.A.S. xv. p. 159. Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, p. 162. See also p. 264.

³ Haug, "Language," etc. *Aban Yasht*, p. 178. *Arđvi Sura Andhita*, "high, excellent, pure."

⁴ **هوې** may be read as **هري**, the 2 will answer for either letter.

be seen, as the analysis of the bilingual document proceeds, that its text has nothing in common with idolatry, and that the various appellations as they occur in this inscription had, in the natural course of vernacular speech, already reverted to their primary significations, from which, in so many instances, the specific titles of the early divinities had been originally derived. Beyond this, there are otherwise grave difficulties in the way of reconciling the run of the passage with the preceding sentence, if Anahit or other local Deities are to conclude the list of the mundane officials subject to the reigning King, which sense I conceive the leading **هتيا** must, of necessity, carry in this place. Though it is no easy matter to decide positively where the change from the enumeration of the titles of the Monarch to the invocation of the Divinity is effected, especially as the term **هتيا** is applied in common to both; but it would seem that concurrence of the parallel *waus* (و and ا) at this point marks the want of continuity, which the **ابن** of the Sassanian is possibly designed to indicate in other parts of the inscription,¹ and under such a view of the tenor of the epigraph, we might be justified in accepting **אנאתן** as an imperfect reproduction of the Chaldean **אנתן** (Syriac **ܐܢܬܢ**) "Ye," in which case a translation might be suggested of "Ye Powerful" (Thou, O Lord), the plural form of the pronoun being designedly employed, as in **يزدان**, and in the conventional *pluralis excellentiae* of the Hebrew and other Oriental tongues.

Next in order follow the words :

ו נגלי פתן זניי וים החאימות
 ابن لگلي پون زني دوني هنتون

which, taking the Sassanian as the clearest text, may be rendered "also of joy among the people of the world promoting" ("and on earth peace, good will towards men," Luke ii. 14 : Isaiah lvii. 19).

¹ The particle **وَ** is irrespective of order : **ف** on the contrary distinguishes it.

The *גלי* may be taken to correspond with *גילה*, "rejoicing, gladness" (from *גיל* or *גול*, "to move in a circle").¹

The *לגלי* of the Sassanian is replaced by *נגלי* (or, as some copies make it, *נגלין*) in the other version, but as the reading of *גל* is pretty well assured, we may disregard the defect of the initial *ל* in the second text, as that letter so frequently interchanged with *נ*. The *בון* and *פתן*, "in, among," are both clear enough, and the various responsibilities of *زني* I have already attempted to explain (pp. 313-316 *ante*).

دوني, which is erroneously copied as *دوكي* in most of the modern facsimiles, is consistently supported by the corresponding *וים*, and may fairly be associated with the *דון*, "low;" *دنيا*, "the world" (*أَرْضَ*, "low;" *أَرْضَ*, "the earth"), while the *וים* resolves itself into the Biblical *עם*, "a people," in its wider sense for "all mankind."

The word *החאיות* seems to be derived from *קום* "to rise up" (*הקום*, "to raise up"), the Arabic *قَامَ*, "stetit" (*قَامَ*, "subsistens, sempiternus," hence *القيوم*, "Deus"). The parallel term in the Sassanian Pehlvi is *ههنتون*, which I suppose to be the participle present of the obscure verb *اناتونت*, the modern *نهادن*, "to place," and under such a continuative action of "placing, or who places," the meaning would be clear, as well as in the causal verb of the counter-part writing.

The joint texts proceed :

ו הדיא להדלהו שיתי לברא רמית ברא תמי
این هتیا لجدرزک چیتان لبرا رمیتن برا ولی

Also of the God of Might, the Lord² of the creator, the heavenly creator, the beloved.

The Chaldæo-Pehlvi version varies in the substitution of

¹ *גיל ביהוה*, "to rejoice in Jehovah." Isaiah xxix. 19.—"Joyful even unto rejoicing." Job iii. 22.

² "The Lord said unto my Lord."—Ps. cx. 1.

לְהַדְלִיחַ in place of لَہدرزک. The לְהַדְלִיחַ may either be a very imperfect transcript of the چدر (قَدْر) Providentia Dei, from قَدْر potuit), or it may be an independent quotation of the عدل, justice, another of the attributes of God, with the final Arabic دُو corresponding with the Pehlvi زک.

One of the nearly parallel terms in these conjoint inscriptions, the root of which it is more particularly desirable to determine, is שית = چیتان lines 7, 9, شیتی line 11, شیت = چیتانی and شیت = چیتان in line 13, and جتیا = چتیا in line 13. The last of which derivatives in its textual correspondence with שית sufficiently indicates the sense of the entire series of doubtful words, and justifies what might otherwise be considered to be an improper manipulation of the materials of the original, with a view to suit preconceived ideas of its possible interpretation; and, indeed, but few commentators would care to hazard an approximate meaning to words so similar in form but belonging to such opposite systems of speech as شدیت and شیت, when occurring in one and the same inscription; but those who would encounter mixed Aryan and Semitic records must hold themselves prepared for similar responsibilities at every turn.

Our latest authorities have already associated شید with the Zend *Khshaeta* बि (बयति-ते) "to rule," hence "splendens, dominus, rex."¹ The initial श as represented by the associate Aryan چ is quite in accord with the then existing practice, as may be seen in the concurrent מנזשיהר = منوچتری, and in the name of Zoroaster, زورادچت, in the fifteenth tablet of the Paï Kúli Inscription. The short i is also in favour of the identification proposed, and the occurrence of ت in preference to the modern د is alike typical of the earlier notions of orthography.

The Chaldaeo-Pehlvi accords identically with the Sassanian

¹ Vullers, *sub voce*, شید. The word is common enough in the sense of "shining," if not something of larger import, in خورشید, جمشید, شیدہ, etc. Anquetil (ii. 449) has Zend Schâthrâo = Pehlvi Farmân dâdâr; and (at p. 508), Pehlvi Scharitah = Padeschah.

in the *برأ رمیتن برا* but changes the concluding *ولی* into *𐭠𐭣𐭥*. The former word is optionally rendered as *Dominus* on ordinary occasions, but the associate *𐭠𐭣𐭥* in this place and the recurrence of the same word *تمی* in the next sentence in the Sassanian version seems to point to origin rather than to rank. Under such an interpretation of the passage *ولی* would revert to its leading meaning of “*Valde Propinquus fuit alicui.*”¹

The associate *𐭠𐭣𐭥=تمی* has already been noticed (p. 280), and attributed to a source in common with the Aryan *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀*, the Zend *taokhma*, Sanskrit *तौक्ष्म*, and Cuneiform *Tumá*, “granum, semen, radix.”

The Creator of heaven and earth² is described by *برأ رمیتن برا*, about the meaning or derivation of which terms there can be little question.³

The next sentence contains the words

𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥
و یاگاین هتیا رمیتن تمی

The *ANU Haddiān* I propose to connect with the *𐭠𐭣𐭥* (a confessedly irregular form of the nominative of the pronoun *𐭠𐭣𐭥*), “I;” in the exalted sense of *ego*, as denoting the First Cause, which is symbolized in the Scriptures as “I AM THAT I AM.” “I AM hath sent you.” (Exod. iii. 14).⁴ In the present combination the words would read, “God of other Gods.” The *𐭠𐭣𐭥*, of course, conveys some nearly identical meaning, and it becomes necessary to define, as far as may be, the force and origin of the frequently-recurring *𐭠𐭣𐭥*. With our present

¹ The word is used in a variety of senses, such as *علي ولي الله*, *علي ولي عهد*.
𐭠𐭣𐭥 “Amicus, Dominus.” *𐭠𐭣𐭥* “Dominus, herus, item filius.”

² Isaiah xlii. 5, xlii. 24; Jeremiah x. 12; St. Matthew xi. 25.

³ *𐭠𐭣𐭥* Creavit, *𐭠𐭣𐭥*, “to form, to create, to produce.”

⁴ Exod. vi. 2, 3, 8, 29. “For I am the LORD, I change not.” Malachi iii. 6.

limited knowledge of the derivation of the specific term, I am inclined to reduce it to the simple element of the Persian يَكْت "one,"¹ and to suppose that it referred in its early use to the ONE Divine power, but, in progress of time, came to be conventionally accepted as a term for other gods; under these conditions the ياكين may be taken to be an exceptional Semitic plural, and to read in sequence, "the seed of the high God of Gods."² The continuation of the sentence in the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi, though differing in its phraseology, confirms, if it does not extend, the signification of the fellow Sassanian text. The word 𐭥𐭥𐭥 has been associated by some of our late Cuneiform Expositors with the meaning of "race, family," etc., but without insisting upon an identification which would so singularly accord with the parallel version in this case, it may fairly be quoted as one of the possible divarications from the severe import of the original root, which is only doubtfully determined by our Lexicographers as 𐭥𐭥𐭥, "to be smooth,"³ "to escape," hence "to survive," and "to live;" also "to let escape, to deliver," and inferentially, "to bring forth." In another sense the derivatives carry the idea of "life," while the word 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 signifies "whom Jehovah makes distinguished." The concluding 𐭥𐭥, "of him," sufficiently declares itself.

¹ Compare Sanskrit एक "one," एकता "unity" (oneness in theology).

Persian يَكْت "unus," يَكْت "unus, unicus," يَكْت "unitas," يَكْتا "unitas Dei," يَكْتا "God," etc. A curious example of the definition of the first cause or supreme universal spirit, occurs on a coin of Mahmūd of Ghazni, struck at Mahmūdpur — in the Sanskrit translation and reproduction of the Muslim وحده الله لا اله الا الله by the word अव्यक्तमेक, "the invisible one." The provincial version of अव्यक्तमेक, "the indiscrete, the invisible one." J. R. A. S., xvii. 157.

² واحداً الاحدين, "unus unorum," etc.

³ Arabic فَلَصَ فَلَطَ (خلص), etc.

The next passage continues :

נבא־תֶּר יִלֵּא יְהוֹת אִיכְאֶךְ שִׁתִּי בְּנִית הַתְּנָדִי
 ویاکتزک لارگون لایهوت ایکهت جیتان جیتی هوئی

In the Sassanian—and ONE that, of the Archon of the Jews, sole Lord of Lords he (is).
In the C. P. version— over the Jews sole ruler, Lord created, ye (are).

Having proclaimed the divine origin of our Lord, the text next proceeds to indicate his mission upon earth. The first word in the Sassanian counterpart of this passage that requires comment is the *ارگون*, which can scarcely be referred to any other association than that of the Greek *ἄρχων*,¹ a word which entered so largely into the gradational definitions of the later Hebrew Hierarchy.

In like manner I can hardly be mistaken in accepting the *ایهوت* and *یهوت* (in line 9) as the common designation of the Jewish nation at large; notwithstanding the prosthetic initial *י* in the one case, or the use of the final *ת* in the place of the more appropriate *ד* in both instances, a substitution which is essentially characteristic of the indifference to the proper discrimination of the two sounds inherent in ordinary Pehlvi writings.

The *ایکهت*, the first syllable of which is obviously the *یکت*, so often repeated in the general context, I have suggestively rendered in the adjective or adverbial form. *جیتان* *جیتی* is sufficiently assured and the *هوئی* "he" has already been the subject of comment (p. 48).

The Chaldaeo-Pehlvi version, as usual, is less clear than the Sassanian, the *נבא־תֶּר* I have not yet succeeded in identifying; but the *יִלֵּא יְהוֹת* (*علي يهوت*) "over the Jews," accords sufficiently with the fellow text. The *אִיכְאֶךְ* may perchance be a simple Pehlvi plural of *איך*, with the authorized *κ* final in the place of the *ν*. Though the Sanskrit *एवावा*

¹ "Χριστὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν." Hebrews ix. 11. A considerable portion, indeed, of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews is devoted to the affirmation of this title of High Priest, and to the explanation of its import and bearing upon the old Law. See ii. 17; iii. 1, 2, 6; iv. 14, 15; v. 5, 6, 10; vi. 20; vii. 1, 2, 3, 15, 16, 24, 26, 27, 28; viii. 1, 2, 3, 6; x. 21; xiii. 11, 12.

ekakti, "alone," manifestly affords a preferable parallel to the associate passage in the Sassanian.

My greatest difficulty in this sentence, I am free to confess, consists in the word בְּנִית; any severe reduction of the term to the rules of Hebrew grammar would manifestly be out of place in the present agglomeration of many tongues, so that probably the best solution that can at present be offered is to understand the derivative in the proper and widely diffused sense of the original root בָּנָה, "struxit, ædificavit, condidit;" and to look upon the בְּנִית in this sentence as bearing the sense of "created," (Arabic, بُنِيَ, "a thing constructed, a building," etc.);¹ but I feel that I am treading upon delicate ground, though, under any circumstances, the contrast between "The BUILDER" (or Creator) and the final *Edifice*, whether the latter be symbolized under the terms, Son, Son of Man, *Branch*,² house, foundation,³ or the typical *buildings* of the later writings,⁴ all in their degree fall under the self-same original metaphor, and all revert in their subordinate leading details either directly or indirectly to the *MAKER* and *the thing made*; so that in the present instance the less any particular definition is forced amid so obvious a succession of simple meanings, the more safely we may proceed to test what remains of the larger problem yet to be established. But on looking more closely into the general question, it will be seen that there are traces of a direct motive and intention

¹ A similar course of development occurs in the parallel cases of خَلَقَ "procreavit," خَالَقٌ, "Creator," خَلِيقَةٌ, "creata res" (Homines), بَرَأَ, "creavit," بَرِيَّةٌ, "creatura."

² Isaiah xi. 1; Jeremiah xxiii. 5, 6. "For, behold, I will bring forth my servant the BRANCH." Zechariah iii. 8, 9. "Behold the man whose name is The BRANCH." vi. 12.—Poetically, branch is son of a tree.

³ "Foundation"—Θεμέλιος—which is Jesus Christ." 1 Corinthians iii. 11.—"We have a building of God, an house not made with hands" (οικοδομήν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἔχουσαν, οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον). 2 Cor. v. 1.—"But he that built all things is God." Hebrews iii. 4, 6; ix. 11; xi. 10.—"In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord." Ephes. ii. 19, 20, 21.

⁴ Genesis i. 27; Isaiah xliii. 1, 7, 11; xlv. 12, 13, 15; St. John iii. 16, 18; v. 18; 1 Corinthians iii. 10, 11; Colloss. iii. 4, 10, 11; Hebrews ix. 11; xi. 17, 18.

in the reserve maintained under the avowedly open term "created," inasmuch as with Oriental feelings on the subject of women, and the degraded position assigned to them as household goods, a difficulty would at any time present itself with regard to their part in so divinely inspired an event; indeed, the birth of Our Saviour was one of the special points upon which the Eastern mind was altogether abroad and incompetent to understand, hence the earliest discussions on the subject at once introduced discord into their section of the church.¹ It will have been noticed that the parallel texts of the Inscription are careful to avoid the use of the term "Son" in reference to Our Lord, though Sapor is freely defined as "Son," and "Son's Son;" but the *ولمي*, *ولمي*, and *פלת*, which appeared, at first sight, to be undue shortcomings, seem to have been, in reality, guarded and designed limitations, which consistently coincide with the idea of direct and special "creation by the Almighty," without entering too definitely into the mode or method, which would be incomprehensible to and far beyond the range of average local thought.

There are serious obstacles in the way of any conclusive determination of the value of the word *רִיבְנִי*, which it will

¹ Here is a statement of the case as given by Tabari: "Quand la religion de Jésus fut très-repandue, Eblis fit son apparition, et un jour de fête, lorsqu'un grand nombre d'hommes, sectateurs de Jésus, était réuni dans le temple de Jérusalem, il s'y présenta accompagné de deux Divs" (saying) "nous avons voulu entendre ce que vous dites concernant Jésus. Les hommes répondirent: Jésus est le prophète, l'esprit de Dieu et le fils de Marie; il n'a pas été engendré par père. Je pense que Dieu est le père de Jésus. L'un des Divs dit: Cette parole est un non-sens, car Dieu n'a pas d'enfants et n'a pas commerce avec une femme; mais Jésus c'est Dieu même, qui est descendu du ciel et est entré dans le sein de Marie; il en est sorti pour se montrer aux hommes, sous la forme d'un homme, puis il est retourné au ciel, car Dieu a le pouvoir d'être où il veut et de montrer aux hommes ce qu'il veut. L'autre Div dit . . . et il l'a établi au milieu des hommes comme un signe (de sa toute puissance); puis il s'est associé Jésus et Marie, afin qu'ils fussent honorés à l'égal de Dieu. . . . Alors les Chrétiens se divisèrent en trois sectes, dont chacune accepta l'une de ces trois doctrines."—Tabari, *M. Zotenberg*, i. p. 566. So also Abgar, in his letter to Our Saviour, evidently leant to the first conception, "either that thou art God, and having descended from heaven," in preference to the alternative, "or else doing them, thou art the Son of God." Eusebius, *Ecol. Hist.* i. 13; Moses of Khorene (*French edit.*) cap. xxxi.; Bayer, *Hist. Osrhoena*, p. 105; *Ancient Syriac Documents*, W. Cureton, London, 1864, p. 2.

be seen runs parallel to the Sassanian *هوي*. In the first place it is not by any means beyond possibility that they may both be verbs, the one from the Chaldaean *הוה* and *הינא* "to be," the other from the Persian *هستن* "to be." (*هستند*) An objection likewise exists to a too ready acceptance of the *הות* in the sense of "ye," as it would appear that another form of the second person plural of the pronoun had already been used in an earlier portion of this inscription (*אנאתן* line 6); however this argument need not unconditionally condemn the identification, as either one form or the other is sufficiently irregular, as is the nominative *אנא* itself, and the inscription in its several parts varies considerably in its current provincialisms.¹ But singular to say, the evidence to sustain the proposed interpretation is contributed by a second inconsistency in the very body of the text, where (in line 11) we find the word *הינת*, associated with the same *هوي*—the former of which obviously suggests the Arabic *أنت* "thou" as the *הות* seems to fall into some vernacular adaptation of the Arabic (feminine) plural *أنتن* "you" (*אתנת* "you").

כלכרא שדררא אנסי יהות התנרי

ادت بيروني پتيك ييوت هوي

C. Pehlvi.—The powerful . . . of the chosen Jews ye (are).

Sassanian.—The Supreme Lord of the Jews outside the (ancient) rites, he (is).

The opening word in this sentence requires both comment and justification, the crude *ادت* of the text I suppose to represent the now conventional *عادة*, "custom, usage, rite," etc. In most of the modern facsimiles the final *ت* has been resolved into two independent letters (*ين*), which would convert the original into the word *ادين*; but this severance of the component elements of a single letter is an error of frequent and almost natural recurrence among those who were either ignorant of the true forms of the character, or set themselves to trace

¹ *E.g.* especially in the conjunctions *واين*, *اهر*, *اين*. There are other indications, likewise, of an interval having occurred between the endorsement or preparation of the introductory portions and the conclusions of these proclamations.

words to which they could not assign a meaning. The present rectification is, however, sufficiently supported by Flandin's design.

It is scarcely possible to be mistaken in the Persian individuality of the word بیرون, "outside, exterior," which in its multifarious combinations enters so largely into the home-speech of the land of which Persepolis was once the metropolis; and within whose local circuit, in secluded crypts and caverns, the present epigraphs have been so strangely preserved.

The پت یاک is a title of more doubtful allegiance; its value, in connexion with the frequent reiteration of one of its compound terms, within the limits of this brief record, should fully suffice to determine its second element, while the ever present پت of the contemporary Inscriptions in less adulterated Pehlvi, establishes *a priori*, a definite suggestion and understanding of the Eastern *Pati* (पति:). A somewhat similar compound under our Western adaptation is well-known and uniformly identified with the Patriarchs of the Christian Church. I do not seek to decide upon either one or the other derivation. I have only to reconcile in this place the possible want of discrimination by either party of the *true* origin of such closely approximating sounds; but it is singular that Masaudi should have affirmed that the Christians derived all their clerical titles and designations from the Sabæans of Harran (الصابیة من الحمرانیين),¹ though he honestly retains the dubious *r* in البطرک, which alone creates any difficulty in the present

¹ French edition, vol. i., p. 198. "Les Sabéens de Harran, qui ne sont que les disciples grossiers des Grecs, et la lie des philosophes anciens, ont établi dans leur temples une hiérarchie de prêtres qui correspond aux neuf sphères; le plus élevé porte le nom de *Ras Koumra* (chef des prêtres, ריש כומרא). Les chrétiens, qui leur ont succédé, ont conservé dans la hiérarchie ecclésiastique l'ordre institué par la secte sabéenne. . . la neuvième celle de *mitran* (مطران), ce qui veut dire chef de la ville (métropolitain). Enfin au-dessus de tous ces grades est celui de *batrik* (بطرک), c'est-à-dire le père des pères (patriarche). . . Telle est l'opinion des chrétiens instruits relativement à cette hiérarchie. . . Il est hors de doute que les chrétiens ont emprunté l'idée première de cette hiérarchie aux Sabéens et que le *kasis* (القسيس), le *chomas* (الشماس) etc. sont dus à l'influence des Manichéens.—Masaudi, cap. viii.

identification; while, on the other hand, *Moses of Khorene* specifically reproduces the *Ptiachkh* as simply "Prince" (i. 159).¹

The opening terms of the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi counterpart of this passage are obscure, the leading word inconveniently occurs at the cross junction of our plaster casts, and the British mason has studiously adjusted the edges for the sake of the frontage, but to the clear detriment of the impressed letters. Westergaard himself seems to have had some doubt about the state of the characters as they now stand on the surface of the rock, and is, moreover, rather vague in his attempted rectification of Mr. Norris's pentagraph. The succeeding 𐭠𐭲𐭱𐭲,² with so many analogies around it, would present no difficulties with an ascertained leader, whether substantive or adjective; but about the following 𐭠𐭲𐭱𐭲 there can be small matter of contest, as the separated sect declares itself outside, or as having abandoned the ancient rites; that is, as being "without the law," in the one case³—here it is more specific in claiming a special pre-eminence as "chosen," (خَصَّ، خَاصَّ) *special, select, most peculiar*,⁴ a selection

¹ "Vagharchag institue, pour gouverner de la partie nord, cette grande et puissante race: le titre de la principauté est *Ptiachkh* (prince) des Coucaratri."—*Mos. Khor.* vol. i. p. 159; ii. 13, 169.

Visconti, *Iconographie Greque* ii. 363. *Onyx* Gem in the Imp. Cabinet:

ΟΥΣΑΣ ΠΙΤΙΑΕΗΣ ΙΒΗΡΩΝ ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ.

Ousas, Prince d'Ibérie (des Iberes Carchédiens).

"Le prince a des boucles d'oreilles à la manière orientale, une longue chevelure artistement arrangé en nattes suivant l'usage des rois perses de la dynastie des Sassanides," etc.

² This is possibly the Hebrew 𐤒𐤒, Chaldee 𐬒𐬒, "to set in a row, order," and Syriac ܕܝܢܐ, "ordo, series," "schola, liber," etc.

³ 1 Corinthians ix. 20: "And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; 21. To them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ), that I might gain them that are without law." (*Tois ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὄν ἄνομος Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστῷ, ἵνα κερδήσω ἀνόμους*). See also Romans ii. 14, 17; vi. 14; vii. 4, 6; x. 4; Galatians ii. 16, 19; iii. 10, 11, 12, 13, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law," 19, 23, 24; iv. 5; v. 18, etc.

⁴ ἡμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν κ.τ.λ. . . . 9 "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people . . . 10 which in time past

the succeeding word indicates to have been directly from among the ranks of God's ancient people.

אֲכִין לָן אֹפְרָשֶׁת מִנּוּ שִׁיתִי פִנִּי סִתֵּר
 اهر لني فرمات منوجيتاي اولندلي

G. Pehlvi.—Of a certainty, the Master, the divine Lord, etc., etc.

Sassanian.—And, of a certainty, the Master, the divine Lord.

One of the most curious instances of the mixture of tongues in the whole of the parallel inscriptions is contributed by the word اهر, which is incontestably proved by its association with و, in line 13, to stand for nothing but the conjunction "and"; while its derivation is declared in the Sanskrit एव, *eva*; the Hindustāni اور, Bengālī আদ, etc.

אֲכִין is shown by its counterpart אֲכִין¹ (يَقِينٌ, *certa cognitio*), to be the Arabic اِنَّ *inna*, "certainly," with the prefixed ل. The فرمات *Firmāta*, has already been met with repeatedly (p. 38, etc.), and its correspondent אֹפְרָשֶׁת, though looking so strange in its Semitic clothing, is equally attributable to Aryan ethnography, and accords with the Sanskrit उपदेष्टु *Upadeshtṛi*, "one who points out, who orders, or advises."² The מִנּוּ, "Divine" in מִנוֹגִיתַי is of constant occurrence in these Sassanian epigraphs, and needs no new elucidation. The اولندלי I have, of necessity, a difficulty about, more especially as the synonym in the other text is even less positive. It might be suggested, with considerable reserve, that the former may possibly have been a compound of the Arabic اَوَّلٌ, "*primum*," with the Persian دلي *dali*, "the heart," as in the modern term رحمدل *rahmadal*, "merciful," etc., but such an explanation is scarcely satisfactory; and a

were not a people, but are now the people of God; which had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy." Epistle of Peter, ii. 9, 10.

¹ I myself at first read this word as *Adin*, but the foot-curve in the plaster-casts is indeterminate, and I observe that both Norris and Westergaard reject the sign of the *d* altogether.

² उपदेष्टा *Upadeshtā*, "*A Guru*," "a spiritual guide," from उप + दिश्, "to shew," with affix तुच्. A nearly similar sound is found in उपद्रष्टु, "a superior," from दृश्, "to see."

combination that should include the reduction of اولندلي into اولندري, "as first in rank,"¹ in parallelism with the conversion of פניסתר into the Sanskrit परमेष्ठ, "supreme,"² however removed from the ordinary laws of interpretation, would, perhaps, better satisfy the requirements of the general context.

בִּינַת אֹם מִן יֵרָא חֲרוֹב הִינָה
چیتي . . . منو یدی نب هو ی زک

C. Pehlvi.—Created Jesus of divine aid, THE Lord, thou
Sassanian.—Lord (Jesus) of divine aid, (the) Lord, he

The eleventh line of the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi legend commences with the repetition of the word בִּינַת already adverted to. In this instance the designation responds, in the order of sequence, to the چیتي of the conjoint Sassanian version. Immediately following the former of these words, in its own lapidary context, we find in clear and definitely-formed letters, and in full integrity and isolation, on the surface of the recent plaster casts of the still extant original, the *three* letters constituting the name of OUR SAVIOUR.

Of these three literal signs, the two *quasi* vowels, or, properly, mere *carrying* consonants of the Semitic system, are entirely dependent upon the true vowel sounds appropriate to the written word; but in these periods of undeveloped grammar such subdued but highly important elements of speech were altogether unprovided with definite graphic exponents.

Under such reservation as regards later and more elaborated schemes of orthography, many versions of the test letters אֹם might be suggested, but the most simple and obvious of them would still revert to a very exact counterpart of the name of Jesus, whether out of its many declared varieties we select the Hebrew or the Greek series of definitions. Amid all the various adaptations of the old יְהוֹשֻׁעַ whether JOSHUA, JESHUA, JOSUE, JESU, عیسی or Ἰησοῦς, there is still the same basis in

¹ The Armenian *der*, "Mouratzan-der" Seigneur des Mèdes.—Mos. Khor. i. 157.

² From परम + स्थ, "who stays" (a title applied, in the Sanskrit system, to Brahma). Cf. προστάνης (ποστήναι).

these Persepolitan forms of the early Phœnician for the reconstruction of the *Ieusa*, or some such close similitude to the real name, that should set at rest all question upon the mere orthographical issue.¹

It will be seen that the name is altogether wanting in the Sassanian version, and it has even been the custom of ordinary copyists to close up the words منريدي and چيتي as if no letters had ever intervened between them. But Flandin's facsimile, which has evidently been traced with a scrupulous desire for accuracy, indicates the existence of a fissure or disintegration of the surface of the rock, just at this very point, and extending downwards through the succeeding lines, while the tracing equally indicates by the distance between the two words as nearly as possible the space required for the three missing letters.

The منريدي of, so to say, both epigraphs, seems clear enough, though it may be needful to explain the preference here assigned to the translation of "*aid*" over the more common rendering of "*hand*." Persian Dictionaries draw a very nice, but seemingly just discrimination, being the singular and plural forms of one and the same word: يد is essentially "a hand," but in the sequent *rationale* of "power," the subordinate combinations extended over a very enlarged range of significations: in the Hebrew the derivatives were comparatively restricted, but in the Arabic these divarications concentrated sooner or later, in the Persian vocabularies, into the plural يدي in the leading sense of "aid, assistance, succour," and in

¹ In the adapted alphabet of the Persian Jews, made use of in the Bible Society's New Testament, the name is written יֵשׁוּעַ. It is as well that all objections to the apparent absence of an *initial* ¹ or *Yod* in this unquestionably important name in the present text, should be answered in anticipation by a citation of the יֵשׁוּעַ of line ten, where the expressed *atif* initial clearly defines a simple י or a *Jod* of Hebrew Grammar. See also the prosthetic י in יהוה and in יֵשׁוּעַ. On the other hand, there need be no reserve in admitting that, under the licence claimed above, the name may be converted into many other modified forms, but notably into עֵשׂוּעַ, "a sign," (or possibly עֵשׂוּעַ, or even עֵשׂוּעַ, "refuge"). However, it is the essentially Christian characteristics and general tenor of the document that chiefly recommends the reading advocated in the text.

some cases even to the signification of "repentance" ("Pœnitentia" Freytag). The נד of the parallel version might be quoted in support of the duplication of the final in ידי only that this would not be altogether a safe argument in the presence of the exceptional (emphatic) נד of the Chaldean vernacular in Daniel v. 5, 24, though probably any such heritage had been subdued by contact with the mixed dialects of more Southern latitudes.

The word نب *Naba* would at first sight naturally suggest the obvious interpretation of "Prophet," but taken in connexion with the רב of the counterpart transcript it will be necessary to elevate its meaning into "Lord," or a later adaptation of the ancient "Nebo," as derived from the root נבא, "Editus, elatus fuit,"¹ נבה, "to be prominent," and not as having any direct connexion with נבא, "to pour forth."

The article ה the prefixed to the רב, which gives force to the parallel term, would altogether remove the joint titles far above the grade of a mere *vâtes* or "prophesier." The effect of the double letters of the current speech رَبَّ and رَبِّ seems to have been sought in graphic expression by the lengthening the vowel sound of ־ into ֿ, as in the analogous case of يائֿ, which was the substitute for the dominant Arabic يَكُ (the modern Persian يَكُ).

The texts next reiterate the passages from lines 6, 7.

נגליי פתן זניי ויס הילך החאיות
לגליי פון זניי דוניי איר הנהותן

C. Pehlvi.— . . well sustaining joy among the people of this world.

Sassanian.— . . well upholds joy among the people of the earth.

It will be noticed that there is an addition in this line to the previous formula, in the introduction of two new words, which are expressed in mere letters as הילך and איר respectively, to which I myself have but cautiously, and, at last, of very necessity, admitted a perhaps over simple meaning.

¹ Arabic lexicographers bring the whole series of parallel terms for Prophet under the common root نَبَأَ.

But having reached thus much of the conventionality of the then local speech, so marked *in situ*, and so singularly preserved in the dependent ramifications of the more advanced vernacular in its ultimate spread, I feel that but few will be found to contest the data the rock records of the middle of the third century A.D. so strangely reproduce as specimens of the crude prayers and invocations of a new faith, neither the matter nor manner of which was fully understood by the compiler of the inscription.

But of all the quaint problems that have presented themselves during the course of this rather tedious development of a complicated and obscure bilingual manifesto, no single item has afforded so much of a surprise as this *Hip* of the Chaldaean texts, which even the most daring ingenuity would scarcely have ventured to coerce into the modern Persian conversational and sonorously aspirated خوب *Khub*,¹ unless the fellow version had contributed both the first hint and the simultaneous proof of the correctness of the assignment; even now, many critics may refuse to see the Greek *eu* in the *ایو* of the Sassanian writing, especially as the meaning, in either case, so oddly accords with the general tendency of the translation which I may be supposed to be too hastily advocating.

ו הדיא כלחו נשיתי הין נשרי
و هتيا ولزك چيتاني ايو شديتن

C. Pehlvi.—And THE God he (is), Lord, great in goodness.

Sassanian.—And THE God that (is), Godlike, abounding in goodness.

ו מנו הדיא כלחו נשיתי יאמוז להוף ידא רוב ודדין
اھرمنو چتيا ولزك چيتان رميتن ولي ليدي نب

C. Pehlvi.—And THE heavenly Lord he (is) Lord; Oh increase of good aid, Lord of Lords.

Sassanian.—And THE heavenly Lord, that (is) Lord on high, Master (giver) of aid, Lord!

¹ The orthography, in this instance, may have been affected by the Arabic هوب *ḥūb*, "Formidabilis, *est* verendus, reverendus, fuit." The Persian word is more correctly defined in line fourteen of the original inscription as *هون* = هوب.

But little remains to be said in the way of strictly philological commentary upon the concluding passages of the parallel inscriptions, though their curt and imperfectly connected sentences necessarily admit of many and obvious gradational renderings. However, as any possible divarication from the leading intention of these epigraphs must, after all, revert to the general tenets of the Christian faith, we have only to accept this singular Eastern paraphrase of portions of our own authorised version, and, under such a concession, frankly to test and compare its very limited departure either in words or ideas from the Greek of the New Testament, on which we base our own interpretation.

The first of the remaining difficulties consists of a question of grammar, which was at this time, necessarily, but little subject to fixed laws; and even had the parts of speech been in any way reduced to a recognised and defined system, the eccentric intermixture of words, phrases, and constructive identities of this Camp language,¹ would release a modern interpreter from any reserve in dealing with doubtful or exceptional terms of minor significance.

¹ The direct effect of Sapor's campaigns to the westward upon the Court language of Persia has been for long past fully recognised and understood (Mohl, Preface to *Sháh Námah*), but we could scarcely have anticipated its resulting in so incoherent a polyglot as these Bilingual texts present us with. It is true that Persepolis was peculiarly situated in regard to conterminous languages, both old and new, and Sapor's freshly imported Aramæisms may have added to the normal difficulties; but much of the imperfection of these writings is undoubtedly due to the novelty of the subject, and to the impossibility of rendering whatever may have been the peculiar form of the recognised sacred text, into degraded Persian *vernaculars*, with even a remote chance of its essential meaning ultimately reaching the understanding of the less educated masses. And this, indeed, is the fatal obstacle to all Christian teaching in India at the present day,—not that we English are unfaithful, or unwilling, but that Eastern and Western thoughts and deductions start from different bases of symbolical ideals. Though the whole question only amounts to this, after all, that our Western instruction in Christianity commenced later in the world's history, and under the influence of comparatively advanced knowledge and more or less purified teaching. Europe at large received the Gospel in its best form, but every step it went Eastward, it had from the first to encounter hostilities and to submit to concessions of a character calculated to degrade its sublimity,—it was, in effect, the going back to old and self-willed races, instead of carrying welcome tidings to simple but intelligent, though undeveloped peoples.

Under the most simple and ordinary processes of critical analysis of an epigraph freely abounding in both Hebrew and Arabic terms, it might almost be taken for granted that the word בל, in lines twelve and thirteen, merely reproduced the established כָּל, כֻּל, "all," of the authorized speech of those confessedly leading Semitic authorities; and though, with some straining, it might be possible to connect the word, in a vague way, with a suggestion of "universality," it is far preferable to let it down into the quietude of its more direct associations, and to suppose that בל is nothing more than a local reflex of the Arabic article ال, "the." It is quite true that in this very version the corresponding Hebrew ה (for הָ) has been recognised in its proper and correct form; but in so strangely composite a manifesto as the present, simplicity, or a reduction to primitive elements, is the only true safeguard towards ultimate elucidation; and as we know, on the other hand, that the Persian tongue was then (as it is now) altogether deficient in any representative of our ever-recurring definite article "*the*," which, in these combinations of languages, it had to borrow with more or less *sonal* aptitude from neighbouring nations; can it then be felt strange that the severe "*lām, of definition*," with its prosthetic ל, at this time only colloquially developed, should have been so readily merged into the Sassanian ل, or the but faintly removed Chaldaean ܠ now under discussion.

The leading derivation and ample duties of زك have already been referred to (p. 282), and the هو=הו, "he," of the associate text, scarcely admits of doubt.

The single word that still remains to be noticed is the מוֹדוּ, which seems to resolve itself into the Arabic interjection يا (Persian اي) "oh," prefixed to the word مَزِيد (here written مزود), "increase, addition," etc. (from زَاد, "increvit"). This combination may appear strange and the exclamation somewhat out of place; but in regard to مزید, it must be remembered how constantly the exact synonym افزود, "increase," was in use,—to such an extent, indeed, that the Pehlvi

ye (are). Of a certainty the Master, the Divine Lord [first in rank] *the law" he (is).* And, of a certainty, the Master, Heavenly Lord (first created Jesus of divine aid THE Lord thou (art) bringing mercifully in order) Lord of divine aid he, who well brings joy joy to the people of the world. And THE God he (is) Lord, abound- among the people of the earth. And THE God, that is Godlike, great ing in good. And THE Heavenly Lord he (is) Lord, oh Increase in goodness. And the heavenly Lord that (is) Lord on high, master of good aid, Lord of Lords. of aid Lord.

Such, then, is my first attempt at anything like an intelligible translation of this obscure inscription. I can hardly say that I am altogether satisfied with the result, which has proved as unexpected to myself as it may chance to seem incredible to others; but my convictions have merely followed a confessedly tentative lead, and many things that I was prepared to discredit in the preliminary investigation, have, in the progress of more exact examination, contributed the best support towards a consistent whole. As far as honest criticism extends, I court and desire it; but I would suggest to those who may propose to make capital for themselves out of my treatment of this record, to beware of the many pitfalls existing in so incoherent and singularly mixed a text, the limited extent of which forbids the application of any such comprehensive tests as its confessedly polyglot nature would demand; and in this sense I do not invite future commentators to wander over other applicable roots, or to suggest variations in the derivatives above cited; but I simply ask them to produce some more consistent and convincing version out of the given fourteen lines here reconstructed from the confessedly imperfect materials at present within reach.¹

It is of importance to fix as nearly as possible the period of

¹ It may, perhaps, prove an inducement and an encouragement to those who might otherwise feel diffident in entering upon a free and independent analysis of future improved versions of the leading texts—to learn that Sir H. Rawlinson altogether dissents from and contests the fundamental principles of the present avowedly suggestive translation.

Sapor's reign, to which this unique manifesto refers. I have already remarked (pp. 328, 337) upon the change in style and modification of certain expressions to be observed in the concluding part of the document; but further than this, a close examination of the original writing discloses, most distinctly, a parallel variation in the general run of the letters themselves; for, whereas, the first five lines of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi text¹ are, so to say, compact in the ordinary sequence of the characters, the remaining portion, and notably, the conclusion of the inscription, is not only less closely filled in, but the words are designedly and effectively separated from one another,—a condition of things that would imply not only that the original surface of the rock had been prepared for a longer legend than it now bears, but that the commencement and conclusion of the existing epigraph pertain to different epochs, even as their tenor, at first sight, seems inconsistent and conflicting within such brief limits; but, singular to say, these apparent anomalies conduce to a most reasonable explanation of what would otherwise undoubtedly have constituted a serious difficulty in the completeness of the proposed interpretation. As it is, I suppose the introductory section, containing the formal enumeration of the King's titles and descent, with his claims to divine honors, extending, *inter alia*, to a subdued profession of Zoroastrianism itself, to have been endorsed at some early period of his reign, after he had discarded the use of the Greek translations, in the addition of which he had at first followed his father's lead (Inscrip. No. iv.); but before he had altogether abandoned the employment of the accustomed Chaldæo-Pehlvi duplicate version, and confined himself to the use of simple Persian-Pehlvi, which survived as the sole Court and official method of epigraphy among his successors. Under such a theory, I should associate the abrupt change in the tenor of the body of the document with the Western influences to which Sapor was subjected after his conquest of Valerian, a period which oddly coincides with the commencement of the teaching of Manes

¹ The sixth line of the Sassanian Pehlvi likewise presents a perceptible but less obvious modification of the forms of letters employed in the opening sentence.

(A.D. 261).¹ It is possible that this individual, who—though born a Persian—had graduated as a Christian Presbyter in Babylonia, may have been the direct means of converting the victorious monarch of his own land to the true faith; while the disruption of the association and the precipitate flight of Manes from Persia may have been due to a premature attempt on his part to compromise his Sovereign by lowering Christianity to the dead level of the masses, or by too facile concessions to the dominant Zoroastrianism, but lately so powerfully reconstructed under Ardeshir Babagán. However, be this as it may, it is clear that Sapor was an oddly-confessed convert,—no subject, high or low, under an Eastern despotism, would have dared to add such sentences as are to be found in this inscription without the sanction of the reigning Monarch; nor can we suppose that if Sapor had ever reverted to the newly defined creed of his fathers, he would have allowed this formal record of his adhesion to a more enlightened religion to have remained undisturbed till his death. The return of Manes after the decease of Sapor, and the favour with which he was received by Hormuzdas I., are both significant; for, if the new king had been a confirmed Fire-worshipper, he would scarcely have tolerated even the scant measure of debased Christianity Manes to the last professed to expound.

¹ It has for long past been known and acknowledged that Sapor had abandoned the creed of his fathers, though it was supposed that he had accepted the tenets of Manes. The following is Masaudi's notice on the subject:—"Ce fut sous son règne que parut Manès, l'auteur du dualisme. Sabour abjura la religion des mages pour embrasser cette secte et les doctrines qu'elle professait sur la lumière et le moyen du combattre le principe des ténèbres; mais il revint plus tard au culte de ses ancêtres, et Manès, pour des motifs que nous avons rapportés dans nos récits précédents, dut se réfugier dans l'Inde."—Masaudi, cap. xxiv. vol. ii., p. 164, Paris edit.—"C'est du vivant de Manès que fut orlé le mot *zendik*, qui a donné naissance au *zendekéh* (manichéisme). En voici l'explication: Zeradecth fils d'Espiman, . . . avait apporté aux Perses le livre *Bestah*, rédigé dans leur ancienne langue. Il en donna un commentaire qui est le *Zend*, et il ajouta ensuite à ce commentaire une glose qu'il nomma *Basend*. Ainsi, le *Zend* contenait l'explication du premier livre révélé. Plus tard, tous ceux qui, dans cette religion, s'écartèrent du *Bestah* ou livre révélé, pour se conformer au *Zend*, c'est-à-dire au commentaire, furent appelés *Zendi*, du nom de ce commentaire; ce qui signifiait qu'ils s'éloignaient de la lettre même du texte révélé pour adopter le sens du commentaire, par opposition avec ce texte. . . . Le mot *zendik* désigna alors les dualistes et tous ceux qui professaient la croyance en l'éternité du monde et niaient la création."—Masaudi, cap. xxiv.—Further notices of Manes and his doctrines are to be found in Hamza Isfaháni, p. 36; Abulfaraj (Pocock) pp. 82, 83; Tabari, Persian MS., details given under the reign of Bahrám; Histoire Critique de Manichée, M. de Beausobre, Amsterdam, 1734, pp. i. 24, 66, 81, 83, 156-161, 187, 192, etc.; Clinton, Fasti Romani, ii. p. 424.; Mani. Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1862.

INSCRIPTION No. 7. (NARSES.)

This unique inscription of Narses is engraved on one of the bas-reliefs¹ at Sháh-púr, which represents the young monarch in the act of receiving the conventional investiture of the cydaris from Ormazd. The figure of the latter is but little varied from the ordinary portraiture of prior date. He wears the recognised mural crown, with the closely twisted curls rising above it, and similar curls, arranged in the Sassanian fashion, appear on the sides and back of the head. The beard is squared in the ancient style, and the flowing fillets expand at the back of the figure. He has, however, in this instance, no baton, and the folds of the dress have more of a feminine guise than usual. Narses appears as a fair and comely youth, with a light moustache and incipient beard, which, however, is tied determinedly towards the point, after the manner affected by Sapor I. The hair is curled in full and smooth ringlets. His dress, like that of Ormazd, and the trappings of both horses, are unusually plain. He wears a pointedly-spiked crown of a form not yet met with in the sculptures, but which is seen to have been previously in use with Varahran I. on the coinage of the country.² The authorized balloon-crest and floating fillets complete the picture.

This inscription was first published by Morier, in his work upon Persia, Armenia, etc.,³ but the copy there given is truncated in the completion of the lines, two of which (Nos. nine and ten) are wholly omitted, and the letters are so badly formed that it offered but little promise to the decipherer. M. Flandin's reproduction of the original is far more satisfactory, and leaves but little to be filled in by a fairly confident interpreter.

It will be seen that in the inscription Narses describes himself as the son of Sapor and grandson of Ardeshr, whereas

¹ Flandin, "Inscription du troisième bas-relief sur la rive droite de la rivière." *Plan*, plate 45, bas-relief E. *Sculpture*, bas-relief E, plate 52. Text, vol. ii. p. 270. Dans le coin, à droite, au-dessus du manteau du cavalier, est une inscription en caractères Pehlvi. C'est la seule que l'on trouve à Châpour."

² Narses himself is figured with a totally different crown on his coinage. Longpérier, v. 2.

³ 1812, plate xxix. p. 87 and 357.

[illegible]

he is ordinarily held to have been the son of Varahran II.¹ It is true that this may possibly have been a mere figure of speech on his part, in desiring to ignore the intermediate successions of less renowned monarchs; but there is nothing inconsistent in the youthful appearance of Narses in this sculpture with the probability of his having been, in effect, the son of the later days of Sapor, who died only some twenty-one years previous to the regal accession symbolized in the bas-relief; and, singular to say, one of the Armenian authorities lately collected by M. E'variste Prud'homme, in illustration of Sassanian history,² directly declares that Narses was the son of Sapor I.³

INSCRIPTION No. 7.—NARSES, A.D. 294-303, at Shâhpûr.

١٢. ١ بتکري زني مزدیسن ٢ بگي نرسبي ٣ ملکان ملکا ٤ ایران و انیران
 ٥ منوچتری من یزدان [بري] ٦ مزدیسن بگي شهپوهري ٧ ملکان ملکا
 ایران ٨ و انیران منوچتری من ٩ یزدان نبي بگي ١٠ ارتهشتر ملکان
 ١١ ملکا

Image of the person of Ormazd-worshipper, divine Narses, king of kings of Irân and Anirân, of heavenly origin from God, the son of Ormazd-worshipper, divine Shâhpûr, king of kings of Irân and Anirân, of heavenly origin from God, grandson of divine Artahshatr, king of kings.

INSCRIPTIONS Nos. 8 and 10.

(Pehlvi transcript, page 103.)

The Tāk-i-Bustân inscriptions, identificatory of the figures of the two Saptors, the second and third of the name, sculptured under the smaller arch of the excavations in that locality, have for long past been before the public in the decipherments of De Sacy and his commentators;⁴ and their final determination may now be said to be set at rest by the exact copies of Sir H. Rawlinson, here reproduced in modern characters. Unlike his previous facsimilies, which were to a certain extent

¹ Moudjmel Altawârikh (*Journal Asiatique*, 1839, p. 38); Hamza Isfahâni, p. 37; Mirchond, De Sacy, p. 301.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 101-238.

³ Ibid., Sépêos, p. 17.

⁴ De Sacy, *Mémoires sur div. Ant.* p. 211, and second memoir, *Journal of the Institute*, 1809, vol. ii. p. 162; Ker Porter, ii. 188; Malcolm's *Persia*, i. 258; M. Boré, *Journal Asiatique*, June, 1841; M. Louis Dubeux, *Journal Asiatique*, 1843; Spiegel, *Grammatik der Huzvâreschsprache*, 1866, p. 173.

mere unaided tracings, in this instance the transcriber knew both the letters and general import of the record he was employed upon, and hence his text may be freely accepted as disposing of all exceptional variants and doubtful readings. By a critical examination of these writings, Sir Henry has been enabled to rectify the constituents of the much-canvassed "*Vohiya*" of previous translators, and to establish the true value of the word, in the more natural شہیا, a correction of considerable importance, in that, while demonstrating the authorized provincial or epochally progressive substitution of two **22**'s for the legitimate archaic form of **22** *sh*, and thus adding to the general ambiguity of Pehlvi interpretation on the one hand, it extends a new latitude to the optional reconstruction of many obscure passages, which had hitherto been circumscribed by the already sufficiently dubious phonetic powers of the leading basis here duplicated **2**, which, under ordinary circumstances, had to respond alike for the powers of *j*, *r* and *w*, and to meet the manifest incertitudes involved in the technical licence of subordinate convertibilities.

These lapidary epigraphs have also proved of service in contributing a modified form of the ordinary **2** *ch*, in the shape of **2**, a contour of the letter frequently met with on gems, and which was otherwise liable to be mistaken for a simple **2** *h*. The intentionally *final* *i*'s are also very carefully defined, in marked contrast to the ordinary initial and medial vowel, a practice which is also scrupulously observed in the majority of the signet legends.

The statues of the two Sapers, father and son, in this bas-relief, are strangely alike, a similarity extending even to the minor details of their garments. In Ker Porter's copy, the father, who stands to the right, seems to be the larger man; but the difference in Flandin's sketch is not so apparent. The former author represents the faces of both kings as having been completely destroyed; but Flandin, having possibly cleaned the surface of the stone more effectually, reconstructs their features after the ordinary Sassanian physiognomy, with the curiously tied beards and bushy hair. Both monarchs stand to the front, with their hands crossed on the

hilts of their straight swords, and the only difference to be detected between them is the half-moon which, in Flandin's drawing, figures as a frontlet on the crown of Sapor III.

The sculptured effigies of the two kings in their near identity of treatment would seem to imply that they must have been executed almost simultaneously, and the juxtaposition itself may possibly have been designed to mark in one and the same field the father's recognition of the heirship of this particular son, who eventually succeeded to his throne in the ordinary course.

INSCRIPTION No. 8.—SHÁHPÚR II. A.D. 310-381, at Ták-i-Bustán.

¹پتكري ²زني مزديسن شهيا ³شهبوري ملكان ⁴ ملكا ايران و
انيران منو ⁵ چتري من يزدان بري مزديسن ⁶ شهيا اوهرمزدی ملكان
⁷ ملكا ايران و انيران منو ⁸ چتري من يزدان نبي ⁹ شهيا ¹⁰ نرسهيا
ملكان ملكا

INSCRIPTION No. 10.—SHÁHPÚR III., son of SHÁHPÚR, A.D. 385-390, at Ták-i-Bustán.

¹پتكري ²زني مزديسن ³شهيا ⁴شهبوري ⁵ ملكان ملكا ⁶ ايران و
انيران ⁷ منو چتري من يزدان ⁸ بري مزديسن شهيا ⁹ شهبوري ملكان
¹⁰ ملكا ايران و انيران ¹¹ منو چتري من يزدان نبي ¹² شهيا اوهرمزدی
¹³ ملكان ملكا

INSCRIPTION No. 9.

The intervening legends in this series have been recovered from another class of dynastic remains, being taken from the still extant official signets of Varahrán Kermán Sháh, the son of the great Sapor *Zu'laktaf*, under whom he administered the important government from which his title was derived. In a section of the old world, where the seal so readily adapted itself to the indigenous clay,¹ and where all

¹ Job xxxviii. 14. See also Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25; xli. 42; Exod. xxviii. 9, 10, 11, 21, 36; 1 Kings xxi. 8; Neh. ix. 38; Esth. iii. 10, 12; viii. 2, 8, 10; Song of Solomon viii. 6; Jerem. xxxii. 10, 12, 44; Dan. vi. 17; Matt. xxvii. 66.

men carried seals;¹ indeed, where everything was sealed, from the formal documents on terra cotta and other substances, down to the mouth of the lion's den and the stone of the sepulchre, it was natural that the Signets of Kings should typify a parallel ascendancy,² and as such carry a political import equal, if not superior, to that of the Crown itself.³ As this same section of the earth's surface passed under the subjection of dynasty after dynasty, ancient ideas still held their sway, and in the advance of civilization as types and devices were elaborated among the masses, the representatives of the Royal sign manual were naturally more carefully treated, and at last, under the Sassanians, the complications of Persian ceremonial had arrived at a subdivision involving

¹ Herodotus, i. 195; iii. 128; vii. 69; Strabo, xvi. c. i. § 20; Ctesias (Phot.) lvi. 2, 5; Xenophon Cyrop. viii. c. 2, § 16, 17.

² A striking instance of the importance attached to Royal Signets, in very early times, has lately been contributed by Sir H. Rawlinson's decipherments of Cuneiform documents. Sir H. remarks: "I have recently lighted on a small clay tablet at the British Museum which bears an inscription to the following effect:—

"*Tiglath-Ussur*, king of Assyria, son of *Shalman-Ussur*, king of Assyria, and conqueror of *Kar-Dunis* (Babylonia). Whoever injures my device (?) or name, may *Asshur* and *Yama* destroy his name and country."

"A signet-seal with this legend having been carried off as a trophy in war from Assyria to Babylon, I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, after 600 years, took the city of Babylon, and from among the spoils of Babylon recovered it."

"The reverse of the tablet contains a repetition of the legend of *Tiglath-Ussur* with the gloss, 'This is what was written on the signet-seal.'"

—*Athenæum*, 22nd August, 1863.

³ Alexander "Literas quoque, quas in Europam mitteret, veteris annuli gemma obsignabat; iis, quas in Asiam scriberet, Darii annulus imprimebatur."—Quintus Curtius, vi. c. 6, § 6. See also x. vi. 4: "Tunc Perdicca, regia sella in conspectum vulgi data, in qua diadema vestisque Alexandri cum armis erant, annulum sibi pridie traditum a rege in eadem sede posuit." 5. "Et Perdicca, Ego quidem, inquit, annulum, quo ille regni atque imperii vires obsignare erat solitus, traditum ab ipso mihi, reddo vobis." See also Josephus Ant. xii. c. 9, § 2; xx. c. 2, § 2.

So also Justin. "Sexta die praeclusa voce exemptum digito annulum Perdiccae tradidit. Nam etsi non voce nuncupatus heres, iudicio tamen electus videbatur." xii. c. 16, § 12.

In like manner Pompey's "Head and Seal" are brought to Julius Cæsar. Plutarch, in Pompey lxxx. and in Cæsar xlviii. Dion Cassius, xlii. 7, μέχρις οὗ τῇ τε κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδον. Dion Cass. xlii. 18, ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ὅψε μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον, πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα ἰδεῖν, ἐπίστευσαν· ἐνεγέγλυπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρῶα τρία, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου.

a separate seal and distinct device for every one of the nine departments of the State administration.¹

In Egypt and to the westward men's signets were set in the form of finger rings, but in the East, among the lightly-

¹ Ce roi [Naushirwân] employait quatre sceaux d'État. Celui de l'impôt . . . avait pour empreinte la Justice (العدل). Le sceau des domaines, orné d'une turquoise, avait pour empreinte l'Agriculture (العمارة). Le sceau du conseil avait un rubis (Kuhli كحلي) et portait l'empreinte de la Temporisation (التأني). Le sceau des postes . . . avait pour empreinte la Fidélité (الوفاء).—Mas'udi, ii. 204.

Khusru Parviz had nine different State seals. Mas'audi gives the following details regarding their forms and uses. Le premier était un anneau (خاتم) de diamant dont le chaton était formé d'un rubis rouge sur lequel on avait gravé le portrait du roi; la légende portait les titres du roi; on l'apposait sur les lettres et les diplômes. Le second était un anneau (خاتم) d'or surmonté d'une cornaline sur laquelle étaient gravés les mots Khorasân Khudah (خراسان خدا). Il servait aux archives de l'État. Le troisième était orné d'un onyx représentant un cavalier au galop; l'anneau (حلقته), qui était d'or, portait pour légende: célérité. Ce cachet était destiné à la correspondance des postes. Le quatrième était un anneau d'or dont le chaton, formé d'un rubis rose, avait pour légende: la richesse est la source de la prospérité. C'était le sceau des diplômes et des lettres de grâce. Le cinquième, orné d'un rubis bahremân, . . . portait les mots khourah wa khorrem (خرم و خرم) "splendeur et félicité." Ce cachet était posé sur le trésor des pierres précieuses sur la cassette royale, la garde-robe et les ornements de la couronne. Le sixième, représentant un aigle, servait à sceller les dépêches adressés aux rois étrangers; son chaton était en fer de Chine (حديد صيني). Le septième, surmonté d'un bézoard sur lequel on avait gravé une mouche, était posé sur les mets servis au roi, sur les médicaments et les parfums. Le huitième, dont le chaton était formé d'une perle, avait pour effigie une tête de porc (Journal Asiatique, 1863, p. 304); on posait cette empreinte sur le cou des condamnés à mort et sur les arrêts emportant la peine capitale. Le neuvième était un anneau de fer que le roi employait quand il allait au bain et dans les étuves." ii. 228-9.

The latest development of the art of sealing is highly amusing. We learn from Captain Montgomerie's report of the great Tibetan road from Lhasa to Gartokh (Times, 2nd March, 1868) "that the couriers go continuously, stopping neither night nor day except to eat and change horses, and, after an 800 miles' ride, are haggard and worn . . . to make sure that they shall not take off their clothes they are sealed over the breast, and none may break the seal save him to whom the messenger is sent."

For confirmation of these facts, see also the "Friend of India" (Calcutta), 23rd March, 1868. "The moment a man is selected as a courier, and his coat is sealed, he has no choice in the matter."

clad multitudes, they were simply suspended round the neck, while the better classes seem to have worn them either on the wrist or as an armlet.¹

The first of these seals is engraved on the highly-prized amethyst belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. The second is now known only by its reproduction in a work of the last century, entitled "Tassie's Gems." It would seem to have proved from the first a mere artist's failure both in the portrait and in the imperfection of the legend, and to have been superseded by the more elaborately engraved design, giving the accepted likeness of the Prince, with his style and contrasted royal titles encompassing it in the Pehlvi character. The portrait, in this instance, presents a remarkable specimen

¹ This arrangement is shown to have been in immemorial acceptance in the far East, by numerous passages in the *Shāh Nāmah*; among the rest, when Rustam takes leave of his wife *Tahmima*, the daughter of the king of Samangān, we are told

ببازوي رستم يكي مهره بود كه آن مهره اندر جهان شهره بود
بدوداد و گفتش كه اين را بدار گرت دختری آيد از روزگار
بگیر و بگیسوي او بر بدوز بنیك اختر و فال گيتي فروز
ور ايدون كه آيد ز اختر پسر ببندش ببازو بسان پدر

Mohl. Paris edition, ii., p. 82. Macan. i. p. 336.

The conclusion of this passage has been quaintly paraphrased by an early English translator in the following couplets:—

"This seal with care preserve, and if by Heaven
To your caress a daughter may be given,
Upon her hair you must this charm entwine
As an auspicious star and happy sign.
But if a son be born, his arm around
Let this insignium of his sire be bound."

—C. T. Robertson, Calcutta, 1829, p. 18.

So also, in the fatal single combat between father and son, in front of the hostile hosts of Irān and Turān, whose several nationalities each is supposed to represent—where the son fights with the full knowledge of the person of his adversary, but Rustam is ignorant that Sohrāb is the offspring of his own deserted wife,—the latter in his dying moments reveals himself with the expression, "Thy seal upon my arm behold." (ببازوم بر مهره خود نگر)

The second less perfect seal, to judge from the engraving of 1791,¹ does a certain amount of justice to the profile of the Prince, who is there figured with a full and well arranged beard and curled locks, while his Parthian helmet is adorned with the self-same device as is seen on the more valuable gem. The inscription, however, breaks off abruptly, though the introductory portion follows the arrangement of the lines of the legend above given, while the *منوچتری* which follows *in line* after the *ملکا*, and the reduced size of the letters of the name of *Varahrán*, sufficiently establish that the first published design is not a mere vague copy of the more finished seal. The transcript in modern Persian runs—

شهبهري ملكان ملكا منوچتري من يز . . .
ورهران كرمان . . .

It seems, it must be confessed, a strange hazard that brings to us, from a far distant land, two if not three signets of a king who lived nearly fifteen centuries ago.

The authenticity of the portrait-seal of *Varahrán*, employed while he was his father's viceroy, in *Kermán*, is sufficiently attested by the legends on its surface. The signet we have now to deal with as clearly declares its associations, though in a less formal manner, inasmuch as the style of head-dress borne by the chief figure typifies the conventionally distinguishing crown of *Varahrán IV.* as "king of kings," or after his accession to Imperial honors.²

The seals of the deceased Sassanian princes were, without doubt, religiously preserved in the Jewel Treasuries of the family, who, as we have seen, were sufficiently jealous and punctilious in these matters; so that nothing short of a total disruption of dynastic ties would be likely to have scattered abroad such cherished symbols of ancestral domination; but precisely such an extreme convulsion took place some 250 years

¹ Tassie's *Gems* (London, 1791), pl. xii. fig. 673, vol. i. p. 66. See also *Onsley's "Medals and Gems"* (London, 1801).

² The date of this event is not very exactly determined, but it may be placed in 389 A.D., with a reign of ten years, extending to 399 A.D. Clinton, from Western sources, fixes his advent to the throne in 388 A.D.—*Fasti Romani*, p. 618.

later, in the total conquest of Persia by the early Muham-madan Arabs, whose practice of dividing the spoil, on the one part,¹ and their objection, then but partially developed, to graven images, on the other, would equally conduce to the dispersion of the more or less correctly-appreciated valuables of this description.²



The gem in question, an engraving of which is given in the margin, has lately been brought to this country by General A. Cunningham, to whom I am indebted for my present knowledge of it, as well as for many recent obligations of the same nature.

The seal is sunk into a dark onyx, upon whose upper surface a milk-white film has been allowed to remain. It is stated to have been obtained from Ráwal Píndi, in the Punjáb.

On the first cursory inspection of the device, a suggestion arose as to whether the standing figure might not represent the oft-recurring Sapor I. with the prostrate Valerian at his feet? But it was felt that, as a general rule, the coin portraiture of each Sassanian king had been intentionally reduced to a definite typical model in respect to the form of the crown,—which suffices, even in these days, to determine, with almost invariable precision, the individual monarch to whom any given piece should be assigned, however obscure or defaced the descriptive legends may chance to be.

Ardeshir Babegán, and more notably Sapor I., as we have seen, varied with the progress of their arms the forms and representative devices of their crowns; but their successors

¹ After the battle of Kadesia, the spoils, after deducting one-fifth for the Khalif, were divided among the sixty thousand horsemen at the estimated rate of 12,000 dínars each!—Price, Muhammadan Hist. i. 117, 120, 121.

² There are odd tales, alike, of the Conquerors, from the desert, offering gold for the better-known silver, and of their being unable to distinguish camphor from salt, etc.; but in regard to the number of precious stones stored up and partially adapted to the purposes of Oriental display, there can be no question. The carpet of "Cloth of Gold," of 60 cubits square, had its pattern fashioned of jewels of the highest value. This was cut up into small pieces, "one of which, of the size only of the palm of a man's hand," was afterwards sold for 20,000 dirhams; or, as others say, for the same number of dínars."—See Price, 117, 121, 122, etc.

necessarily exercised less licence in this respect, though the sculptured representations were not always bound by Mint laws. The first monarch who adopted, on the public money, the design of head-dress introduced by Sapor I. (as figured in page 62), was Varahrán II., at least to this particular one of the several kings of the name, are all coins distinguished by this style of head-gear, by common consent, attributed; and to Varahrán IV. are assigned, by the equally arbitrary decisions of Numismatists, all those pieces that are marked by the subsidiary modification upon the earlier form; comprised in the introduction of the projecting front of the mural crown, in advance of the established eagle's wings; and it is this peculiarity alone that, in the present state of our knowledge, determines the attribution of the seal to the last-named ruler.¹

The subordinate prostrate figure is evidently designed to represent a Roman warrior, but the semblance of the "laureated" Valerian of the sculptures is altogether abandoned; and though it may be freely admitted that the helmet, with the flowing plume, here depicted, is identical with the design adhered to in the leading Imperial mintages of his period,² yet it must be remembered that there were many such western casques left behind in Persia, to serve as models for artistic

¹ Some of the local historical authors pretend to give descriptions of each Sassanian king's costume in succession, from a book of portraits, which was supposed to carry considerable authenticity. The following is Hamza's account of Varahrán the IV.'s dress and appointments:—"Vestis cœrulea est, acu picta, braccæ rubræ itemque picturæ, corona viridis inter tres apices et lunulam auream; stat, dextra manu hastam tenens, sinistra gladio innixus" (p. 39). The description of the crown in the original text is couched in the following terms:—

شرفات و تاجه اخضر بين ثلث شرفات و مازرج ذهب. The شرفات may possibly refer to the three projections of the mural crown (شُرَافَة) Pinna arcis vel muri). The Persian version in the *Mujmal-al-Tawárikh* has شرفه. (M. Quatremère, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1839.) The مازرج has very much the air of the ordinary Persian ماه رنج, which would so nearly accord with the Arabic هلال in the parallel descriptive passages.

² Visconti. *Icon. Rom.* vol. iii. pl. 56, Nos. 10 and 13. See also *Trésor de Numismatique Icon. Rom.* Helmet of Gallienus (pl. lii. fig. 5), and his successors.

reproductions, even if, in the interval, any general change in equipment of the Byzantine legions had been sufficiently obvious to reach Oriental perceptions. So that with the parallel divergences of forms and types, it will be preferable, under all circumstances, to assign this seal to the later epoch.

The device of an Assyrian king in the act of slaying a lion was a favourite subject for royal signets in very early times,¹ and the same symbol of power entered largely into the figurative sculptures of the Achæmenians at Persepolis, *mutatis mutandis*, amid the more civilized tendencies of the fourth century A.D. Varahrân reproduces a similar idea, but replaces the lion by the type of the normal national adversary. There is no record, as far as can be ascertained, of Varahrân having personally encountered the Romans after his accession,² but it is not impossible that he may have fleshed his maiden sword during the campaigns of his father, Sapor II., against Constantius, Julian, and Jovian, or on later chance occasions; and hence may have adopted this emblematic device on his seal, as Sulla adhered to the gem which depicted his early success against Jugurtha.³

I conclude this *résumé* of the extant Sassanian inscriptions by a reference to two mural epigraphs at Persepolis, copied by Sir Wm. Ouseley in 1811,⁴ which, as far as I am aware of, have not been reproduced by any other traveller.⁵ The original writing does not seem to have afforded a very favourable text, and the coarse and straggling lithographed copy inserted in "Ouseley's Travels," is anything but encouraging

¹ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 154; Ker Porter, ii., pl. 54, etc.; Flandin, iii., pls. 121 *bis*, 122, 123, etc.; G. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 123; iii. 338.

² The treaty of peace with Rome was ratified in 384 A.D.

³ Pliny, xxxvii. 4; Plutarch in C. Marius, x; Valerius Maximus, viii. c. xiv. § 4.

⁴ In the inner chamber of the Hall of Columns at Persepolis, among the various inscriptions in other characters, "we also find two *Pahlavi* inscriptions, which, though slightly cut, are sufficiently conspicuous; yet no former traveller has, perhaps, taken the trouble of copying them. In plate xlii. both are given; one containing twelve lines, the other eleven. While copying these inscriptions from the marble, I reduced each letter to about half of the original size. They record the names and titles of Shâhpûhr, Auhormizdi, and Varahrân. Among all the ruins at *Tûkht-i-Jemshid*, I did not perceive any other specimen of *Pahlavi* writing."—Vol. ii. p. 238.

⁵ Flandin adverts to them in general terms, but gives no copies.—Folio, *texte*, p. 1060.

to the home decipherer. I have given a few broken specimens of the more legible portions, from which it would seem that the one inscription refers to Sapor II. and the other to Sapor III. The style of the associated inscriptions varies considerably, both in words and letters. No. xi. uses the 𐭪 𐭬 in Sapor's name instead of the 𐭪 𐭮, and introduces a 𐭪, "of," between the King's name and his titles. The word 𐭪𐭮 occurs once if not twice in those portions of the text in which I have not as yet succeeded in tracing a running context sufficient to justify even a suggestive restoration.

It will be noticed that the genealogy of Sapor III., as given in No. xii., differs from that recorded at Tāk-i-Bustān: here he is represented as the great-grandson of Varahrān, while in the Northern inscriptions (Nos. viii. x.), where his own descent is carried up two generations, and extended in his father's official pedigree to a common ancestor, the great grandfather would appear to have been Narsēs. But even supposing Sir W. Ouseley has not been hasty in his decipherment of the name of Varahrān, which, however, comes out clearly enough in his facsimile,³ it would always be preferable to accept the more proximate and immediate declaration of lineage from Narsēs, and to infer that the Southern annalists of later days were careless about remote descents.

INSCRIPTION NO. XI. SAPOR II. SON OF HORMAZDAS II. (Sir W. Ouseley vol. ii. pl. xlii. B.)

... ملکا اوهرمزدي .	1
شهبوهلي زي	3
ملکان ملکا	4
شهبوهلي زي ملکان ملکا ايران و انيران [منوچتر]	5
شهبوهلي زي ملکان ملکا ايران و انيران [منوچترمن]	7
... [يزدان] شهبوهلي زي ملکان ملکا	7
شهبولي زي ملکان ملکا	8
شهبيا	9
[شهب]وهلي زي ملکان ملکا	10

INSCRIPTION No. XII. SAPOR III. SON OF SAPOR II. (Sir W. Ouseley, vol ii. pl. xlii. A.)

- 1 مزدیسن بگی شهپهر ملکان ملکا ایران
 2 وانیران منوچتری من یزدان بری مزدیسن شهیا شهپهری ملکان
 ملکا ایران
 3 وانیران منوچتری من یزدان بری مزدیسن بگی اوهرمزدی ملکان
 ملکا ایران وانیران
 4 منوچتری من یزدان بری شهیا وهران ملکان ملکا
 10 ملکان ملکا . . . شهپهری ملکان ملکا ایران وانیران

INSCRIPTION No. XIII.

In order that I may not be supposed to have neglected any of the materials for the illustration of my subject, within reach, I devote a momentary notice to the seven lines of comparatively modern Pehlvi that have been engraved upon the bas-relief (B)¹ at Firozábád. The subject of this sculpture is one of the many repetitions of the investiture of Ardeshir Babegán by Ormazd, and in itself presents little worthy of comment beyond the greater simplicity of the garments of the persons represented, and the peculiarity that Ormazd's baton is exchanged for a pointed saw-edged sword. Of the purport of the inscription, it may be as well to attempt to say nothing, as Flandin's copy is more than usually illegible, a difficulty, perhaps, inherent in the more complicated writing. The letters, where decipherable, present undoubtedly modern forms of the normal types. The epigraph has been cut in the vacant space between the Divinity and the King, and reads upwards, perpendicularly, instead of horizontally, as in the established usage. We may conclude that the inscription has been added at a period considerably later than the first execution of the sculpture, to record for posterity the interpretation put upon the tableau, while Pehlvi still continued the current language of the country.

¹ Flandin, plate 44.

The marginal engraving of a Carnelian Seal lately acquired by the British Museum (No. 12^q 3) is inserted for the purpose of illustrating the use of the word **بک** (p. 40 ; Hyde, p. 358, "*Bilagh*, quorum hoc ultimum magis peculiariter *Flammam* notare videtur"). The woodcut has been executed in Germany, but it must be confessed that much of the strange presentation of the device is due to the conventional treatment of the original gem, rather than to the shortcomings of the modern artist.



The stone, moreover, has suffered from a fracture, which runs entirely across its surface, and is especially damaging to the forehead of the profile. The legend is as follows :

۱ اسوکر و سوسر د سداسر لو نم د
 وهود زن شهپوهري زي ايرانان بک پتي

"Attestation of *Shahpur*, Fire-priest of the *Irdnians*."

The only word in this epigraph which presents any difficulty is the **وهود**, which I suppose to be a Pehlvi modification from the Hebrew root **וָחַד**, "to return," "to say again and again," hence "to testify." But looking to the unusual size of this and of the second seal here noticed, which may be supposed to indicate the exalted position of their owners, it might be possible to interpret the original Pehlvi word by some indication of acceptance, recognition, or confirmation of a compact,

¹ The font of Pehlvi here employed has lately been commissioned from Vienna, with a view to render Mr. Austin's Printing Establishment independent of the single case of Pehlvi type in this country, heretofore made use of in this essay, in regard to the loan of which some difficulty has been created. It will be seen how very inadequately the former fulfils the duty of representing the ancient character, which is far more legible and exact in its powers of definition than the modern production which sufficed for the obscured knowledge of the Parsees of Bombay. Immediate steps will be taken for engraving discriminating letters for **۲**, **۳**, and **۴**, and likewise for marking the difference between **۱** and **۲**, which at present are both dependent upon the simple **۳**.

or other graduated expression of sanction on the part of an Oriental superior, and thus to refer the *هود* to *وَعْدَةٌ*, "promissum" (from *وَعَدَ* *وَعْدٌ*), the Indian *वायदा*, "promise, agreement." Though the curtailed *ويد* = *𐭣𐭥* "a witness," on the Paris gem, No. 1339, seems directly to support the former interpretation. On other occasions we meet with *داتکی*, from *دادن*, "to give" (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1840, pl. i.). *راستی*, "truth," occurs frequently; and *من راستی* is seen on an unpublished gem of General Cunningham's, as well as the more definite term of *مودری*, *मुद्रा*, "a seal," which appears on a signet with the device of a lion couchant and palm tree. On a second gem, with similar emblems, the opening word seems to be *زکی* = *𐭣𐭥* (*صدق*), "truth, veracity." Other doubtful readings may be cited in *کردن* = *𐭣𐭥*, from *کردن*, "to do" (J.R.A.S. xiii., gem No. 12). *من یدی* = *𐭣𐭥* (*manus*), (Bibl. Imp., Paris, No. 1336). *فدا*, *𐭣𐭥*, "redemption, ransom", etc.¹

Before taking leave of the question of seals and their legends, I wish to supply an omission, and to explain why I did not cite the inscription on the Himyaritic Cylinder Seal, described by Sir H. Rawlinson (at p. 234, J.R.A.S. i. N.S.), in confirmation of the parallel antiquity of the Ethiopian writing noticed at pp. 247, 248, of this Essay. My reason may be given in but few words. I am not satisfied that the Himyaritic legend was engraved simultaneously with the rest of the device; indeed the more closely the design is examined the more it becomes evident that the device and the legend are the work of different artists, and unless it may be assumed that they were engraved contemporaneously, it would scarcely be safe to rely upon the device as determining even proximately the date of the writing.

¹ See also J.R.A.S. vii. pl. 6, and Sir H. Rawlinson's valuable paper on Bilingual Cuneiform and Phœnician readings, J.R.A.S. vol. i. N.S. p. 212. And likewise on the general subject of Sassanian Seals Dr. A. Mordtmann's "Studien über Geschnittene Steine mit Pehlewi-Inschriften," Zeitschrift, 1864.

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ART. X.—*Account of an Embassy from Marocco to Spain in 1690 and 1691.* By the Hon. H. E. J. STANLEY.

[Read July 1, 1867.]

THE following notes are taken from an account of his journey to Spain, written by an Ambassador of Muley Ismail, a copy of which is preserved in a library at Lisbon: the MS. ends abruptly, and does not contain the author's name. From the narrative it appears that the Ambassador came to treat of the exchange of prisoners, and to ask for some of the Arabic works preserved at the Escorial: he appears, however, to have imagined that these were remnants of the libraries of Cordoba, whereas they proceeded from the library of a former Emperor of Marocco, which was captured at sea whilst being transported from one port to another. The Ambassador was told that the books had been destroyed by the fire which took place about twenty years before in the Escorial, where, in fact, the greater part of the Sultan's library was burned; but about two thousand were saved, of which nothing was said to the Ambassador, and these form the actual collection of Arabic works preserved in the Escorial. M. Chenier, in his *Histoire du Maroc* (Paris, 1787), states that Muley Ismail took L'Arrash from the Spaniards in 1689, and that the Spanish garrison of that place was exchanged at the rate of ten Moors for each Christian: he also states that, in 1681, Hajy Themim, Governor of Tetuan, and Cassem Menino, brother of the Governor of Salée, went to Paris in the end of December as Ambas-

sadors, so that it is possible one of these was also employed in this Embassy ten years later. It is evident from his narrative that he was a man of talent and observation, and he appears to have made a very favourable impression upon King Charles II.

The Ambassador came in a Spanish vessel from Kasbah Afrag (قصة افراغ) near Ceuta to Gibraltar, and thence to Cadiz, where he was met by a large number of the Moorish captives, who were much cheered by his arrival and announcement of the Sultan's intentions with regard to them. He also was informed in Cadiz, by a Christian priest in Constantinople, of the victory of Sultan Suleyman, who had reconquered Belgrade, and that its walls were destroyed, and that the Sultan had already set twelve thousand workmen to restore the walls.

[The Turks laid siege to Belgrade on the 1st October, 1690, and exploded the magazine on the 8th, by which a thousand of the besieged were destroyed, and the besiegers entered the place. Mr. Stanhope writes from Madrid, December 6, 1690, "The Marocco Ambassador landed at Cadiz the 23rd past, was received on the water-side by the Governor, and saluted with thirty pieces of cannon. He lodged there only that night, and went next day to Port St. Mary's." *Lord Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*]

From Cadiz the Ambassador went in a row-boat to Santa Maria, where he describes a large house, looking towards the sea, with the chief entrance door walled up, and this was the house in which lodged the Sultan and Sheikh, son of a Sultan, Ahmed Al-Dhahiby (الذهبي), when he came to Spain; and no one lives in this house, for it is the custom of the Christians to honour the house in which a king has dwelt, and they wall up the door, as they did at Madrid with a house in which Charles the Fifth lodged his captive, the French king. [At the present time it is a custom and a right to suspend chains over the entrance of a house in which a Sovereign has lodged.] Between Xeres de la frontera and Utrera the Ambassador passed a night at a town called Alberijah (البريجة): in this place some of the inhabitants gave him to understand

by secret signs that they were descended from the Arabs of Spain, for they could not communicate except by secret discourse. In Utrera he says he saw the daughter of the Governor and the daughter of the Judge, who were extremely beautiful; and these two were of the blood of the last king of Granada, known amongst the Spaniards as *el rey Chico*. Here he relates that at Madrid he knew a Don Albeniz, a descendant of Musa, brother of the conquered king of Granada, and a relation of the two damsels of Utrera, who was one of the first knights in Spain, and much esteemed by the Christians, yet he had much inclination towards any of the Muslims whom he might meet, and related to them his genealogy, and admired what he heard from them of *El Islam* and its people; and he told the Ambassador that when his mother was bearing him she had a desire to eat kuskusu, and that her father said to her, "Perhaps the burden you are bearing is of the race of the Muslims." In saying this he was joking, for they did not fear to make known their genealogy, and that they were of the king's house. From Utrera he passed through Marchena to Ecija, the beauty and elegance of which he praises very much, and quotes the following verses in praise of Wady Ash and Ecija from *حمدة الاندلسية*, the poetess Hamdah, the Andalusian: ¹

اباح الدمع اسرارى بوادى	له للحسن اثار بوادى
فمن نهريطوف بكل روض	ومن روض يطوف بكل وادى
ومن بين الظباء مهابة رمل	سبت لبي وقد سلبت فوادى
لها لحظ ترقده لامر	و ذاك الامر يمنعن رقادى
اذا سدلّت ذوائبها عليها	رايت البدر فى جنح السواد

¹ Al-Makkari says she is also named Hamdunah, the daughter of Zeyad:

حمدة و يقال حمدونة بنت زياد المودّب من وادى آس

² Ibid. لها ³ Ibid. انس ⁴ Al-Makkari, Leyden edition, ii. ٦٣. ⁵ يرت

⁵ افتى Ibid.

⁶ Another line is given by Al-Makkari:

كان الصبح مات له شقيق فمن حزن تسربل بالحداد

و حمدة هذه هي من^١ شاعرات الاندلس ، اخبارها مشهورة في
محلها من اخبار شعراء العدو و شاعراتها و هي القائلة

و لما ابى الواشون الا فراقنا و ما لهم عندي و عندك من نار
و شنوا على اسماعنا كل غارة و قل حماتي عند ذاك وانصاري
غزوتهم من مقتلتي بادمع^٢ و من نفسى بالسيف والقتل والنار

و لقد انشدت حين ابصرت حسن هذه المدينة و جميل
منظرها متمثلا بيتي الجزيري و ضمنتها بيتين آخرين

البيت اذ نظرت محاسنها ان لا نظير لها في مصلف الصور
كانها فلك دارت كواكبها و اشرفت بين بدو الارض والحضر
فالله ينقذها حتى يدان بها دين المهمل محرف سامي الغير
بكف محتسب للاجر منتدب لله منتسب لافضل البشر

At Cordoba more of the Moorish prisoners of war came out to meet the Ambassador : he describes the great mosque, and the palace over against it, which then still existed. He says that the horses in the neighbourhood of Cordoba were the best in Spain, and that on that account the King had prohibited breeding mules from asses and mares under pain of imprisonment and confiscation, and that mules were bred in La Mancha. He mentions a village called Alkaraby (الكرابي) at fifteen miles distance from Cordoba, near the Guadalquivir, and twenty-one miles from Andujar : this place seems to have disappeared. At Andujar he found the greater part of the inhabitants to be descendants of the Abenserrages, who had gone over to the Christians after some of that family had been put to death at Granada. He says that the highest dignity to which those of this race can attain is the right of wearing a cross upon the shoulder embroidered on their coats,

السيل^٣ Al-Makkari. مقتلتيك و ادمعي^٢ added, not in the text. من^١

^٤ The text of these lines appears not to be entirely correct.

and that they fill the offices of clerks, ushers, the government of small towns, and other offices of small importance. And in these districts there are a great many of them : some of them relate their lineage, others shun the mention of it, and fear it, and attribute their origin to the mountains of Navarra and boast of it ; and those of this race who hold an office, or are employed in collecting the revenue, do not fear relating their lineage. The Ambassador met a man in Madrid, whose name he had forgotten, in a coach with some ladies, old and young, who stopped and made many salutations, and he and the ladies were much pleased, and greatly welcomed the Ambassador, and on taking leave of him gave his name, and said we are of the race of the Muslims of the lineage of the sons of Al-Serraj ; and the Ambassador inquired about him afterwards, and learned that he was one of the Secretaries of the Council, and the one who read out the petitions and memorials presented to the Council. There were also a number of Granadines who held employments in Granada and lived in Madrid, and came with Don Alveniz to see the Ambassador, and they attribute their origin to the Granadine Arabs. (And misery prevailed over them, and our refuge is with God.) And these people used to question about the faith and customs of El-Islam, and when they heard the Ambassador's answers as to its faith and ordinances, they admired what they heard, and approved and gave thanks for it in the presence of the Christians, and were not ashamed on account of those that were present ; and they did not cease to come and see the Ambassador several times during his stay in Madrid, and to show him great marks of friendship and affection. " We pray the Most High to direct them into the right path and guide them to the true faith."

[This account is curious in conjunction with what the Ambassador relates further on of the power and activity of the Inquisition.]

At Linares the Ambassador speaks of the lead mines and of a convent of women which he visited by invitation : he gives a long account of the life of the nuns, and of the various motives for which they enter. His account is very fair, and

he refers to two other convents which he visited at Seville and Carmona. From Linares he passed through Torre Juan Abad, whose inhabitants and their singing he states were different from the other Spaniards, and compares them with the Berbers of the mountains of Alfahsiyah (الفحسية), and stopped at Segalana (شکلانة) at the foot of a mountain and off the road. Here he describes inns and the dangers of the road from brigands. One of these he met when returning from Madrid who lived at Cozera . . . miles from Torre Juan Abad: the king had sent three hundred archers against him, and they took him, but he escaped, and now he lives in Cozera without fear of anybody, only he wishes for a safe conduct from the King; and he said to the Ambassador that if he were ready for the journey he would go with him to Muley Ismail to beg of him a letter to the King of Spain to ask for a safe conduct to give him tranquillity. The Ambassador then describes the administration of the post couriers, and mentions the arrival of letters from Madrid at San Lucar in three days. He next stopped at the Venta San Andres, and mentions the fair held at four miles distance from that place [the fair of Almagro]; from San Andres, through Membrilla to Manzanares, and from there to Mora [six leagues from Toledo]; between these two towns he passed an enormous quantity of vines, but no other trees. From Mora he crossed the Tagus on a raft, leaving Toledo on one side, to Pintos (بنطس) a small village; from there to Getafe (خطافى), six miles from Madrid, a large town, which formerly was larger until the Government came to Madrid, when it became deserted. [This village is now the first station on the railway south of Madrid.] At this place he was met by a grandee in one of the King's coaches, named Count Carlos de Castilla, whose office it is to receive all who come from other kingdoms, for which he receives three thousand reals a year; and he took the Ambassador with him in the coach after welcoming him in the King's name. At a mile from Madrid many people came out in coaches and riding and walking to meet the Ambassador. They crossed the Manzanares, which the Ambassador says has a great deal of water after the snow falls in the moun-

tains : he mentions two bridges, one of these had lately been destroyed by a flood, and was then rebuilding, and the coaches passed over a wooden scaffolding. Within the town he was again met by Moorish prisoners of war, who rejoiced greatly at his arrival. He was conveyed to a house near the palace, disposed for the reception of those who come from distant countries and not of Christian nations, and they rest there three days, and look out for a residence if they intend remaining in the capital.¹ So it happened to the Turk who came to Spain forty years before ; they believe that he was from Constantinople, but the truth is that he came on behalf of some seditious people who desired to disturb the kingdom of Constantinople. Also three years before this there arrived an envoy from Muskovia, which is a distant country in the parts about the North Pole, and he came to the Sovereign of Spain and begged in marriage from his mother (Doña Mariana of Austria), a daughter of a sister of hers who was in Germany, and the King of Muscovy desired to be married to her. And since her family did not desire that she should marry him, they entrusted her business to her aunt (the Queen mother of Spain), and got rid of the Ambassador to Spain. And this was the object of the arrival of the Muscovite embassy to this king, according to what they say here.

[According to the history of Russia of Ernst Hermann, tom. iv., p. 14, Hamburg, 1849, this Ambassador was the Kniaz Feodorovitch Dolgorouky, who was envoy to France and Spain during the regency of the Arch-Duchess Sophia in the years 1682-1689. According to a Russian authority he was Prince James Fedorovitch, who went on an extraordinary embassy to Paris and Madrid in 1686 : he was removed from the Russian Court by the Regent Sophia, who feared in him too zealous an adherent of the young Tzar : and the real object of the Embassy was to seek the assistance of France and Spain against Turkey, but it was unsuccessful.]

The Marocco Ambassador arrived at Madrid in the after-

¹ "The French Ambassador has demanded to have his *Hospedaje*, that is, to be treated nine days in a house designed for that purpose at the King's charge. This is a custom that has been many years antiquated here except with Turks, Moors, and Muscovites." Mr. Stanhope, Madrid, September 3, 1698.

noon of Saturday, the 7th of Reby al Evvel, 1102 (equal to December 9, 1690): twelve days later he was received in audience by the King.¹ During that time the Count who had charge of him came to inquire what manner of salutation the Ambassador would use, since the king had not yet received any one of the religion of the Ambassador. And the Ambassador gave him an account of the salutations used amongst Muslims and of those used by them to others not of their religion, and that is to say, "Peace be upon him who follows the Direction," without adding anything to this. And the Count informed the King of it, and his Majesty declared his admiration of this salutation which was related to him, since he was not prepared for it, and he could not do otherwise than accept it. And the Count returned with a written programme of the reception. The next day the Ambassador went to the Palace, where he was received by the Mayordomo, and then by the Secretary of the Great Council and many Dukes and Counts: he then entered the presence chamber, and found the King standing, with a gold chain round his neck, and at his right hand a table embossed with gold, prepared in order to place upon it the Sultan's letter. [At the beginning of this century the King of Portugal still had a table at his side covered with a gold embroidered cloth at audiences to receive ambassadors.] And on the right of the table was a minister called the Condestable, and on his right the wife of the King, and her ladies and the daughters of the nobles, and on the left hand of the King the other ministers. When the Ambassador entered the King welcomed him and smiled, and expressed his satisfaction, and inquired about the Ambassador's Sovereign, el Mansur b'Illahi, several times, and when he mentioned him he took off the hat (شميرى sombrero) which he had on his head, to respect and honour him. And the Ambassador replied that he was well, praise be to God,

¹ Mr. Stanhope wrote to the Earl of Nottingham, January 10, 1691: "Our Marocco Ambassador is at last fallen to an envoy. I saw him go to audience, where was an extraordinary concourse of people to see him, for the rarity of the thing and the oddness of the dress, as little known here as with us. His business is only to treat about the redemption of the prisoners taken at Larache. It is adjusted he is to have ten Moors a-piece for a hundred officers, and the common men to be exchanged man for man."

and presented his letter to the King, who took it, raised it to his forehead, and kissed it, and placed it on the table prepared for it; after that he also raised what he had on his head. Then he asked the Ambassador after his own health and about his journey, and the Ambassador expressed his thanks for his treatment of him, and for the treatment which he had met with from the King's officers. And the King was pleased and approved, and after the Ambassador had spoken, said, "Thanks be to God for your health, and on another occasion we will return an answer to that which you have brought." And the Ambassador withdrew, and those who were with the King came out also and took leave of the Ambassador.

The Ambassador then mentions that Carlos II. was not of the ancient family of kings who warred with the Muslims, but of Flemish origin: he then relates the discovery of America and its conquest, and the riches acquired by Spain from those possessions, and says, "So much so that pomp and luxury have prevailed over them, and none of their race can be found who carries on commerce, or travels to other countries for that purpose, as is the custom of other Christian nations like the Flemings, and the English and French and Genoese and others. And in the same way this nation rejects all the despised employments which poor people follow, and esteems itself more excellent than any of the other nations of the Messiah. And the greater number of those who follow those employments which are despised in Spain are Frenchmen, because their country is poor, and they have become very numerous in Spain for the sake of service and acquiring and heaping up property, which they are able to do in a short time." The Ambassador then says that very many Spaniards desire to acquire dignities, and that these are not granted to persons in trade, though they may obtain them for their heirs. And dignity or greatness consists in a cross embroidered on the breast, and can only be obtained by those who are of ancient Christianity, and can count seven ancestors who have always professed Christianity, without suspicion of Judaism or of anything other than the faith of the Messiah. After establishing that, he may receive the order to wear a cross,

and then he gives money to the people of the Council, and to the friars, who also give their license. The Ambassador then gives a short account of the royal family of Spain, beginning with Philip el Hermoso of Flanders: he speaks of Charles the Fifth's expedition to Algiers, and of Don Sebastian of Portugal's disaster at Alcazar Kebir in Marocco, where very few of his army escaped. The Ambassador says, "The number of the Christians, according to what is known amongst us, was eighty thousand; and the Christians say that Don Sebastian's army was eighteen thousand; that there were twelve thousand Portuguese and three thousand English; they brought succour on account of the peace and treaty of friendship which existed between them; and there were three thousand Spaniards whom Philip II. lent to the son of his sister; and the truth as to the number is that which is established amongst the Muslims."

[A detailed account of this battle, 1578, was lately published in Portugal, and a French translation appeared in the Bibliothèque Universelle Suisse, tom. 17, Geneva, 1863, which mentions an Italian and a German regiment, but no English.]

The Ambassador says of the expulsion of the Moriscoes, that it was not possible to discover them all, on account of their being confounded with the rest of the inhabitants, and their having forgotten El Islam. He also says that, "On account of the advice which the Minister (the Duke of Lerma) gave to the King to expel those who were expelled, who were Christians and had entered the Christian faith in such numbers, the Spaniards accuse him (the Duke of Lerma) of Judaism, because his counsel was not in accordance with their religion in the matter of expelling this multitude after they were reckoned as Christians.

[Whether this opinion mentioned by the Ambassador were general or not in his time, it is certain that all those who wrote in favour of the expulsion quoted from the Jewish wars as freely as did the Puritans, and in that sense the charge of Judaism might be sustained against the Duke of Lerma and Fray Bleda.]

The Ambassador continues: "As some of the Christians

are accused of Judaism there is a tribunal in Madrid called the Council of the Inquisition :” he then describes it, and says that whilst he was at Madrid the Inquisition seized one of the favourites and ministers of the King and put him in prison at Toledo, and another man also employed in the collection of the King’s rents, and the King could do nothing for them.

The Ambassador gives a long account of the insurrection of Portugal and struggle against Spain in Philip the Fourth’s reign, and of the troubles caused by Don John of Austria and Don Fernando Valenzuela, the “Duende,” or Ghost of the Palace, in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. He describes the old Moorish Castle of Consuegra, which was then used as a state prison : [this castle is now in ruins, it is said to have been the last place held by the French in the war of Independence.]

The Ambassador then returns to the subject of his embassy, and says that the Sultan’s letter was given to an Aleppo Christian to translate. And when it was translated, and the King read what it contained, and the request of the Sultan for five thousand volumes and five hundred captives, the royal consent became difficult and the King did not know how to meet this request, and he understood that this was the firm intention of the Sultan, and that he could not hesitate in the matter. So the King held a consultation with his councillors, and they were of opinion to listen favourably to the request of the Muley and Imam ; and they debated about it several days, and said that the Muslim books had been burned in a town in Spain, and that as the Sultan had in his letter left the option in case of the books not existing or being damaged of giving up a full thousand of the Muslim captives, they wished to omit a part of the thousand. And they did not find it possible to do this, and they could only end the business by conceding it ; and when the Sultan on his side accepted this, they set to work to seek for and collect the captives, during which time the King was very friendly to the Ambassador.

The Ambassador saw all the great houses at Madrid and

the King's palaces and gardens : he describes skating on the water in the Retiro, and says this art was introduced by the Flemings. He says that mares in foal were brought to see the horse of the bronze equestrian statue of Philip IV. in the Retiro, and that a sound was made to come from the statue like neighing ; and the breed of the foal was supposed to be improved thereby, and that it was likely to become like the horse of that statue. He was invited to shoot in the Pardo, a permission which excited great surprise, since it had been asked for by the Ambassadors of France and Germany and had been refused to them. He then describes a great ceremony in the Plaza Mayor ; this was for the canonisation of San Juan de Dios : here the Ambassador was placed in a seat in a gallery opposite to the King's gallery, and treated with great kindness and consideration by the King. San Juan de Dios was the founder of many hospitals in Spain ; and the Ambassador gives the following description of many of fourteen hospitals of Madrid which he visited : " In each of these hospitals there are magazines full each one of what belongs to it, oil, vinegar, remedies and potions, etc., and a kitchen ; and I have found in these flesh of sheep, of chickens, of rabbits, partridges, and of swine, and the rest of what is wanted for the sick. And when the doctor enters to visit the sick he feels his hand and informs himself of his state, and writes upon a tablet, and gives this tablet to the person charged with the sick, and he gives it to the official of the kitchen, and they prepare for the sick man what the doctor has ordered. And I have seen in the hospital another building, in which were the clothes of the sick. This is when the sick man enters the hospital, they take away all the clothes he wears and deposit them in the building disposed for this purpose, and they write on them upon a tablet, to recognise the clothes and their owner ; and clothe him with other garments prepared for the sick, and the property of the hospital endowment. They give him a bed, with a mattress, pillow, and sheet, and every week they wash the clothes he wears and give him others. And if he rises up from his sickness they dress him in the clothes he brought with him,

and he goes his way; and if he dies they shroud him at the expense of the hospital, and take information of his family, and return to them the clothes which he left. And for each of these hospitals there is a doctor, who has a house appointed for him close to the hospital, and its rent is paid from the hospital endowment, and all the provisions of the doctor and of his assistants and their necessities proceed from the endowment, so that they may be always present and not absent, and not occupied with the cares of their maintenance. And this order of monks dedicated to San Juan serve the sick more than any other men do, and they do so with faith and belief. In truth, one of our friends fell sick when we were staying in the city of San Lucar, and this religious order used to visit us every day, and when they saw the sick man they begged our leave to carry him to their place to cure him and occupy themselves with his affair. And we did not permit it; and they came again, and said, we love to do good, and do not believe you will prevent us from doing it; and they made great entreaty, but it was not granted to them in this case. And they did not cease to visit him until he was convalescent. And men love them for their good faith, and for the goodness of their disposition, and their poverty and humility: indeed, if they were in the straight path, they would be the best of the race by their disposition; and the greater number of them are poor. And God directs whom he pleases into the true path."

The Ambassador then describes the Post-office and the lists for letters poste restante, and says the payment for letters was their own weight in silver from beyond Spain; and that a courier came from Rome in February with a weight of 53 arrobas of letters, upon which 13 cwt. and a quarter of silver was levied. The Ambassador then speaks of another invention better than the Post-office for spreading news. "There is a building containing moulds of letters under one man who for this gives a sum of money to the King, which is fixed at the beginning of each year; and all the news that can be collected is put into the mould, and with that they print a thousand of papers and sell them at a very low price. And

a man carries a great number of these papers, and cries them, and says, Who buys the news of such a country, and the news of such a country? Then whoever wishes to inform himself about this buys one of these papers, and they call it *Gazeta*; and by means of them a man acquires much news. Nevertheless there is in them much exaggeration and falsehood, which is introduced by evil passions." [Regularly published newspapers began in England in 1695; Macaulay, vol. iv. 602.]

The Ambassador then mentions the death of the late Pope, and the long time that elapsed before a new one was named, and says a courier arrived from Rome with news of the election of the new one when he was at San Lucar on his return from Madrid, which fixes that date at the end of July, 1691, as this Pope (Innocent XII.) was elected July 12, 1691: he then describes minutely the mode of election. Speaking of the rights of the Dukes of Medina Celi [several of which still exist], he says these Dukes in saluting the King always said, "We after your Majesty," meaning that they held the succession after the King if he left no posterity; and that nine years before, when he was minister, Charles II. having no children, this form of greeting vexed the King's heart, and he begged of him to abandon and give it up, and not express the hope, "You, and there is no posterity after you," upon which the Duke left it off. The Ambassador mentions as present at Madrid the Nuncio, and Ambassadors from Germany and England, also from Portugal and Valencia: he speaks of the two latter as established and domiciled with their children and business. [The agents or deputies from Catalonia were till a late time called ambassadors.] The French Ambassador had gone away on account of the general war. Here he states that some time before "there was an English Ambassador who fell in love with a lady, and what he felt for her increased so much that he became a Christian and followed the religion of the people of the Cross, for the English nation do not adore the Cross; and when the English had news of his having become a Christian, they changed him, and sent another in his stead; and he remained in Madrid, married. And the King gave

him an office with which he might live, and which might amount to twelve thousand reals each year; but he lost all that he possessed in his own country, so that there was no covetousness in him in this business." [This ambassador was Sir Wm. Godolphin; see Lord Mahon's *Court of Charles II.*, pp. 90, 96.]

The Ambassador then gives a very fair account of the causes of the war in Europe, of the French differences with the Duke of Savoy, with the Pope [Innocent XI. with respect to the Ambassadorial Asylums in Rome for thieves and assassins], of the demands of the German Emperor to France to break the truce with the Turks, and of the Augsburg League. This is how he describes the situation of England: "When the King of the English died during the period of enmity between the Christians, he left no son to succeed him on the throne, and a brother of his succeeded him named James. This James and his wife believed secretly in the Christian religion without anyone of their nation knowing it; and when his brother died, and the disposition of the government belonged to him, and he had no doubt as to the succession, and of entering upon the dignity of his brother, and they asked him to reign over them, he refused, and declined feignedly and with cunning; and whilst they were discussing it, he said, I do not consent to what you ask of me unless you do according to my desire, which is not to your injury, and that is, that each one who loves his religion may be able to follow it;¹ and they agreed to this, and consented, and set on him the crown and made him king. And he did not alarm them until he and his wife arose one morning with crosses hung round their necks, and they allowed the friars to be seen publicly who were with them, and they entered the churches and performed the prayers of the Christians. All those who were in the secret followed them, and those also who desired to conduct the people of their nation to follow their religion which the King had suddenly manifested. And when the English nation saw what had happened to them of the difference of the King's religion and

¹ *Declaration of Indulgence*, April 4, 1687.

theirs, and because he followed the religion of the people of the Cross, they feared that this would be an injury to their community, and that they would not be able to find a remedy for this business: and they protested against the King and his acts respecting religion; and they assembled their council and made haste to kill him. When the King knew their intentions, he fled to the French King, he and his wife, and took refuge with him. And the French made haste to protect and defend him, from their enmity to the English, and to spite them.¹ And they disputed about it, and there were words between them, and the rupture between them happened when the French King said, You are all as much my enemies as the other Christians, and expect war from me until I shall have restored the fugitive to his house and kingdom in spite of you. And when there happened to the English, what happened in the matter of the departure of their king, and of the war which was lighted up between them and the French, they took for their king the Prince of Orange, the administrator of the Flemish nation, for these two were following the same religion in the difference which exists between them and the people of the Cross," etc. etc.

The Ambassador speaks of the taking of Mons by Louis XIV., and says there were twelve thousand Spanish troops there. [Henry Martin says, "The Governor of Mons gave up the place on the 8th April, and came out of it on the 10th with four thousand eight hundred men. There ought to have been twelve thousand men, and the Governor had assured William III. that he had that number. King William was irritated when he knew he had been deceived, and wrote to complain of it to Charles II." From the Marocco Ambassador's statement it would appear that the Court of Madrid in general had been equally misled by the Governor of Mons.] The Ambassador goes on to relate the state of the war between France and Spain, and mentions two occurrences which I have not been able to find mentioned elsewhere. He says

¹ The Parisians could talk of nothing but what was passing in London. National and religious feeling impelled them to take the part of James," etc. etc. Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 594.

that when the French bombarded Barcelona, the people of Barcelona rose up against all the Frenchmen living in their country, and expelled all the single men, and allowed to remain only those who were married: and "when the French ships left Barcelona, they came before Alicante and levelled with bombs more than six hundred houses; and the people of Alicante also laid hold of the Frenchmen who were amongst them, and killed them, for not one escaped. And they say that the number of those who were killed in Alicante was three thousand souls." [Henry Martin says, "The French threw eight hundred shells into Barcelona and two thousand into Alicante (in July, 1691), these cities having refused to pay ransom: they thought to make Barcelona rise by bombarding it; they only succeeded in blotting out what might exist of the ancient sympathy of Barcelona for France." tom xiv. p. 147.]

The Ambassador then relates the state of affairs in Italy, and the movements of the Turkish and Tatar armies, and the conduct of Tekely in Hungary; he describes the alliance of Louis XIV. with the Turk, but attributes it solely to the interests of French commerce in the Levant; and he says [referring to the policy of Colbert], that in this reign men of commerce were for the first time taken into the councils of the French monarchy. When speaking of the probability of the succession to the throne of Spain going to the French royal family by inheritance through a female, he says that on account of that expectation the Spaniards were learning French and teaching it to their sons. He then again alludes to the slaughter of Frenchmen this year as likely to increase the enmity between the two nations.

From Louis the Fourteenth's disputes with the Pope the Ambassador goes back to explain the origin of Protestantism, and describes the fasts and Easter ceremonies: he gives a detailed account of the washing of the feet of thirteen poor people by the King and by the Queen and Queen-Mother, and of the dinner served to them before that by the King in the presence of the Nuncio and Archbishop: he presented to each poor man thirty dishes. The Ambassador says the poor

men carry away all the dinner in their vessels, and sell it in the streets to crowds of people, as they believe there is a blessing on this food.¹ He then quotes the Gospel of St. John in explanation of this ceremony. In describing the processions he says, "There are Christians who represent the crucified personally, and veil their face not to be recognised, but a servant of his or a friend follows him to take care that he does not faint by the way from the number of stripes he receives on his shoulders, and the blood runs down his legs." He says that on Easter day a number of pieces of paper are scattered in the air, on which are printed pictures of Saints and the word Hallelujah in Hebrew letters: [this is the origin of the name Haleluia given in Spanish to a sort of doll on a stick, and to pictures with verses and mottoes.]

After the description of the Easter ceremonies he gives an account of Rome, of his discussions with friars, and then an invective against some of their abuses. Apropos of these, he relates that "a handsome woman at Seville came to see him with her mother and two sisters, and many Christians were present, and they began to talk of the friars and clergy. And the young woman said, He who trusts to the friars is accursed. And he asked her why she said this, and she answered, I know them all, and have no need to give more explanations. The Ambassador was much surprised at her speaking in that way whilst some of the clergy were present, and considering the great rank they hold amongst the Christians." However the Ambassador says, notwithstanding this, he had seen a great number of very good monks, especially an old man, the head of the church in the Escorial. [From the register of the Escorial this man would be Fray Pedro Reynoso, a *Catedrático*, or Professor, who succeeded Fray Luis de San Pablo on the 5th December, 1690.] This leads to a description of the Escorial: speaking of the college there, and of the study of Latin, he says Latin is equivalent to the study of syntax amongst the Arabs. When the Ambassador was at the Escorial the damage done by the fire in 1671 had not yet been entirely repaired.

¹ This is still the practice at the present day.

After this the Ambassador went to Aranjuez, where he took leave of the King, and was received by him and the Queen and a great number of ladies. The King gave him a letter for the Sultan, and charged him with presenting his salutations to the Sultan, and with requesting from him his favour for the captives in Marocco, and expressed his readiness and desire to comply with any representations which the Sultan might make. The Ambassador, though in a hurry to return to his country, was persuaded to remain a day at Aranjuez, to go out shooting with one of the King's confidants: he then returned to Madrid, and left it for Marocco on the 1st of Ramazan (or the 29th of May, 1691), and journeyed to Toledo; of this he gives a long description, and follows it with several passages from the history of the Arab conquest. [Some of these are taken from Ibn Adhary, others are contained in Al Makkari, and some seem to come from works which are not at present known. The Ambassador's narrative breaks off abruptly, after concluding with a defence of the character of Musa bin Nosayr. Some of these extracts of Arab history have been published in M. Dozy's *Recherches*, and others in a memoir of Mr. Gayangos on the *Chronicle of the Moor Rasis*.] [The following passage is not, I think, so well known.]

“Abdul Malik Ibn Habib said, and he attributes it to some of the Tabis who entered Spain, the Khalifs of Beny Umayyah had disposed that when the produce of the taxes arrived, there should present themselves with it ten of the principal and best of the inhabitants of each place; and neither dinar nor dirhem entered into the treasury of these taxes until the deputation had sworn by God, there is no other deity but He, that there was not amongst that money any dinar or any dirhem which had been taken otherwise than lawfully, and that this money was only the produce of what had been given by the people of the country for their families and children. There arrived a deputation from Afrikiyah with its taxes in the last days of the Khalif Suleyman; and when they were ordered to take the oath, eight of them swore, and two men abstained, these were Ismail bin Abid Allah, a client of the

Beny Mahzum, and As-Samh bin Malik Khaulany. And Omer bin Abdul Aziz was surprised at what they had done, and when he succeeded to the Califate, he drew them near to him, and experienced in them good faith and good conduct. And he set Ismail bin Abid Allah as governor over Afrikiyah, and As-Samh bin Malik as governor over Spain."

Two Turkish words, *boghaz*, straits, and *sanjak*, a flag, are used in this MS., also جامور, which is not to be found in the dictionary, and is Maghriby for *hillal*, the crescent, or pinnacle of a mosque. There is also the word مگانه which I have been unable to find the origin of, it must mean a sun-dial or clock.



ART. XI.—*The Poetry of Mohamed Rabadan, of Arragon.*

By the Hon. H. E. J. STANLEY.

THE history of the Day of Judgment, and the canto of the death of the Prophet Muhammad, by Rabadan, were published in the preceding number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society. These two poems were received with much enthusiasm at Barcelona. With the exception of the history of Hexim and Abdulmutalib, none of Rabadan's poetry has been before published. It may be as well to remind the reader that Rabadan wrote in 1603. The following notes are given here, as it would have been inconvenient to give them as foot notes.

Como quieres encerrarme
En este vaso asqueroso?

Compare with this expostulation of the soul of Adam the following passage from the Zohar:—

"At the time when the Holy One, blessed be He, willed to create the universe, the universe was already present in His thoughts; then He formed also the souls which later were to belong to men, they were all before Him, exactly in the form which they were to have later in the human body. The Eternal looked at them one after the other, and saw several which would corrupt their ways in the world. When its time is come, each of these souls is summoned before the Eternal, who says to it: Go to such a part of the earth and animate such a body. The soul replies: O Lord of the universe I am happy in the world in which I am, and do not desire to leave it for another where I shall be subjected and exposed to all pollutions. Then the Holy One, blessed be He, answers: From the day on which thou wast created thou hadst no other destination than to go into the world whither I am sending thee. Seeing that it must obey, the soul with grief takes the road to earth and comes down amidst us."—*La Kabbale*, p. 241, by Ad. Franck. Paris, Hachette, 1843, Rue Pierre Sarrasin, 17. B.M. 1363, d.

Quen amor vienen á ser
Una carne y una sangre.

"Our Prophet has declared to us the reason why the first man

was composed of so many kinds of earth from such distant spots, since on this account knowledge of mankind is communicated to men, and by it men of all parts know one another,—those of the West recognise those of the East, and on only seeing one another they contract friendships, and through love are of the same flesh and blood.”

This refers to the law laid down by Muhammad that all men are equal, and that there is no difference between the white and black or the red and yellow among the children of Adam. This declaration was proclaimed in the midst of a nation second to none in pride of birth and pride of race; and this doctrine is that of *interdependence*, which modern philosophers are attempting to establish. Mr. Congreve writes:—

“Under whatever divisions man exists,—races, national aggregates, tribes, empires, states, families, all are but integral parts, practically, of one whole; branches of one great family, each with its proper functions; each able to minister to the welfare of the others and of the whole” (International Policy, p. 5).

M. Renan also, whilst discrediting the Mosaic Revelation, insists on the necessity of clinging to the belief in one first man and a common origin of mankind, as necessary to all civilization and progress.

Mr. Deutsch has been so kind as to give me the following extracts from the Talmud with respect to the unity of the human race:—

“*Man was created alone*, to show you that he who destroys one human life destroys as it were the whole world . . . and further, that one man might not say to another: my father was greater than yours . . . and further, that every single human being might be equally entitled to say, the world has been created for *my* sake . . . and in order to destroy family pride. See now, since there is only one progenitor of our race, how they squabble about their lineage, what would they do if there were two? Let them also remember that man was created *last*, that even the gnat may boast of a more ancient lineage. . . . [Adam was created from the dust gathered together from the whole earth.]—(Talmud, Sanhedrin, 37.a; 38.a.)

It is, perhaps, from this Rabbinical lesson that a Spanish

story is derived of a black Marquis who was derisively asked about his genealogy, and who replied that he descended from the second Adam: on being reproached with his supposed ignorance, as there was no such person, he answered: then why inquire into my genealogy since we are both descended from a common ancestor.

Era el pavo, y esto viendo.

"The Porter of Paradise excused himself, who, as the Ulema say, was the peacock." See D'Herbelot—art. Adam, and Note at p. 175 of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hakluyt Society, respecting the association of the peacock with Satan. This tradition is still current in Spain. Pavo is from the Paris MS., the London MS. has pago, an error, which Mr. Morgan has not attempted to translate.

Debaxo sus paladares.

One of the most remarkable of the frequent coincidences in sense and expression between Milton and Rabadan, is where they both represent Satan as entering the mouth of the serpent:—

"in at his mouth
The Devil enter'd, and his brute sense,
In heart or head, possessing, soon inspir'd
With act intelligential;——"

This coincidence is probably owing to a tradition followed by both poets, since it would have been more natural to represent Satan as taking the form of the serpent, and Milton twice refers to the transformation of Satan and his angels.—V. Book i., 423, and iii., 634.

No relumbrante como antes.

According to Rabbinical tradition, Adam's stature was diminished after his fall.

Con una vedriera clara.

Mr. Morgan translates this line thus: "This was covered with most clear and transparent glass," and he puts a sarcastic note as to their having glass in those ages; but the fact is vidriera is a very good equivalent for the word used in Genesis

vi. 16, which we translate window : *טוֹחַ* *tsohar* signifies clear and bright, Symmachus translates it *διαφaves*, a transparency, and a Rabbinical commentary says it was made from a transparent stone brought by Noah from the river Pison. This tradition also is still current in Spain.

Ya no habia mencion dellas.

Here and elsewhere Rabadan uses the same words as in his description of the destruction of the world before the Judgment, and it is clear that he is drawing a parallel between the universal deluge and the end of the world.

Este (*Tareh*) fue padre de Ezar.

With regard to this, Mr. Morgan gives the following note : "It is generally concluded that Moses' Tareh was the Azar of the Arabs, because, according to the Hebrew text of Genesis, that Patriarch was the son of Tareh ; for in all Mahometan histories, Abraham is called the son of Azar : yet it appears that the Arabs do not mean the same person by those two names, since Tareh is by them made Abraham's grandfather. Had our chronologists, who have taken so much pains to reconcile the epochs of Abraham's transmigration, with the years of his age and the death of Tareh, been acquainted with this genealogy of the Arabians, perhaps they would not have needed to fly to a second transmigration of the Patriarch, not mentioned in Scripture ; and they might easily solve all their difficulties by admitting of two Tarehs, one of whom, called also Azar, was father, and the other grandfather, to Abraham ; which is not repugnant to Scripture."

The next number of the Journal will contain the history of Abraham, and of the prophets in the line of Isaac.



BISMÍ YLLAHÍ ARRAHMENÍ YRRAHMÍ.¹

CANTO PRIMERO EN QUE SE DEDICA ESTE LIBRO A
SOLO ALLAH CRIADOR DE TODA COSA.

A ti, monarca divino,
Rey de los ymπίrios Cielos,
Señor de las potestades,
Gobernador sempiterno;
Tú que los flacos sentidos
En este suelo terreno
Admites, y por lo poco
Das cumplido y largo premio;
Tú que solo te contentas
Con solos buenos deseos,
Y aquellos premias y guardas,
Si son limpios y perfetos,
Pues nunca niegues la oreja
A los que con limpio pecho
Pidén tu divino auxilio
En sus apretados hechos,
Socorre, Rey piadoso,
Este miserable siervo
Que arrimado á tu bondad
Se engolfa en un mar inquieto,
Sin remos y sin entena,

Roto el mastil y el gobierno,
Con sola la triste proa
De su flaco entendimiento,
Que rompe las fieras olas²
El animo de su zelo;
Confiado que tu gracia
Le dé favorable viento,
Con el qual sus cortas velas
Arriven á salvo puerto,
Donde su derota caxa³
Tu santo accontentamiento;⁴
Y si tu no le socorres,
Será posible que en medio
De su jornada se anegue,
Sin valerle humano medio.
Tú que la voz sonora
Sacas de un troz de madero,
Y la musica suave
De un mudo y toscó instrumento;
Tú que haces que resuenen
Las piedras con roncós ecos,

¹ El santísimo nombre de Allah invoco, MS. de Paris.

² Ondas, P.


³ Coxa, P.

⁴ Acompañamiento.

Y que retumbe y dé voces
 Un vaso de cobre y hierro,
 Concedeme, Rey piadoso,
 Ayuda, favor y esfuerzo,
 Y aliento con que retumbe
 Mi voz y baxos acentos,
 Con que pueda acoseguir
 El fin de mi sano intento,
 Que á tu divina bondad
 Va dedicado y sujeto.
 "Y tú mensajero, a quien
 En suerte cupo ser lego,
 En cuya lengua estampado
 Fué el camino verdadero;
 Intercedeme favor,
 Pues en loor tuyo, pienso
 Contar lo que mi rudeza
 Me concede, y pobre ingenio,
 De tu linaje escogido,
 De aquellos que posieron
 Aquella luz relumbrante,
 Que antes de fraguar los Cielos,
 Crió el Señor poderoso
 Para tu propicio herencio;
 Diré dó tomó principio,
 Y quiénes y quantos fueron
 Los varones señalados
 Que esta insignia merecieron,
 Pasando de padre en hijo
 Desde aquel Padre primero
 Sin cortar el claro hilo
 Hasta llegar á su puesto;
 Que fué su preciosa frente
 Criada para este efecto.
 Diré los hechos notables
 Destos justos mensajeros
 Que llevaron esta luz;
 Lo que en su defensa hicieron,
 Y la misteriosa gracia¹
 Que el Señor hizo por ellos,
 Por honrra de la ventaja²
 De su patron y heredero.
 Y a tí lector muzlim
 A cuyo poder mis versos
 Llegaren, ruego que supla
 Mis faltas y torpes yerros

Tu grande benevolencia,
 A cuyo honor los ofrezco;
 Y advierte lector prudente,
 Que son lós gustos diversós:
 Que de lo que uno aborrece, }
 Otro recibe contento; }
 Unos gustan de la prosa
 A otros les agrada el metro,
 Que ya Dios ansi lo quisó,
 Segun las vueltas del tiempo.
 Muchas autores han sido
 Los que hablaron y dixerón⁴
 De los proféticos triunfos,
 Historias de grande ejemplo;
 De dó quedaron sus nombres
 Ilustrados y laurentos;
 Asi de los que alloharón⁵
 Como los que lo hicieron;
 Que si no las escribieran
 Es averiguado y cierto
 Que tales hechos quedaron
 En perdurable silencio;
 Ni la jente se exemplara⁶
 Con tales acaecimientos
 Ni se les diera la palma⁷
 A los que hicieran los hechos;
 Y ansi por esta razon
 Se debe dar tanto premio
 Al que saca á luz la historia,
 Como al patron de ella mesmo.
 Pero al que acertó á estampalla
 En termino tan moderno
 Que en música se cantase
 Con dulce y sabrosa acento;
 Este mereció mas gloria
 Por que hizo mas, supuesto
 Que dió mas fuerza á la fama,
 Y al mundo mayor contento.
 Pues como sea verdad
 Que el testimonio mas cierto,
 Que dan el cuerpo y el alma
 De su grande ajuntamiento,
 Es la voz que entre los dos
 Concuerdan y dan al viento;
 Y él que hace que sonore
 La voz con dulce resueno

¹ Y las mercedes y gracias, P. ² Yvantalla, P. ³ Variante en la margen.

⁴ Escribieron, P. ⁵ De  luh tabla, poner por escrito en una tabla.

⁶ Ejemplarse por tomar ejemplo.

⁷ Fama, P.

Es el verso que nos muestra
Lo cumplido de talento;
Por el qual muchos han sido
Puestos en celebre asiento,
Como el hijo de Hamema,
Bilel, el gran pregonero
Que su voz le puso en trono
De ser único en el suelo;
Pues los versos que cantaba
De solamente ser buenos,¹
Mereceran ser cantados
En aquel descanso eterno.
En verso salió cantando
Omar, aquel gran guerrero,
Quando á publicar su dim²
Salió con el mensajero.
David cantando espelia
Los axaitanes³ perversos
Del cuerpo del Rey Saul,
Con su divino instrumento;
Y todas quantas pigramas
Que hizo en reconocimiento
De sus conocidas culpas
Cánticos sagrados fueron.
Los tazbihes⁴ y loaciones,
Sus altos entonamientos,
Todos son cantos gloriosos
Que dan los coros angélicos.
Es el verso reclamante
Que aviva el entendimiento,
Incita á que con mas gusto⁵
La memoria renovemos,
Y es bien que los hechos raros
En general los cantemos;
Por que siempre su acordanza
Nos exorta con su exemplo;
Y aunque estos versos no puedan
Ser del número de aquéllos
Que con acendrada pluma
Sus nombres engrandecieron,
Por ser mi caudal tan pobre;
A lo menos, estoy cierto
Que la materia que sigo

Servirá de contrapeso,
Para que en mi flaqueza
Venga á hacer un buen medio.
De modo que se concuerde
Con mi voluntad y zelo,
Ques de acertar á servir⁶
Al fin de este gran misterio
Que enseñorea⁷ todo el mundo:
Tanta obligacion tenemos,
Y aunque, como tengo dicho,
Es bien que nos acordemos
De todos los annabies
Por el muy grande provecho,
Que de sus hechos saquemos
Para gobierno del cuerpo
Y descanso á nuestras almas
En las alturas del cielo;
Nada tanto nos avisa
Como el honrrado alcoram,
Que manda por su decreto
A todo buen muzlim,
Enseña lo que en derecho
De nuestra verdad entienda,
Amonestando y diciendo
Con palabra ó alcalam,
El camino y fundamento
De nuestra divina ley
Ques lalizalem⁸ perfeto.
Esto nos manda, y apreta,
Que todos nos esforcemos,
Como mejor lo entendamos,
Siquiera en prosa ó en verso,
Y como mas nos parezca
Que nuestro dim enxalzemos,
Ensanchando su creencia;
Y que si no lo hacemos,
Nos denegará su gracia,¹⁰
Dandonos pena y tormento.
Y por sacudir de mi
Este debido precepto,
Y no quedar con condelma
De lo que mi entendimiento
Con su flaqueza me incita,

¹ En su clamante pregueno, MS. Paris.² Ley, P.³ الشيطان Shaitan es el mismo que Satan, por los axaitanes el autor entiende los demonios.⁴ تسبيح alabanzas.⁵ Y hace que con mas juicio, P.⁶ Escribir, P.⁷ El, P.⁸ A enseñarlo á.⁹ الاسلام El Islam.¹⁰ Arahma, P.

Determiné de ponerlo
 En materia tan subida,
 Indigna de mis conceptos,
 Ques semejante á la hormiga
 Con un terrible camello,
 O' como el flaco gusano
 Con un Elefante grueso.
 Mas basta á mi consolar
 Ver que un pecho limpio y bueno
 Muchas veces acabe
 Mil imposibles apretos,
 Como Noé con el agua,
 Como Brahim con el fuego,
 Como Daniel con las fieras,
 Y Judit con Holoferno,
 Que solo su pura fe
 Los libró destos estrechos,
 Y los hizo venerados
 En la tierra y en el Cielo.
 Esta misma confianza
 Me da animo y esfuerzo,
 Que he de salir victorioso
 Por¹ el poderio inmenso;
 Y como Alláh dió lugar²
 Que los Moros de este reyno³
 Con tantas persecuciones
 Sean pugnidos y presos,
 Las cosas de nuestro dim⁴
 Han venido á tanto estrecho,⁵
 Que ya no se administraba
 En publico ni en secreto.
 Ya el azalá se olvidaba
 Ni se hacía caudal dello
 Y si se hacía, era poco,
 Denunciado y sin respeto;
 El ayunó interrumpian⁶
 Mal guardado y descompuesto,
 El azaque⁷ sepultado,
 Las alfitras⁸ y sus diezmos;
 Y el nombramiento de Alláh,
 Con el de su mensagero,
 Ya casi no se nombraban

Por sus nombres los perfectos;
 Por que siendo baptizados
 Á fuerza, con tantos miedos,
 Perdiendo los alquitebes,⁹
 No quedando rastro de ellos,
 Los alimes acabados,
 Quales muertos, quales presos,
 La Inquisicion desplegada
 Con grandes fuerzas y apremios,
 Haciendo con gran rigor
 Crucezas y desafueros,
 Que casi por todas partes
 Hacia temblar el suelo;
 Aqui prenden, y alli prenden
 Á los baptizados nuevos.
 Cargandoles cada dia
 Galeras, tormento y fuego
 Con otras adversaciones
 Que á solo Alláh es el secreto.
 Pues entre tantos trabajos
 E' intolerables tormentos
 Que hasta hoy han caullebado,
 Setenta y seis años ciertos,
 Y siempre con mas rigor
 Que en su principio primero,¹⁰
 Que luz se podrá tener
 Del adim y su cimiento?
 Si en el servicio de Alláh
 Anda turbio y perplexo,¹¹
 De cosas tan encubiertas
 No es mucho que esten agenos,
 Tuviendo tantos contrarios;
 Y nuestro mayor adverso,¹²
 El mundo que siempre incita
 Á que nos desacordemos
 De este soberano bien,
 Con sus deleites y enredos.¹³
 Esto es lo que me há movido
 (Este me dió atrevimiento)¹⁴
 Á emprender este compendio¹⁵
 Con tan pequeño talento,
 Y á declarar el origen

¹ Con, P.² Fue servido, P.³ Reynos, P.⁴ Adim, P.⁵ Estremo, P.⁶ Interrumpido, P.⁷ زكات limosna.⁸ الفطر la fiesta despues del ayuno.⁹ الكتاب los libros.¹⁰ Va su corriente siguiendo, P.¹¹ Andan tibios y perplexos, P.¹² Y el mas enemigo nuestro, P.¹³ Con sus deleytosos çefios, P.¹⁴ Del MS. de Paris.¹⁵ Tan gran jornada, P.

El manantio y soñuelo
De dó nuestro santo dim
Tomó el principio primero;
Para que los muzlimes
Reciban este contento
De ver las grandas mercedes
Que el Señor hizo por ellos,
En guiarnos á una ley,
A un camino tan derecho
Que sale del Paraiso
Y vuelve á su nacimiento.

Reciban esta instancia¹
Los muzlimes discretos,
A quien remito la enmienda
De mis faltas y defectos;
Y su divina bondad
Alumbra mi pensamiento
Con la lumbré de su gracia,
Para que acierte á ponerlo
En el punto que conviene
A lo que tengo propuesto.

Comienza la Historia primera del discurso de la Luz de Muhamad Salam; trata el origen de la luz, la fundacion del mundo, el halecamiento de Edam, la destronacion de Luzbel, y cayda de nuestros primeros padres, con lo que fué de su destierro y prevaricanza; y pasa la Varonia de la luz hasta Noh alehisalem. Contiene esta Historia dos cantos.²

Antes que fuese formado³
Edam, nuestro primer Padre,
Antes de fraguar los Cielos,
Y antes que el mundo formase,⁴
Cuenta Melique en su dicho
Y en su consorcio de nahues⁵
Un caso muy singular
Y un secreto memorable,
Que hizo el Rey de los Cielos⁶
En favor de los mortales,
Por donde nos enseñó
Aquel amor entrañable,
Que nuestra halecacion⁷
Quiso Alláh comunicarle;
Y fué que mandó á Chebril
Que con su mano guiase
El alcalam y escriptura,⁸
Una carta de homenaje,
En la qual quedó estampada
Su promesa y delitaje,
Que en este universal siglo
Quería que se humanase
El hecho de sus criaturas,
Sus obras, tiempos y edades:
El plazo de su vivir,

Y el premio que habia de darle.
Pues como ya fuese escrita,
Dixó Chebril! "que te place,
Señor, que ya tu al-calam
No quiere andar adelante,"
Tomó entonces la carta⁹
Y primero que doblarla,
La selló con su Real juro¹⁰
Que es su promesa fincante;
Mandó á Chebril que fuese
Con ella y que rodease
Los signos altos y baxos,
Al fin de que no quedase
Tronacion ni potestad
Que todos no le azaxdasen;
Y fué tan llena de gracia
Que todas las potestades¹¹
Le hicieron gran reverencia,
Y prestaron homenaje.
Dixó Chebril! ó Señor!
"Ya hice lo que mandaste,
Mira que mandas¹² que haga."
Dixó el Señor: "toma y parte
Ese cristal, y esa carta
Pon dentro, y vuelve á cerralle,

¹ Intencion (Paris).

² Canto primero en el qual cuenta la criaçion y formacion del mundo hasta la caída de nuestros primeros padres con todo lo que fue de su prevaricanza. MS. Londres.

³ Criado, P.

⁴ Formarse, P.

⁵ Nahues, MS. Londres, retor, gramático, de جو.

⁶ Señor Piadoso, P.

⁷ Creacion. Que á nuestra humana nacion, P.

⁸ Escriviere, P.

⁹ Tomó Allah la carta entonces, P.

¹⁰ Sello, P.

¹¹ Los almalaques.

¹² Mas quies, P.

Que este es homenaje mio
 Seguro é incontrastable.”
 Dice Al Hasan á este caso :
 “ Quando acabó de cerrarle,
 El cristal lanzó de si
 Una voz tan traspasante
 Que Chebril quedó atajado
 Viendo misterio tan grande ;
 Que aunque quisiera decir
 De esta luz alguna parte,
 No bastó su actividad
 Para poder semblanzarle.”
 De aqui puedes colegir
 Como nuestro delitaje
 Excederá en mayor gracia
 Á todos los almalaques,
 Por que esta luz del cristal
 Mas de dos mil años antes
 Que el Señor formase á Edam
 Quisó en la carta estampalle :
 Donde estuvo detenida¹
 Para que Edam la gozase
 Y toda su varonia,
 Y hasta llegar á entregalle
 En la frente de Muhamad,
 Como se dirá adelante.
 Pues quando Alláh fue servido²
 Que el primer hombre tomase
 El habito de este mundo
 Y en el viviese y morase,
 Sin tener ningun acuerdo
 Previno á sus potestades
 Aparejar³ un alarx
 Entre todos los alarxes ;
 Quisó decir un lugar,
 Una fabrica, una parte,
 Un mundo donde estuviesen
 Las criaturas que criase.
 Obedeciendo el mandado
 Hiziendo⁴ los Almalaques,
 Un mundo negro y escuro,
 Sin luz que lo aclarease :
 De lo qual se admiran mucho,
 Como el secreto no saben ;
 Y vueltos á su Señor,
 Dicen con voces suaves :
 “ O’ Señor de los secretos !

Que cosa tan admirable
 Es esta ? por aventura
 Somos nosotros causantes
 De alguna desobidenciam.
 Esta ha de servir de carcel,
 Que tan obscuras tinieblas
 No sabemos quien las cause ?”
 Dixó Alláh, “ no hay en vosotros
 Desobidencias formales ;
 Mas formaré halecados
 De especies tan singulares,
 Que harán ante mi obidencia,
 Desobidencias muy grandes.”
 “ No nos hagas comarcanos
 De esos siervos desleales,
 No nos ajuntes con ellos,
 Dixerón los almalaques.
 Pare qué Señor los quieres,
 Pues á nosotros criaste
 Para tu santo servicio,
 Y ellos no te satisfacen ?
 Nosotros te serviremos,
 Siendo fitos⁵ azaxdantes
 Y haremos y desharemos
 Quanto tu grandeza mande :
 Y esos que quies halecar⁶
 Como podrán azaxdarte
 Entre estas fieras tinieblas,
 Y grandes escuredades ?”
 Dixó Alláh, “ de vuestro alarxe
 Saldrá luz que los aclare
 Y los alumbré y dé guia
 Á su menester tan grande ;”⁷
 Y quiero que en vosotros haya
 La holganza perdurable,
 Descansos y contemplanzas,
 Sin que trabajo os alcance :
 Sobre los que agora formo
 Contemplanzas y pesares,
 Descansos y pesadumbres
 Dulce, amargo, agrio, suave,
 Calor, frio, sed, cansancio,
 Con otras calamidades,
 Á lo que estarán sujetos
 Mientras vida sustentaren ;
 Pero tendrán tal franquia
 En sus hechos munerables,⁸

¹ Detuvuda, P. ² Placiente, P.
³ Fixos. ⁴ Quieres criar, P.

⁵ Que aparexen, P. ⁶ Hicieron, P.
⁷ Bastante, P. ⁸ Variables, P.

Que haran absolutamente
 A sus libres voluntades,
 Sin haber quien su designio
 Les estorbe ni contraste:¹
 Sobre ellos pondré preceptos
 Que me conozcan y acaten,
 Con otros devedamientos
 Y estos mantengan y guarden
 Por mi divino servicio
 Pasibles y vadeables,
 Conformes al sufrimiento
 De lo que puedan guardarse;
 Tendrán tal conocimiento
 De mi poder inefable,
 Que para observar² aquellos
 Preceptos que yo les mande,
 De su³ razon harán otros,
 Que no menos importantes
 Serán ante mi obediencia
 Que lo que yo les encargue:⁴
 Y los que con pura fe
 Estos mis preceptos guarden
 No habrá en merecimiento
 Tronacion que les iguale.
 Vosotros sereis sus guardas,
 Que ninguno me les dañe;⁵
 Y en resguarda de sus obras,
 Y de quantos sus percases⁶
 Merezcan ó desmerezcan
 Habreis de ser testiguantes,
 Por que ante mi justicia
 Cuenta estrecha habrán de darme.”
 Los almalaques que oyeron
 Secretos tan admirables,
 Volvieron á sus tazbihes,
 Sin mas razon replicarle.
 Crió pues, Alláh este mundo,
 A una bola semejante,
 Redonda por que tuviese
 Todos los cabos iguales.
 Halecó los siete cielos
 Y pusólos tan instantes⁷
 De su⁸ alarx, que no pudiese

Por ningun cabo allegarse.
 Formó Alláh naturaleza
 A semejanza de madre,
 Que criase en ancho y largo
 Todas las cosas iguales;⁹
 Y por que no produciese
 Cosas muy estravalgantes,¹⁰
 Le pusó limite y tasa
 Para que de alli no pase.
 Hizó planetas, hizó signos
 Y mandó á los almalaques,
 Que el Cielo y sus movimientos
 Rijesen y gobernasen.
 Crio la noche y el dia
 En un ser tan concertante;¹¹
 Que se partiesen las horas
 Y crecientes y menguantes.¹²
 Crió¹³ Alláh, el sol y la Luna
 Y les mando que alumbrasen,
 La Luna, en la oscura noche;
 Y el sol, el dia alumbrase;¹⁴
 Hizó el oriente y poniente,
 Que son muros y señales
 De la luz y las tinieblas,
 Que las dividen y parten:
 Dió á la Luna conjunciones,
 Sus crecientes y menguantes
 Que son mesura del tiempo
 En doce partes iguales.
 El Cielo adornó de estrellas,
 Por donde los navegantes
 Supiesen de la ancha tierra
 Sus escondidos lugares.
 Crió los quatro elementos
 De especies tan separantes,
 Que aunque se junten en uno
 Disformes efectos hacen.
 Al fuego mandó que ardiese,
 Que hirviese y calentase;
 A la tierra dió las plantas,
 Al aire entregó las aves;
 El¹⁵ agua mandó á los peces,
 Y todos los manantiales,

¹ Sin saber que su designio
 —V. Milton, lib. iii., 100-134.

² Ausentar, MS. de Londres.

⁴ V. Milton, lib. iii., linea 194-197.

⁶ Percances, P.

⁷ Distantes, P.

¹⁰ Estravagales, MS. Paris.

¹³ Halecó, P.

¹¹ Concordante, P.

¹⁴ Aclarase, P.

Los estorben ni contrasten.

³ Fuera, MS. de Londres.

⁵ V. Milton, lib. ix., linea 156.

⁹ Deste, P.

¹² Mortales, P.

¹⁵ Y creciesen y menguasen, P.

¹⁶ Al.

Con que todas las naciones¹
 Nascan, crien, broten, granen.
 Crió el frígido Invierno,
 Y el Verano deleitable,
 La Primavera templada,
 El Otoño sazonante.
 Apartó el calor del yelo;
 Mandó al aire que soplase
 Amorosa y blandamente;
 Al fuego temple y ablande
 Su calor, por que no queme
 Mas de lo que se le mande:
 Mandó á las mares y rios
 Su cavernal fruto saquen,
 De suerte que pudiesen ser
 Á esconderse ni encorbarse;²
 Y todo lo sobredicho,
 Con otros muchos millares,
 De milagrosos misterios,
 Que en mi sentido no caben.
 Todo lo hizo en seis dias
 Alláh, el poderoso y grande,
 Y despues de todo hecho,
 Se igualó sobre su alarxe.
 Enfermoseó este mundo
 Con deleites agradables,
 Todo dedicado al hombre,
 Tome, dexe, vede y mande.
 Crió el alchana viciosa,
 De gloria tan abundante,
 Para dar premio á los suyos³
 Que sus mandamientos guarden;
 Crió la escura chahana,
 De los condenados carcel;
 Aquellos que sus preceptos
 Nieguen, su ley, y contrasten.⁴
 Lalchana sobre los cielos
 Allá quisó edificarle,
 Chahanama á los abismos
 Tenebrosa y espantable.
 Esto hecho y puesto en orden,
 Mando Alláh á sus almalaques,
 Diciendo, "qual de vosotros
 Será el que a la tierra baxe,
 Y suba un puñado della?"

Pues en aquel mismo instante,
 Cubriendo⁵ toda la tierra
 Tantos millares de azafes;
 Y al tiempo de hacer las pruebas,
 Ninguno osó franquearse
 Á tomar de ella, diciendo:
 "Quien ha de poner delante
 De un señor tan soberano,
 Y una luz tan traspasante,
 Cosa tan rustica y fea,
 Tan hediente y de mal talle?"
 Y así se volvieron todos,
 Determinando dextarle:
 Otros, pasaron⁶ tras destos;
 Y otros, despues sin pararse,
 Y ninguno se atrevió
 Á subirlo, ni tocarle;
 Hasta que despues baxó
 De entre todos solo un angel,
 Que Azarayel se llamaba,
 De grandeza incomparable.
 Este baxó, y asíó della,
 Lo que Alláh quiso tomase,
 Comprendiendo en un puñado
 Del mundo las quatro partes:
 El Austruo y el Setentrion,
 El Poniente y el Levante,
 De donde los quatro lados
 El hombre se fabricase.
 Dixo Allah á Azarayel,
 Viendo que en aquel viaje
 Se aventajó mas que⁷ todos,
 Mirandolo á su semblante:
 "Tu seras la misma muerte
 Y el que los arrohes saques."
 Y por esto le llamamos
 Azarayel malac al mauti.⁸
 Mandó Alláh tomar la tierra,
 Y la taharen⁹ y bañen
 En los arroyos y fuentes
 Que en el alchana se hallen.¹⁰
 Dice Alhasan que fué puesta
 Tan clara y tan relumbrante,
 Que rayos de luz lanzaba
 Mas que el sol clarificante;

¹ Nacencias, P.² De suerte que no pudiesen. Esconderse ni encorbarse, P.³ Buenos, P.⁴ Nieguen, y se les contrasten, P.⁵ Cubieron, P.⁶ Baxaron, P.⁷ Sobre, P.⁸ Por nombre malac al mauti, P. Azarael, angel de la muerte.⁹ Laven, P.¹⁰ Hacén, P.

V. Milton, lib. vii., línea 535, siguiendo a Genesis ii. 8.

Luego Alláh mandó á Chebril
Tome la tierra, y traspase
Con ella todos los cielos,
Las tierras, centros y mares,
Por que todos los vivientes
Le vean honrrén y acaten.
Quando los angeles vieron
Misterio tan sobelante,¹
Y aquella piedra tan bella,
Dicen, Señor, si te place
Azaxdaremos á ella
En tu nombre el alto y grande.
Dijo Allah : "yo soy contento
Que le adoreis, adoralde."
Y en aquel punto humillaron
Sus clarificadas fazes.
Solo Luzbel se detuvó,
Sin querer reverenciarle,
Engrandeciendo su hechura
Con la soberbia arrogante.
Dixó Allah: "azaxdad á edam!"
Y alla que quiso abajarse,²
Se detuvó en las rodillas
Y de alli volvió á endrezarse.
Los almalaques que vieron³
Segunda vez á inclinarse,
Por cumplir lo que faltó
Él que no quiso abajarse:⁴
Y esta es la razon por donde
En todos los azalaes,
En cada arraca⁵ hacemos
Dos zachedas consonantes.⁶
Dixó entonces Alláh :
"Por que no quies azaxdarte
Á la piedra que crié⁷
Como los demas lo hacen?"
Dixó Luzbel : "yo no quiero
Que mi grandia se abaxe
Á un pedazo de barro,
Siendo yo serafin fincante,⁸
Mucho mejor que no él,
Por que á mi me halecaste

De compostura de fuego ;
Y es menosprecio muy grande
Que yo reverencie á quien
Es de tan baxo quilate."
Dixó Alláh : "sal, enemigo,
De mi alchana y sus lugares,
Apedreado, maldito,
Rayo de fuego quemante,
Mi maldicion te persiga
Y mi condenacion te alcance ;
Mi pena te dé tormento,
Mi castigo te acompañe."⁹
Y asi cayó el enemigo,
Él y todos sus secuaces,
Aquellos que le siguieron
En su soberbia y maldades
Á los mas baxos abismos
Y fieras penalidades,
Do vivirá para siempre
En carceles perdurables.
No cayó tan á la sorda
Este maldito linaje,
Segun el tazfir¹⁰ hebraico,
Y cabu-alchaber¹¹ departe :
Dice este gran sabidor,
Que al tiempo de este dilate,¹²
Quando cayeron á una
Todos estos perniciosos,
Que resudaron los cielos,
Tremolando á todas partes ;
Las tierras se estremecieron ;
Los rios, fuentes y mares
Agotaron sus corrientes ;
Y todos sus manantiales,
Hicieron calma suspensa
De su confino azaxdarse,¹³
Y sus perfetos¹⁴ tazbihes,¹⁵
En este espantoso lance,
Quedaron desafiados,¹⁶
Sin dar, á esta causa, alcance,
El sol quedó restañado,
Sin que luz alguna echase ;

¹ Superlante, P.² Volvieron, P.³ Y a lo que quiso acorbarse, P.⁴ Humillarse, P.⁵ Arraquea, P. Racat es la postracion que hazen en sus oraciones, tocando el suelo con la frente, o, Raca es el inclinarse y azaxdar es postrarse con la cara en la tierra.⁶ Çuchedas, P.⁷ Qué he criado, P.⁸ Siendo yo seraficante, P.⁹ V. Milton, lib. v., líneas 600-615, 773-802; lib. ix. 148-157.¹⁰ Tacir, P. تفسیر comentario.¹¹ Caebulaber, MS. Paris.¹² Dialate, P.¹³ Perpetuos, MS., Paris.¹⁴ Himnos, loores.¹⁵ Desafinados, P.

La luz triste, ennegrecida,¹
 Y los limpios almalaques
 Quedaron en sus posturas
 Como el que en desmayo cae.
 Todos quedaron en pasmo,
 Y los cursos naturales
 Cesaron de aquel corriente
 Que de dentro dellos cae;
 Hasta Chibril² espantado,
 Que es quanto puede espantarse,³
 Unico en su fortaleza,
 No hay cosa que se le iguale,
 Fue su actividad enferma
 Que hubo tambien de atajarse,
 Sin saber que causa fuera
 La causa que ansi lo trate.
 Mirad que tal fué el castigo
 De la soberbia, y quan grande
 Los espantos que causó,
 Y quantos males atrae!
 Queenmudezca, atorde⁴ y tiemble,
 Que inficione y que restañe,
 (Inpida agote y suspenda),⁵
 Que enferme, desmaye y pasme,
 Cielos, tierra, sol y luna,
 Angeles, cursos y mares;
 Y toda cosa criada
 Trueque, amedrente y espante.
 Cayó esta maldita esquadra
 Con tan feroces visages,
 Tan disfrazados y feos
 Que no puede semejarce;
 De relumbrantes y claros,
 Cambiaron sus semblantes
 En las mas malas visiones
 Que podemos aplicarles;⁶
 Y en viendose en este alarxe,
 Como aquel quen origen cae⁷
 Va buscando dó esconderse
 Y no halla quien lo ampare;
 Ansi andaba rodeando
 Este maldito almalaque⁸
 Por las cavernas obscuras
 Y solariegos solazes;⁹

Y en ninguna parte hallaba
 Habitación dó habitase
 Hasta que sus mismos engaños
 Fueron á desengañarse,
 Quedando desapegados
 De cosa que los amahe;¹⁰
 En fé, cequedad oscura,
 Sin tener segura parte,
 Aguardando el gran castigo
 Que, quando vendrá, no saben,
 Á juro destronizados
 Sin retumbada que guarde.¹¹
 Desipado este enemigo,
 Quiso Alláh comunicarle
 Que de aquel cristal hermoso
 El hombre habia de formarse;
 Luego mandó á Chebril
 Que en aquel vaso soplase
 Su resuello,¹² por que fuese
 Convertido en sangre y carne;
 Y al tiempo quel limpio arroh
 Fué a entrar, volvió á humillarse,
 Diciendo: "Rey piadoso,
 Como quieres enoerrarme
 En este vaso asqueroso,
 Siendo yo tu serviciante?"¹³
 Encierras-me en mi enemigo
 Dó mi limpieza se manche,
 Y a ti te desobedezca
 Por no poder apartarme
 De poder deste contrario
 Y de su enemiga carne;
 Y yo habré de padece
 Tus castigos¹⁴ desiguales
 Por los distinos enormes
 Que el cuerpo consigo trae.
 Dame parcida, Señor,
 De este trabajoso trance,
 Que á ti es, Señor, el mandar
 Y á mi, Señor, el rogarte.¹⁵
 Luego al tiempo que acabó,¹⁶
 Quiso el Señor enseñarle
 Satisfacion en sus quexas,
 Con que pueda¹⁷ contentarse

¹ Ennegrida, P.² Fue, P.³ Estimarse, P.⁴ Aturda, MS. Paris.⁵ Del MS. Paris.⁶ V. Milton, lib. i., líneas 40-87.⁷ Como aquel que en crimen cabe, P.⁸ Este mundo a todas partes, P.⁹ Lugares, P.¹⁰ Consuele.¹¹ Sin retornada que aguarrien (MS. Paris.)¹² Resollo, P.¹³ Siendo de tu esencia parte, P.¹⁴ Tormentos, P.¹⁵ Y á mi servirte y loharte, P.¹⁶ Fayacundo, P.¹⁷ Pudó, P.

Subenlo á par del Alarx,
 Donde en infinitas partes
 Vió unas letras que decían :
 Muhamad, Patron, triunfante :
 Y en todas los siete cielos
 Y en sus puertas y alquitabas¹
 Vió estampadas estas letras
 Muy claras y relumbrantes ;
 Los almalaques y alainas,
 Entre sus ojos galanes,
 Llevaban este blazon
 Por divisas de sus trajes.
 Entró en lalchana gloriosa,
 Y en las ojas de sus arboles, }
 Y en sus entradas y puertas, }
 En todos vió estos señales, }
 Y deseando saber
 La cifra de estos alharfes,
 Pregunta. "Qué nombre es este
 Que relumbra á todas partes?"
 "Has de saber, le responde,
 Que de tí y de aquella carne
 Ha de salir² un caudillo
 Que llevará este lenguaje,
 Por cuyo amor crió Alláh
 Los cielos, tierras y mares ;
 Y por quien serán honrrados
 Quantos este nombre alcancen."³
 En oyendo estas razones,
 Le dió un amor tan radiante
 Al aroh, que codició
 Haberse encerrado antes.
 Entró en él⁴ y fué influido
 En el cuerpo, de tal arte
 Quel amor con que se unieron
 No hay amor que se compare.
 Fué la compostura de Edam
 Con diversos materiales,
 Segun los varios amores
 Que en él habian de encerrarse :
 Su cara y cabeza fueron
 Hechos del sitio ilustrante
 Do hizó el Alcaba santa⁵
 El siervo de Dios Ibráhim :
 Su cuerpo, de Almaqdz,⁶

Templo ensantecido y grande ;
 De Micera,⁷ sus dos piernas ;
 De Alchiher⁸ sus pies y manos ;⁹
 Su mano diestra, en oriente ;
 La izquierda, de la otra parte.
 Su natura, de Alistinche,¹⁰
 De sierras inhabitables,
 Y los demas instrumentos
 Que al vivir son serviciales
 Subieron en el puñado
 Que subio Malac almauti :
 Y todos fueron masados
 Para quel hombre quedase
 De gracias perfeccionado,
 Lo que podia imaginarse.
 Y dióle lengua sabrosa
 Con que le nombre y le alabe ;
 Pusóle Edam por nombre
 Que quiere denotar Padre.
 El ser de tantos especíes
 Y lugares tan distantes,
 Fabricado el primer hombre,
 Unido en sola una carne,
 Declara nuestro annabi,
 Y dice que de aqui sale
 El conocimiento humano
 Que en los hombres se reparte ;
 Y para que se conozcan
 Las gentes de todas partes
 Y conoce él del poniente
 Al que ha nacido en levante,
 Y en solo ver se conciben
 En sus tratos y amistades,
 Quen amor vienen á ser
 Una carne y una sangre.
 Criólo¹¹ el sumo Rey.
 Sin que nadie lo tocasse,
 De la forma que le plugue
 Y en el mejor de los talles,
 Grande, lindo y muy hermoso
 Y mas que el sol quando sale,
 Lanzaba rayos de si,
 Que á par del no llega angel.
 Despues le dió por morada
 El alchana y sus lugares,

¹ Arquitraves, P.² Del MS. Paris.³ Nacer, P.⁴ Acaten, P.⁵ Luego, P.⁶ La Caaba de Meka.⁷ Jerusalem.⁸ Cairo.⁹ Alhicehar, P. Memphis segun Morgun, segun un variante alhices, el Hejas.¹⁰ Andantes, P.¹¹ Y al istinche, P. استنجاء limpieza.¹² Fabricólo, P.

Dandole libre albedrio
 Por donde quiera que ande,
 El querer y no querer;
 El saber y no saber
 Todo lo puso en su mano;¹
 Y para que no pensase
 Quera Señor absoluto,
 Le mandó que observe y guarde
 Solo un precepto, y aquel
 Harto leve y soportable,
 Principio de nuestro duelo,
 Medio y fin de nuestros males.
 En este patio glorioso,
 Tan vicioso y agradable,
 Poblado de mil descansos
 A su gusto provocantes,
 Solo un arbol se reserva
 "Y este, dice, has de guardarme
 De no llegarle a su fruto,
 Ni comerle ni tocarle,
 So pena de mi justicia
 Y de á muerte condenarte."²
 Advierte que de tu luz
 Has menester sobelarte,
 Que es tu enemigo claro;
 No tengo mas que avisarte."
 "Esto dicho y advertido,
 Dame contento en guardarme
 De la pecunia advertida."
 Pareciendo cosa facil,
 Gozaba de aquel descanso
 Solo y sin quien le acompañe,
 Hasta que rogó ád Alláh
 Fuese servido de darle
 Una compañía con quien
 Pudiese comunicarse.
 Alláh le dió luego sueño,
 Y antes que se despertase,
 Tomó del lado siniestro
 Una costilla sin carne,
 De dó fraguó la muger
 De linda gracia, y donaire;
 Pusole por nombre Hagua,
 Como si dijera, Madre,
 De cuyo nombre salian
 Tantos tribus y linages.

Despertó Edam, e como vio
 Figura tan codiciante,
 Luego le quiso echar mano
 Sin mas respeto guardalle,
 Quando oyó una voz que dijo:
 "Tente, Edam, no adelantes,
 Teme al Señor que te ha hecho,
 Que no puedes allegarte
 A ella sin mi licencia:"
 Y luego, en aquel instante
 Mandó el Señor á Chebril,
 Vaya al alchana, y que trate
 Aquel primer casamiento
 Con sus arras y cidaque,³
 Y de alguali⁴ y testigos
 Servirán los almalaques.⁵
 Y ansi fueron desposados
 Aquellos primeros padres,
 Gozando de tanta gloria
 Como el Señor quisó darles,
 Unanimes y conformes,
 Sin que nada discrepase,
 Loando á su Hacedor
 Que les dió moradas grandes.
 Razon será que aquí cuente
 Aquel caso perniciente
 Que enjendró tantos trabajos,
 Tantos daños, tantos males,
 Tantas penas y tormentos,
 Guerras, discordias y afanes,
 Pleitos, incendios, revueltas,
 Sobresaltos y pesares,
 Al fin muerte y á mas desto
 Condenacion perdurable.
 Ya te he dicho que aquel arbol
 Que en esta huerta fragante
 Encargado á estos justos
 Reserven, guarden y acaten;
 Como el maldito Luzbel
 Andase tan sobelante,
 En como podrá vengar
 Su colera, rabia y coraje,
 Viendo que por solo el hombre
 Lanzado es de tanta gloria,
 Sin que aguarde a recobralle,
 Y al hombre de tosco barro

¹ V. Milton lib. iii., linea 95, etc.

² V. Milton, lib. vii. 542-547.

³ صداق dota.

⁴ الوالى el tutor ó él que responde para la muger.

⁵ V. Milton, lib. viii., lineas 485-487.

A siquiera tronizarle :
 En el lugar dó solia
 Con mas gloria y libertad
 De la gloria que posee
 Y al terreno mundo baxe,
 Do le tenga mas á mano
 Por que pueda alli enxalzarse
 Con sus embustes malinos
 Y al infierno condenarle,
 Aunque con todo cuidado
 Este maldito almalaque
 Procuraba dalle caza
 No podia dar alcanze,
 Por que no podia llegar
 A poder á ellos malvalles.
 Andando pues desta suerte
 Este inventor de maldades,
 Trastornando y revolviendo
 Mil quimeras y fantaches,
 Acerto á pasar acaso
 Por la puerta relumbrante
 Del alchana, y al portero ¹
 Ansi comenzó á hablarle :
 “ Yo tengo necesidad
 Por cierta cosa importante
 De hablar con aquellos dos
 Siervos, por desengañarles.
 De cosas pertenecientes
 De lo que están ignorantes.”
 El Portero se excusó,
 Que segun dicen los alimes²
 Era el pavo y esto viendo
 Rogole que le llamase
 A la culebra,³ que entonces
 Era de hermoso talle.
 Esta vino y le rogó
 Tuviese por bien tomalle ;
 Al fin quedó decebida
 Y por mas disimularse
 Le dixó que lo pusiese
 En la mas secreta parte ;
 Y ella engañada lo puso
 Debaxo sus paladares.⁴
 Entró pues este traidor,
 Y como al arbol llegase,
 Quisó la torpe serpiente
 De su boca vomitalle ;

Mas nunca quisó salir
 Si no en su lengua apegarse ;
 Y envuelto en ella se sube
 Sobre el arbol reservante.
 Has de saber, que estos justos
 Acudian á juntarse
 Debaxo el arbol, por causa
 De con mas veras guardalle.
 Llego Hagua á requerir,
 Y como al arbol mirase,
 Vio la serpiente enemiga,
 La qual comenzó á hablarle.
 ¡ “ Ah Hagua bella y hermosa !
 Si desta fruta gustases
 Esta gloria que posees
 La gozarás perdurable,
 Y más que en sabiduria,
 Serás á Dios semejante ;
 Y te será manifesto
 Todo aquello que no sabes.”
 Estando én estas razones
 Edam llegó, y le dio parte
 Hagua de lo que trataba,
 Y él con muy fiero semblante
 Le retaba tal intento,
 Y ella volvio a importunalle
 Que cojiese de la fruta
 Por que le seria importante :
 Fué tanta la persuacion
 De Hagua, que hubo de darle
 Contento, negando a Dios
 El ofrecido homenaje.
 De este arbol hay opinion
 Diferentes y en contraste,
 Que manera de arbol fuese
 Y que fruta demostrase ;
 Y al fin concuerdan los mas
 Dando razones bastantes,
 Quera parra, y daba uvas
 Por el efecto que hace ;
 Y que solo es de su fruto
 El que con su licor hace
 Salir los hombres de juicio,⁵
 Y sus propios naturales,
 Y engendra desobidencias
 Torpezas y fealdades.
 Alargó Hagua la mano

¹ V. Milton *Parayso Perdido* lib. iii. línea 654.² Nauhes, MS. de Londres.³ Serpiente, P.⁴ V. Milton, lib. ix., 187.⁵ Quicio, Paria.

O triste y aciago trance!
 Quantos daños en el mundo
 En este punto causaste
 ¡O Hagua! quan sin porqué
 Tantas almas condenaste!
 Quantas vidas cercenaste!
 O quantas desobidencias
 Por tu gusto aceleraste!
 Y en solo alargar la mano
 Quantas gargantas segaste!
 ¡Faltabante en esta guerta
 Fruta dulce mil millares;
 Arboles tiernos, frondosos,
 Con tantas diversidades
 De especias azucaradas,
 Donde tu gusto saciases,
 Sin esta, que agora cojes,
 Tan aceda e insaciable
 Que tan¹ amargos resapios²
 Con su sabor terpetraste.³
 Bastabate á contentar
 Ver, que pocas horas antes
 Eras un vaso de lodo,
 El mas vil de los metales
 Y que te enalzó el Señor
 En los coros celestiales
 Sobre todas las criaturas
 Pues hizo que te azaxdasen;
 Y te puso en el lugar
 Sobre todos los alarxes.
 Con tan franca libertad
 Que huelgues, gozes y mandes,
 Y que en pago de estas gracias
 De tal modo te desmandes,
 Y con quien te ha dado el ser
 Asi quieres igualarte!
 Alcanzo pues de la fruta
 Segun afirman los nauhes⁴
 Doce granos, y los ocho
 Dio á su marido, y los quatro
 Se detubo, y al instante
 Los puso dentro su boca
 Y los tragó sin pararse.
 De aqui quedo en los herencios
 Que los hombres heredasen
 Dos tanto que la muger;
 Y ella del marido alcanze

El quarto, por justa herencia,
 Pues hijos no le quedasen,
 Por aquellos quatro granos
 Conquella quiso quedarse.
 Al fin ella los tragó
 Y Edam por el mismo talle
 Pusó la fruta en la boca,
 Y al tiempo que fué á tragalle
 Oyó una voz espantosa,
 Y queriendo vomitalle
 Pusó mano á su garganta,
 Mas nunca pudo sacarle,
 Tampoco pudo tragalle,
 Que aquella voz retumbante
 Le aündó de tal manera,
 Que no pasó y fué á quedarse
 En mitad de la garganta
 Sin ir atras ni adelante.
 Dixó la voz, "ay tan guai,⁵
 Quan presto que te olvidaste
 De solo aquel mandamiento
 Que te obligaste á guardarme!
 Como mi limpia morada,
 Por tu gula, violentaste
 Dó jamas desobidiente
 Hubó que en ella pisase."
 Edam turbado y sintiendo,
 Comenzó de disculparse,
 Y como se entremetieron
 Dando las culpas a Hagua,
 Y ella para congraciarse
 Culpa la fiera serpiente,
 Sin saber como librarse.
 Oh, como se entorpeció!
 Que turbacion vino á dalle
 Y que carga se cargaron
 Por no saber descargarse?
 ¡Como se ciega un culpado!
 Como se olvida de aquello
 Que mas á su caso hace!
 O pecadores culpados
 Como de vuestros alcanzes
 Teneis cerca la libranza
 Franca si quierres hallarle!
 Solo consiste en querer.⁶
 Que aunque os falten centenales,
 Tan franco hallareis lo mucho

¹ Con, P.² Resabio, P.³ O transgreso, P.⁴ Perpetuaste! P.⁵ Nahues, P.⁶ V. Milton, lib. x., líneas 1086-1096.

Como lo poco se halle.
 No vais buscando pertrechos,¹
 (Desnudad vuestras verdades)²
 Y á nadie echeis vuestras culpas,
 Como estos culpados hacen ;
 Volved á vuestro Hacedor
 Que de vuestras culpas hace
 El secreto, suplicado
 Que de su pena os restaure :
 Pidilde perdon de aquello
 Que no podeis encelarle ;
 Y manifestad las llagas
 Antes que se sobresanen ;
 Pedilde, que es noble y franco,
 Y jamas se negó á nadie,
 Solo perdon, solo arrahma,
 No busqueis otro language.
 Retronó la voz de Alláh
 Mandando á sus almalaques
 Que los saquen á la hora
 Del alchana y sus lugares,
 Y que les quiten las ropas
 Con que cobijan sus carnes,
 Y las privadas coronas
 Que sobre sus frentes traen.
 Ellos llorando y gimiendo,
 Rogando á Alláh se apiade
 Dellos por las ybantallas⁴
 Que pusó en sus potestades.
 Alláh sin darles licencia,⁶
 Dice : " salid desleales
 No poseis en este sitio,
 Pues no supiste guardalle."
 Edam trabando las ramas
 De aquellos preciosos arboles,
 Diciendo : " Señor piadoso
 Deste siervo miserable ;
 Pues tú, Señor, me ofreciste
 Que de mi capa⁵ y linaje
 Saldria un hijo, por quien⁷
 Todo el mundo restaurase,
 Volviendo como de nuevo,
 Segunda vez se criase ;
 Por cuya alfadila⁷ y honrra

Te suplico que me ampare."
 Dixó Alláh : " lanzaldo fuera ;"
 Y él, volviendo á suplicalle
 Decia : " Apiadame,
 Señor, que tu me albriciaste
 Que de mis lomos saldria
 Un hijo tambien andante,⁸
 Que en el mundo habia de ser
 De generaciones padre.
 Señor, por el premio deste,
 Por sus honrrados linajes,
 Que te duelas de nosotros
 Y que no nos desampares."
 Dixó Alláh : " salgan de aqui."
 Y Edam volbió á suplicalle,
 Diciendo : " Señor piadoso,
 Tú me ofrecieste y mandaste,
 Que en mi descendencia habria
 Un hijo tan importante⁹
 Con quien tu divina esencia,
 Mano á mano razonase,
 Ten piedad, Señor, de mi
 Por tu ibantaja¹⁰ tan grande."
 Alláh afirmando su dicho,
 Que jamas tuvó contraste,
 Mandó que salgan, diciendo ;
 " No tienen que replicarme."
 Edam siempre apellidando,
 Mezclandose con los angeles,
 Decia : " A mi, Señor,
 Tu prometiste de darme
 De mi genealogia un hijo.¹¹
 Sin instrumento de padre,
 A quien harias tantas gracias,
 Que las gentes se admirasen,
 Por cuyo nombre te ruego"
 No quieras desampararme.
 Volvió la voz rigurosa :
 " Lanzalde¹² fuera, lanzalde."
 Los almalaques le aprietan
 Que salga fuera y no tarde,
 Por no ser inobidiente
 A lo que no hay escusarse.
 Edam iba ya saliendo

¹ Pretestos, P. ² MS. Paris. ³ Ventajas. ⁴ Darles audiencia, Paris.

⁵ Cepa, Paris. ⁶ Aqui el MS. de Paris tiene Noh escrito en la margen.

⁷ الفضيلة, excelencia. ⁸ Aqui el MS. de Paris tiene en la margen Hibrahim.

⁹ Aqui el MS. de Paris tiene Muse.

¹⁰ Su ybantalla, Paris.

¹¹ Aqui el MS. de Paris tiene Hize. ¹² Del MS. de Paris. ¹³ Lanzadile, Paris.

Y asiendose á los frutales
De aquellos arboles tiernos,
Lloraba sin consolarse,
Viendo un bien qual el perdía.
De nuevo vuelve á quejarse
Diciendo: " Rey piadoso,
Tues aquel que me albriciaste
Con un hijo justo y bueno¹
Del mas alto delitaje²,
De quantos sean nacidos
En personas y animales,³
A cuyo efecto has criado
La luz que me encomendaste,
Por cuyo amor te suplico,
Y por su luz clareante,
Que me cumplas tu promesa
Que esta no puede faltarme."⁴
¡ Oh quanto deben los hombres
Considerar cosas tales;
En los contornos del mundo.
Y en sus trabajosos trances
En suplicar ad Alláh,
Ser firmes y muy constantes;
No desconfie ninguno;
Pida, ruegue y no se canse,
Por que el Señor no se cansa
De rogarias semejantes;
Y demas con tales medios
Como estos justos traen.
Pues apenas hubo Edam
Acabado de nombrarle
El nombre del anabi,
Quando dió voces "dexalde,
Salga por su voluntad,
Apiadaldos y amparaldos
Que me han pedido de quien
No puedo piedad negarles."⁵
Ansi fueron amahados,⁶
Y los mismos almalaques
Los pasaron á este mundo
En divididos lugares.
¡ Quien podrá decir los duelos
El sentimiento tan grande
Que tuvieron estos justos:⁷
Quando hubieron de partirse⁸

En la tierra oscura y negra?
Desnudos en vivas carnes,
Sujetos al frio y yelo
Y todas las tempestades,
Sus caras bellas y hermosas
Todas tostadas del aire;
Sus lindos rostros hendidos,
Sus ojos llorando sangre;
Pisando algunas espinas,
Rasgandose á cada parte;
Algaribos⁹ sin tener
Cosa que les acompañe
Sino sierpes y lagartos
Fieras brutos y animales.
No le echemos en olvido,
Acuerdense los mortales
Deste paso de amargura
Y en sus angustiados lances
Verán que aunque sean sus duelos
Quantos puedan semblanzarles,
Será imposible que lleguen
A la centesima parte
De las que Edam padeció,
Sin solo un punto atajarse.
Soledad, destierro, afrenta,
Desnudez incomparable,
Miedos, temblores y espantos,
Frio, calor, sed y hambre;
Trabajos, pena, cansancios,
Tantos amargos enxagues.¹⁰
Todo noche, todo oscuro,
Todo negro¹¹ sin mostrarse
De claredad una dragma,¹²
Con que pudiese humanarse.
Considere un buen sentido
Estos tan fuertes alcanzes
Del que se crió en lalchana
Venir á miserias tales.
Pues quando Alláh fué servido
Que aquella noche acabase
Su curso y el alba bella
Su rostro y cara¹³ mostrase,
Hizo aquellas dos arracas
Que los muzlimes hacen
Antes de asubhi¹⁴ y las llaman

¹ Aquí el MS. de Paris tiene Mohamed.

² Deleytaxe, P.

³ Almalaques, P.

⁴ V. Milton, lib. xi., líneas 105-117.

⁵ Dos, P.

⁶ Quando vieron apartarse, P.

⁷ غريب ⁷ él que esta fuera de su patria.

⁸ Hece, Enjagues, Paris.

⁹ Negror, Paris.

¹⁰ Darra, Paris.

¹¹ Variante, y ella.

¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ amanecer.

Las añeñas¹ de alfachri.²
 Estas hizo muy secretas
 Que aun no osaba publicarse,
 Por que la luz era poca
 Y su miedo era muy grande.
 Mas quando ya el claro dia.
 Acabo de clarearse,
 El triste y aflito Edam
 Comenzo á determinarse
 Dijo: "Alláh hu aqbar,
 Con voz clara y retumbante
 Y hizo estas dos arracas
 Y publicó su quilate:
 De dó el azala de subhi
 Tomó origen y language.
 Pasada ya esta agonía
 Que ya el Febo rutilante
 Doró con sus claros rayos
 La tierra montes y valles,
 Ya le daba algun consuelo
 Y por que no le durase,
 Sintió tomada su persona
 Cargada con mil achaques,
 Que no podia evadirse
 De aquellos fieros fantaches.³
 Anduvó ansi treinta dias,
 Sin que vianda gustase
 Que son los que hoy se ayunan
 De Ramadam el honrrante.
 Luego bajó el fiel Chebril
 Y comenzó de amaharle
 La persona con sus manos,
 Y agujeró aquellas partes
 Por donde salió la escoria
 Que no pudo destilarse⁴
 De aquel bocado de acibar
 Que comió por nuestros males:
 Que como él estaba puesto
 A los olores fragantes
 Del alchana y sus deleites,
 Y aquellos hezes le dasen
 El olor tan corrompido
 Vino á querer esmayarse,⁵

Y preguntando la causa
 A chebril, le dixo: "sabe
 Ques la corrompida hez
 Que de tu rescalo⁶ sale."
 Tomó tanto sentimiento
 Edam que hubo de atajarle
 De las sabrosas razones
 Que pasaban con el angel
 Cosa que aun nuestros sueños
 No podemos alcanzalle.
 Chebril pues le consoló
 Y le enseñó industria y arte
 Con que rompiese la tierra
 Para ver de sustentarse,
 En vez de la gran holganza
 Que pirdió en ser inconstante.
 Y para hacer el servicio
 Alláh mandó que lave
 Aquellos lados que fueron
 En su delito culpantes;
 Las manos y hasta los codos
 Que fueron los principales,
 La cabeza que sustenta
 Los sentidos corporales;
 Que todos complices fueron
 Y en el transgreso ayudantes;
 Los pies donde sustentaron
 Estos lados conyugales
 De donde tomó principio
 El alguado⁷ que hoy se hace.
 Desta manera el buen Edam
 Quedó consolado en parte,
 Rompiendo la dura tierra
 Tragando sudor y sangre;
 Haciendo fiera aspereza
 Por si podia amaharse
 Con su Señor y volver
 De nuevo á hacer sus pazes:
 Quareinta años se escribe
 Que hizo sin detallarse
 Alcafara la mas bella⁸
 Que puede significarse.
 Su sangre que era mas blanca

¹ نافلة plegaria ó obra pia espontanea, que no es de obligacion.

² الفجر el amanecer.

³ Pantaxes, Paris.

⁴ V. Milton, lib. v., lineas 438, 439.

⁵ Desmayarse, Paris.

⁶ Pecado, Paris MS.

⁷ الوضوء el lavarse antes de las oraciones. ⁸ كفارة; Espiacion la mas fiera, Paris.

Que la leche fue a tiznarse
 Con sus hervientes congexas,
 Quando la voz espantable
 Le diox por que has pecado?
 Entonces fué á cambiarse
 Quedando como hoy se vee
 Cimienta de enfermedades,
 De cuya espuma quedaron
 En nuestros cuerpos mortales,
 Las gotas que nos incitan
 A soberbias penetrantes,
 Desobidencias, codicias,
 Ira, rabia, enemistades,
 Y todas las demas cosas
 Quel pecado con si trae.
 Estas le fueron quitadas
 A nuestro annabi triunfante,
 Quando le abrieron el pecho

Los muy santos almalaques
 Y ansi nunca tuvó cosa
 Que á pecado le incitase.
 Al cabo de esta aspereza,
 Que ya le denunció el angel,
 Que Alláh estaba satisfecho;
 Quiso el Señor ajuntarle
 Con su amada muger Hagua,
 Para que se consolase
 De los trabajos pasados
 Y la criazon comenzase:
 Y ansi los dos se toparon
 Sobre el monte tronizante
 De Arafá junto de Maca,
 Donde con llorosas fazes
 Se recibió el uno al otro
 Con amorosos semblantes.

SEGUNDA HISTORIA QUE HABLA DEL ENGENDRA-
 MIENTO DE SIZ, SEGUNDA PARTE DE LA LUZ, Y
 LOS QUE DEXENDIERON HASTA NOH ALEHISALEM.

En las grandes confusiones
 En los precisos rebatos,
 En las revueltas hazañas,
 Suele ser muy ordinario
 Olvidar lo que en tal tiempo
 Hace mas al propio caso;
 Dando al furor rienda suelta,
 Por dó lo encamina el hado,
 Como en la ystoria presente
 Se muestra patente y llano.
 Han sido tantos los duelos
 De Edam que nos descuidamos
 De la triste madre Hagua,
 De su suceso y estado,
 Siendo la primera causa
 Inventora del rescalo¹
 Simiente del perdimiento
 De toda el linaje humano.
 No fueron menos sus duelos,
 Si bien lo consideramos,
 Siendo muger flaca y debil
 Algariba² á todas manos,
 Que la rabiosa congoja
 Habia un fluxo tan amargo

De sangre roxa y tiznada,
 Para aquel oculto vaso,
 Bañando sus carnes bellas,
 Con mil acedos desmayos;
 Y mas, que siendo criada
 Por compañera y regalo
 Del hombre, quedó sujeta,
 Obligada á su mandado,
 En vez de la persuacion
 Con la qual quiso obligarlo
 A que comiese la fruta
 De aquel arbol reservado;
 Y la primera golosia
 Que tuvo antes de incitarlo,
 Pagó con la propia sangre
 Que en ella engendró el rescalo,³
 Y su deliberacion,
 Digo el tragar el bocado,
 Paga con las grandes ansias
 De los dolores del parto;
 Y mas que ninguna alaya⁴
 Pueda estar asegurada
 De estos rostros⁵ perniciosos⁶
 En ningun tiempo asignado

¹ Pecado, Paris.

² غريبة² estraviada.

³ Pecado, Paris.

⁴ عدت⁴, periodo. Alayda, P. ⁵ Variante, rocios. ⁶ De estos inpidicos rastros, P.

Por que á deshora les vienen,
 Y á tiempos desconcertados,
 Descomponiendo su ayuno
 Á su servicio emplazado.
 Pues quando Alláh dió licencia
 Quen uno fuesen juntados,
 Y de su primer distino
 Absuelos y perdonados;
 Hecha su gran penitencia,
 Y del Señor apiadados,
 Y con nuevas antiparas
 Ya sus cuerpos adornados:
 (Dicen unos questas ropas
 Eran de pieles de gamos,
 Otros de hojas de higuera,
 O de otro qualquiere arbol
 Entalladas por el angel
 Que siempre estaba á su lado)
 Quedó Edam muy hermoso
 Lindo y bien argonizado,¹
 No relumbrante como antes,
 Mas muy bien proporcionado,
 De galan disposicion,
 Su alteza de treinta palmos,
 Su cara bella y graciosa,
 Bien criado y de tal mano
 A Rahmó de lo de aquella²
 De Muhamad nuestro amparo.
 Y por darles mas contento
 Aquel Señor soberano
 Le influyó para consuelo
 De luz en la frente un ramo
 Que con los cielos fixaba,³
 De muy relumbrante y claro,
 Pendiente de aquel cristal
 Que atras quedó recitado,
 Que fué verdadera insignia
 Lo de aquel divino rostro,
 Por dó le enseñó el camino
 Del bien perdurable y santo;
 Y que aunque poco le daba
 En señal de por⁴ la mano,
 Y tambien por que tenia
 Otro mayor bien guardado
 Para el patron de esta luz
 Que ninguno de prestado.

Lo que no usó con Luzbel,
 Siendo almalaque cercano
 Que cayó para in eterno
 Sin esperanza de amaho.
 En esto nos da á entender
 El Rey poderoso y alto
 Que excederemos en gracia
 Á los tronos soberanos,
 Y que usará de piedad
 Y amahará á todos quantos
 Su misericordia pidan,
 Con corazon limpio y salvo;
 Como nuestro primer padre
 Pidió perdon, confiado,
 Que la piadad del Señor
 Sobrepuja á su rescalo.⁵
 Dice Alhasam, que, aunque fuese
 Muchas vezes albriciado
 Con nueva gracia y perdon
 De su suceso pasado,
 Que siempre tuvo su pecho
 Inquieto y sobresaltado,
 Quando tenia en memoria
 Su culpa y gran desacato;
 Viendo la gran piadad
 Quel Señor con él ha usado;
 Siempre andaba penitente,
 Siempre andaba sollozando,
 Siempre la paciencia poca,
 Aquel continuo trabajo.
 Andando pues desta suerte
 Siempre en Alláh contemplando,
 Oyó quentre las orejas⁶
 De su frente estaban dando
 Vozes que Alláh⁷ llamaba
 Loandole y tazbihando;
 Y dixo ante su Señor
 Con un hablar tierno y blando:
 "Señor? que voces son estas
 Quen mi frente están zumbando?
 Dixole Alláh: "estos tazbihes
 Me hace mi siervo amado
 Muhamad mi gran caudillo;
 Ya su luz está invocando
 Á su principal patron
 Y por quien yo la he criado,

¹ Organizado, Paris.² Para modelo de aquello, Paris.³ Frisaba, Paris⁴ Par, Paris.⁵ Pecado, Paris. V. Milton, lib. iii., 130-134.⁶ Arrugas, Paris.⁷ A su dios, Paris.

Depositandola en ti
 Y en tu linajepreciado;
 Y advierte, querido Edam,
 Mira que te encargo y mando
 Que de ti sea respetada
 Con reverencia y acato;
 Y á tus hijos la encomiendes
 De la suerte que yo hago,
 Y adviérteles que le entreguen
 En vientres limpios y castos
 De las honrradas mugeres
 Y varones bien preciados,
 Hasta que los desampares
 En este varon honrrado.
 Taharareis vuestros cuerpos
 Antes que hayais de juntaros
 Con vuestras mugeres, y ellas
 Tengan el mismo recato:
 Yo le avisare quando sea
 La hora y tiempo llegado,
 Del que haya de llevar la luz
 Para que podais limpiaros.
 Mando que solo á mi adoren
 Tus hijos con gran cuidado,
 Sin ponerme otro segundo;
 Yo soy unico adorado:
 No juren mi santo nombre
 En ningun caso profano,
 Y con sus proximos traten
 Qual quieran ser tratados;
 Mando que á sus padres honrren
 Si ellos quieren ser honrrados,
 Y viviran largos dias
 En mi obidencia y amparo:
 No maten por quel matar
 Para mi está reservado,
 Yo soy Él que doi la vida
 Y acorto y alargo el plazo:
 Huye del vil adulterio
 Que es vicio torpe y nefando
 Aborrecido ante mi
 Instrumento de pecados:
 Guarden los bienes agenos,
 Qual guardan sus propios algos,
 No hurten ni tomen cosa
 Que no la hubieren ganado:

Digan la verdad en todo
 No mientan por ningun cabo,¹
 Ni afirmen cosa dudosa
 Ningun testimonio falso:²
 No cobdicien cosa agena,
 Contentense en sus estados:
 Que ya tengo para todos
 Sus arrizques³ asegurados.
 Y guardando estos preceptos
 Ansi como te lo mando
 Les ofrezco de mi parte
 Mi perdurable descanso;
 Empero si los quebrantan
 Diles que han de ser juzgados,
 Á que serán en Chahana
 Fieramente atormentados.”
 De esta instruccion adelante
 Anduvó tan sobelado
 Edam en guardar los ritos
 Que su Señor le ha mandado,
 Que punto no desistia
 De aquel precetal⁴ mandado,
 Teniendo siempre en memoria
 El escarmiento pasado.
 Quisó Alláh que nuestra Madre
 En los primeros preñados
 Parió dos hijos, los quales
 Dieron el señal muy claro
 De lo que el triste mundo
 Nos habia de ir mostrando;
 Y cómo en continua guerra
 Habian de estar limitado,⁵
 Los descendientes de Edam
 Con sangre el suelo regando:
 Y fué quel mayor movido
 De ciega invidia, imitando
 Al soberbio Lucifer,
 Dió crudamente á su hermano,
 Do tomó origen la guerra
 Y las pendencias y bandos.
 Dice Abulhasan que Hagua
 En todos quantos preñados
 Tuvó, parió hijo y hija,
 De dos en dos engendrados.
 Y quando Alláh fué servido
 Que salga el espcialado,

¹ Caso, Paris.² Ni hagan testigo falso; Paris.³ رزق, Nutrimiento diario; riquezas, Paris.⁴ Prepectal, Paris.⁵ Militando, Paris.

Se enjendró unico y solo
Y la luz luego hizo paso
Sobre la frente de Hagua,
Quedando Edam sin sus rayos ;
Y en pariendo lo sacó
El niño glorificado,
Resplandeciendo su cara
Qual rayos del sol lanzados,
Que de su hermosa frente
Llegaba al cielo mas alto ;
Y á este llamaron Siz
De la luz el mayorazgo ;
Y quando ya tuvó edad,
Siendo ya varon formado
Lo sacó su padre Edam
A un fertil y verde prado,
A donde Alláh se apagaba¹
De recibir holocaustos,
Y todas las peticiones
De estos siervos tan preciados.
Y alzando al cielo sus ojos,
Dice Alhasan á este caso,
Que quando alzó la cabeza
Y aquel semblante acendrado,
Mandó Alláh parar los rios
Sus corrientes sossegados
Y todos los manantios
Del alchana y sus estados :
Pararon todos los aires
Su curso amoroso y blando,
Los arboles sus meneos,
Las aves sus dulces cantos,
Los angeles sus tazbihe,
Y todos los halecados
De mares, tierras y cielos,
Y todos los principados
De los alarjicos coros
En los cielos se asomaron
Rescolgados para oir
Lo que aquellos lindos labios
Habian de pronunciar :
Grande merced, grande amaho
Que en solo alzar la cabeza
Un hombre desterrado,
Manda aprestar los oidos
A todo quanto hay cercado !²
Y aparece que concuerda

Esto con el primer lado³
Que tuvó, quando en la piedra
Todos estos le azaxdaron.
Bravo favor grande honrra
Parece que ymos cobrando !
Toda la tierra perdida
En un tan pequeño espacio.
Dixó pues el justo Edam
En este auditorio santo :
“ Divino y alto Señor,
Tú que me has encomendado
Esta luz para tu siervo
Muhamad tu especialado
Con precepto que la encargue
En tus siervos mas honrrados
Y en los vientres mas perfetos
Que tienen de ser criados
Cumpliendo en este precepto
A lo que estoy obligado,
Querias que este mi hijo
Siga el uso precetario
Para que la luz famosa
Lleve el corriente asignado,
Y para que se prosiga,
Querria fuese casado
Con su hermana Hagualia
Que se engendró en otro parto,
Ques vaso limpio y honesto
Para esta luz apropiado ;
Y los dos dan su homenaje
Muy contentos y pagados ;
Solo aguardo tu bondad
Para el efecto nombrado ;
Mira, Señor, que te place
Que yo haga en este caso.”
Luego Alláh mandó á Chebril
Quel y sus contemporanos
Efectuen el casamiento⁴
Ad aquellos dos hermanos
Siendo su padre alguali
Y ellos testigos nombrados.
Mandó tambien que baxase
Para los dos desposados
Ropas blancas de alchana
Con que fuesen arreados,
En vez de las que pirdieron
Sus padres por el bocado.

¹ Pagaba, Paris.² Criado, Paris.³ Lauro, Paris.⁴ Baxen á la tierra y casen, Paris.

Asi fué casado Siz
 Con gran contento y regalo,
 Y quando el justo Edam
 Se sintio viejo y cansado
 Tomó á Siz en gran secreto,
 Y descogiendo un gran paño
 Que el Señor dadole habia
 En aquel tiempo pasado,
 Rico y de galan hechura,
 Donde estaban estampados
 Todos quantos annabes
 Habian de ser inviados
 Con todos sus privilegios
 Y decretos preceptarios,
 Sus alumas y naciones
 Y el bien que serian premiados.¹
 Miró Siz y vidó entre ellos
 Un precioso y rico vaso²
 Que sobre todos los otros
 Sobrepujaba su grado,
 De quien sus caras cubria
 De luz con precioso ramo
 Que de los cielos pendian
 Con muy relumbrantes rayos
 Y vidó como hasta Ybráhim
 Este esquadron tan preciado
 Seguia un solo camino
 Sin intervencion ni atajo;
 Y alli tomaron principio
 Otro bando ilustre y raro,
 Y aunque sin luz se mostraba,
 Era de precio muy alto,
 En el qual se figuraban
 Dos adines señalados,
 Que á dos caudillos seguian
 Y á sus alquitebes santos.
 "Razon será, dixó Edam,
 Que miremos muy despacio
 Estos que nuestra luz lleban
 Y siguen³ el principado
 Por la linea de Ismael,
 Primogenito engendrado
 De Ybráhim el escogido,
 Con el estandarto alzado
 De Miser, blazon antiguo

De nuestro linage claro,
 Con quien todos los taquies⁴
 Serán triunfantes y ufanos
 Hasta entregarlo á Muhamad
 Para quien fué deballado:
 Advierte querido hijo,
 Lo que te mando y encargo
 Que sobre este mensagero
 De quien seguimos el bando,
 En todas tus oraciones,
 Y en todos tus holocaustos
 Hagas salvacion cumplida
 Con grande honor y recato;
 Y esta luz que va en tu frente
 Que agora gozas de paso
 Te mando que la encomiendes
 En los vientres mas guardados
 De las mugeres mas limpias
 Y de los hombres⁵ mas santos;
 Por que esta luz no se manche
 Ques don de Alláh sobelado;⁶
 Ynsignia que nos enseña
 El camino reto y llano;
 Y á tus hijos amonesta
 Lo mesmo que te' enseñado."
 Y acabada esta razon
 Volviendo á doblar el paño,
 Le dixó que lo guardase
 Como sacro relicario
 Y junto con él le dió
 Los borceguies y zapatos
 Que sustentaron sus pies
 Tantos centenales de años,
 Y aquel dia los tenia
 Como de entonces calzados.⁷
 Estos estan hoy en Maca
 Por trofeo dedicado
 Y quando Melique elijen
 Los llevan á jurar colgados.
 Andando en esto el buen Siz
 Fué por Chebril albriciado,
 Quel y su muger adresen
 Para el fruto deseado,
 De que se hizo preñada
 Hagualia, y en llegando

¹ V. Milton, lib. xi. lineas 370, etc.² Bando, Paris.³ Segun, Londres.⁴ تقى, los religiosos.⁵ Lomos, Paris.⁶ Aseculado, Paris.⁷ Te he.⁸ Cortados, Paris.⁹ ملك un rey. Estas 4 lineas no se hallan en el MS. de Paris.

Su termino parió un hijo,
 A quien por nombre llamaron
 Enoh,¹ y sacó la luz
 Lindo hermoso y muy gallardo
 A quien Chebril tuvó en guardia
 Por que Luzbel asediado
 Andaba por allegarse
 A mancillarlo y tocarlo;
 Y ansi por este niveló
 Fué la clara luz pasando
 Siempre por estos varones
 Mas perfetos y estimados,²
 Por el Señor escogidos,
 Por su palabra avisados;
 Corriendo de padre en hijo
 De un honrrado y otro honrrado.
 Y por que no es bien que queden
 En olvido sepultados,
 Y por no causar fastidio,
 Serán en breve contados
 Los varones que esta insignia
 Por sus meritos ganaron.
 De Enoh pasó á Cainam³
 Que fué de la luz en quarto.
 Este engendró á Malaile,⁴
 De quien Xared⁵ fué engendrado,
 Padre del muy santo Edriz⁶
 A quien sus hechos tan raros
 Subieron al quarto cielo
 Dó vivi⁷ hasta en tanto
 Que la trompa de Izarafil

Dé fin á quanto hay criado.
 Deste justo Edriz se cuenta
 Que hizó voto encerrado
 De hacer árrahma cumplida
 Mientras duraren sus algos;
 Y que andando por la calle
 Le salió un hombre acuitado,
 Y no teniendo otra cosa
 Le dio en arrahma su manto;
 Quedando casi desnudo
 Por no negarle su amaho.
 Otras mil cosas se cuentan
 De este bienaventurado,
 De lo qual es buen testigo
 Ver que Dios lo ha trasladado
 En cuerpo y alma á los cielos
 Dó vive glorioso y santo;
 Dexando acá sucesor
 Hijo suyo á quien llamaron
 Por nombre Matusalem,
 Que de la luz fué el otavo,
 Cuyo hijo fué Lameq,
 Padre de aquel esforzado
 Noh, que fué segundo padre,
 De todo el linage humano,
 En quien la primera edad
 Del mundo acabó, tomando
 Principio en él la segunda,
 Posiendo el don preciado,
 Cuyos memorables hechos
 Diré en el siguiente canto.

(Loado es Allah) MS. Paris.

TERCERO CANTO, TRATA DEL DILUVIO DE NOH, Y
 PASA A LA VARONIA DE LA LUZ HASTA IBRAHIM,
 DONDE SE CUMPLIO LA SEGUNDA EDAD DEL
 MUNDO.

Muchos hubó en esta vida
 Que levantaron sus famas
 A la cumbre de potencia
 Donde quisieron fixarlas;⁸
 Pensando que su fortuna
 Para eternizar bastaba;
 Sus hechos indignamente
 Hasta las nubes levantan:
 Qual con pompas y ambiciones,
 Qual con crueles hazañas,

Qual inventando heregias,
 Estos⁹ cismas y dolatras,
 Dexando la rienda suelta
 A las maldades nefundas,
 Como si absolutos fueran
 Para poder perpetuallas;
 Y al fin, quando en mayor punto
 Sus malos hechos estaban,
 Y quando menos cuidaron¹⁰
 Tener contraria mudanza,

¹ Enos, Paris. ² Afinados, P. ³ Enos . . . Caynam, P.
⁴ Mahalail ó Mahalaleel. ⁵ Jaret, P. ⁶ Ydriz, P. ⁷ Variante, viverá. Vivirá, P.
⁸ Figallas, Paris. ⁹ Setas, P. ¹⁰ Variante, creyeron.

Pensando estar mas seguros,
 Dió vuelta su rueda varia,
 Dando con ellos al fondo
 De la baxeza mas baxa,
 Donde fueron satisfechos,
 Donde tuvieron la paga
 De sus perniciosos triunfos,
 Y sus hereticas causas.
 Miren al Rey Baltasar
 Y á su avuelo Baltuñasar,¹
 A Zamud y á Namerud,
 A Faraon y á Abrahaca;²
 Que todos estos quisieron
 Arbolar sus fieras armas³
 Contra el cielo y su hacedor,
 Y fué su suerte tan mala,
 Quen lugar de su vitoria
 Hirieron sus propias caras
 Con ynominiosas muertes,
 Y por perdurables ansias;
 Y aunque otros muchos pudiera
 Traer para testiguanza
 De lo que tengo propuesto,
 Lo que tengo dicho basta:
 Y aquel general diluvio
 Asegurará mi causa,
 Con la asistencia de Noh,
 Aquel santo patriarca,
 De quien sus hechos famosos
 Nos dan evidencia clara.
 Como á solo Allah debemos
 Poner nuestras confianzas,
 Y en administrar su ley
 Tendremos perpetuas famas,
 En este mundo qual esté,
 Y en el otro eterna alchana.
 No qual los arríba dichos,
 Ni qual aqui nos señala
 El general perdimiento
 De su gente destinada;
 Que aqui acabaron sus vidas,
 Y condenaron sus almas,
 Segun se echará de ver
 En la siguiente allohada.
 Despues de la muerte de Edam
 Y de nuestra madre Hagua

Levantaron dos linages
 Los dos hijos que quedaban;
 El uno siguió la luz
 Con limpieza y gran constancia,
 [El otro que engendró Cabil⁴
 Fue gente perversa y mala,
 Indomita y sin verguenza
 De Alláh y su ley arredrada,
 Y aunque el linage de Siz
 Era gente ilustre y rara,
 La malicia de los otros
 Vinó a ser tan depravada
 Que inficionaba el mundo
 Con la peste de sus tacas;
 De suerte que ya los buenos
 Con los malos se mezclaban,
 En tractos y casamientos,
 Cosas por su ley vedadas,⁵
 Y en las maldades y vicios
 Poco se diferenciaban:
 Todo andaba ya rompido,
 Ningun precepto acataban,
 Ninguna virtud gobiernan,
 Ningun respeto guardaban,
 Todos eran ya viciosos,
 A toda maldad se ensayan;]⁶
 Adulteros, homicidas,
 Sodomitas, ydolatras,
 Transgresores y blasfemos,
 Soberbios y vil canalla;
 Vinó á tanto rompimiento
 Y á ser tan igual la llaga,
 Que á mas andar comprendia
 Toda la nacion humana.
 ¡O quanto deben los hombres
 En esta vida prestada
 Mirar con atentos ojos
 Con quien conversan y tratan,
 Con quien traban amistades,
 Con quien viven y acompañan,
 Mirando las desallidas
 Los sucesos en que acaban!
 Viendo el poderoso Alláh
 La desobediencia tanta,
 Manda á su escogido Noh
 Edifique y haga un arca,

¹ Bakhtunnasr. ² Abraha. Variante, y, Paris. ³ Rabias, P. ⁴ Cain.

⁵ Vease á Genesis vi. 2; y Milton, lib. xi. l. 607-610; y 683-687.

⁶ Estas lineas son tomadas del MS. de Paris, y faltan del MS. de Londres desde el tiempo en que el Sr. Morgan lo compró, pues no las ha traducido.

A lo qual baxó Chebril
 Ye le dió la orden y traza
 Del largario¹ y la grandeza,
 Lo que ha de ser de alta y ancha;
 Y dixóle que entre tanto
 Que el arca se edificaba
 Amonestase á su gente
 Se conviertan, y que hagan
 Penitencia de sus obras²
 Con condelma de sus almas,
 Y que seran amahados
 De su piadosa arahma, }
 Y que si no lo hacian }
 Tuviesen por cosa llana
 Que Alláh los queria huir,
 Cubriendo el mundo de agua.
 Y era de quinientos años
 Quando esta grande comanda
 Le denotó el fiel Chebril.
 Ya la luz tenia mudada
 A Sem,³ su querido hijo,
 Y otros dos que le quedaban,
 Cam⁴ y Jafed se decian.
 Mancebo de grande fama,
 Imitando á su buen padre
 Que en tan pesima telada
 Estuvó quinientos años
 Mancebo limpio y sin taca,
 Dedó mereció este nombre
 Que todo el mundo le canta.
 Y luego puso por obra
 Lo que Chebril le encargaba,
 Proviendo de oficiales
 Carpinteros, maestros de arcas,⁵
 Arquitetos y peones
 Que la madera les traigan:
 Ya' andaba por sus pueblos
 Que un momento no paraba,
 Denotando el perdimiento
 Que á su gente se acercaba, }
 Vestido de crudo sirgo, }
 Su persona triste y lacia, }
 Todo el color macilento,

En que claro demostraba
 El fiero y cruel castigo
 Con que Alláh les amenaza;
 No paraba noche y dia
 Aquella ronca garganta
 De apellidar y decir:
 ¡“O gentes torpes y erradas!
 Volved á vuestro Señor,
 Pedid vuestra restauranza,
 Reparad tan grandes daños
 Como del cielo se amana,
 Recordad vuestros sentidos,” }
 Dad oreja á mis palabras,
 Temed al que os ha criado,
 Mirad que dentro desta arca
 Está envuelta su justicia
 Con una sangrienta vara
 Que amenaza vuestras vidas
 Y condena vuestras almas:
 Y sacudid de vuestros cuellos
 La esclavitud de chahana,
 Que está con la boca abierta
 Aguardando vuestras almas.”
 Estas cosas les decia,
 Mas no aprovecha, que estaban
 Aquella precisa turba
 Ciega, sorda y obstinada.
 En esto la gran safina¹⁰
 Con gran calor trabajaban
 Los maestros y arquitectos,¹¹
 La qual obra fué acabada,
 Cumplidos ya los¹² cien años
 De quando fué comenzada;
 Y todo este tiempo Noh
 Duró su gran monestanza,
 Y quanto mas les decia,
 Tanto menos importaba;
 Antes bien le respondian
 Que mintia en quanto hablaba.¹³
 Pues al cabo de cien años,
 No vieron señal de nada;
 Ni el dilubio parecia,
 Y quanto Noh predicaba

¹ Anchario, Paris.² Yeros, P.³ Del MS. de Paris.⁴ En Sem, P.⁵ Cam MS. de Paris. Pero en el de Londres, Sem; por eso el Sr. Morgan ha señalado la confusion que hace el autor con los nombres de los hijos de Noe.⁶ Acha, P.⁷ Y él, P.⁸ Del MS. de Paris.⁹ Del MS. de Paris.¹⁰ سفينة navio.¹¹ Oficiales, P.¹² Cumplidos justos cien años, P.¹³ Vease á Milton, lib. xi., 811-817.

Les parecia imposible
 Mentira, burla y maraña.¹
 Acabada la safina
 Con sus atajos y quadras,
 Retretas y acogimientos,
 Por defuera claveada²
 Por que al agua no le entrase,
 Dentro muy bien cepillada:
 Era de admirable hechura,
 De sutil ingenio y traza,
 Hecha á modo de navio,
 Cuya proa figuraba
 La cabeza de paloma,
 Y la popa que Hevaba
 Como una cola de gallo;
 Y mil y doscientas varas
 Tenia de popa á proa,
 Y seiscientas tenia de ancha.
 Subióse Noh á lo alto
 Della, y con voces muy altas
 Llamó á las naturalezas
 Que en macho y hembra se hallan:
 Aquellos que para el mundo
 Eran las mas necesarias
 Vinieron al mismo punto,
 Por que Alláh mandó que vayan
 De cada especie tres pares,
 Y un macho en ellas sobraba;
 De manera queran siete
 Aunque el honrrado alcoram
 No señala fueron tantas,
 Mas de un macho y una hembra,
 Que ninguno entró sobrado.
 Todo pudo ser ansi,
 Que el alcoram solo habla
 De aquello que no se excusa
 Y es de grande importancia.³
 Y aprestado el bastimiento
 Departe cada sustancia,
 Para sustentar á todos
 Un año por si duraba
 Tanto la persuacion.⁴

(Que no dice entraron tantos)⁵
 Con gran orden gobernados,
 Luego sus hijos y nueras,
 Él y su muger se embarcan
 En el arca, y puestos dentro,
 Cierra la puerta y ventana
 Que estaba en la gran cubierta
 Con una vedriera clara:
 No les quedó otro agujero
 Por dó poder ver el agua,
 Y esta quiso Alláh que fuese
 Por defuera betumbada.⁶
 La gente que le vió dentro
 Reian del y mofaban,
 Diciendo: "agora estas bien,
 Encerrado en esa xaula,
 Con las bestias y animales
 Proprias para tu compañía;
 Que bien merece el que miente
 Tener este bien en paga.
 ; Dónde está tu profesia
 Tan mentirosa y tan falsa, }
 Dó está el agua que decias, }
 Ni aun su talle y semejanza?"⁷
 ; Oh soberana piadad,
 Quien pierde la confianza
 De tu divino perdon
 Y de tu divina Rahma!⁸
 Que al cabo de tantos años,
 (Al cabo de tantas salvas),⁹
 Que hiciste á estos precitos,
 Despues de sentencia dada
 Contra su grande destino,
 Viendo sus fieras entrañas
 Aguardas su conocencia,
 Quando ellos menos se acatan!
 Siete dias se detuvó,
 Despues de cerrada el arca,
 Sin haber señal ninguno
 De la tempesta ó borrasca;
 Aguardando si por suerte
 Habia¹⁰ alguna meritanza

¹ Patraña, P.² Segun el MS. de Paris.
 Quel alcoram solo habla
 De aquellas que no se excusan
 Que son las mas necesarias.³ Persecucion, P.⁴ Betunada, P.⁵ Del MS. de Paris.⁶ Esta linea sobra y no se halla en el MS. de Paris.⁷ Del MS. de Paris.⁸ Bendita arrahma, P.⁹ Del MS. de Paris.¹⁰ Habria, P.⁵ Breada, P.

Y segun el MS. de Londres.

Que el alcoram lo habla

Que aquello que no se excusa

Y ques de grande importancian.

Por dó poder detener
 Aquella sangrienta llaga.
 Pues viendo Alláh su distinto
 Y su dureza obstinada,
 Y quel humano remedio
 Poco su distinto ablanda,
 Sacude¹ el azote fiero,
 Tiende la cortante espada,
 Abren los cielos sus brazos;²
 Rompense las cataratas;
 Razgan las nubes sus senos;
 Borbollan las tierras agua;
 Revientan todos los rios;
 Las mares quiebran sus alas,³
 Y de sus límites salen
 Con tal furor y puxanza,
 Que piensan tocar el cielo }
 Con sus tenebrosas ascuas }
 Y es cierto que lo hiciérán
 Si Chebril no lo atajará.
 Yá la destinada gente
 Andaba triste y turbada;
 Ya temen el gran castigo,
 Ya gimen, ya se desmayan;
 Ya se tienen por perdidos,
 Ya pierden su confianza:
 Aquí corren, allí gritan
 Viendo la tempesta brava;
 Todo es gemidos y voces,
 Todo lloro, todo ansia;
 Todo suspiros amargos,
 (Todo congoxas y bascas)⁴
 Ya la furiosa tempesta
 Entraba de casa en casa;
 Yá los tristes niños tiernos⁵
 Atosigados los sacan,
 Donde sus cuitadas madres
 Sus pechos y rostros razgan,
 Llamando á sus fieros padres
 Les socorran, y aceñaban
 Con los niños en los pechos,
 Pensando ser ayudadas;
 Pero no les socorrían
 Que el grande mal los ataja,

Y ansi asidas á sus hijos
 Eran ál punto ahogadas.
 ; O quantas muertes á una
 Quantos tormentos gustaban!
 Viendo la misera madre
 Ahogar su hija amada,
 Y la muger al marido,
 Los hermanos á las hermanas;
 El triste padre á su hijo,
 El hijo al padre se abraza,
 Y ansi los dos zabullidos
 Se ahogan cara con cara.
 Aquí gritan ; que me ahogo!
 Allá que me ahogo! llaman:
 Acá socorro apellidan;
 Acullá sueltan⁷ las casas,
 Cayendo los edificios
 Sobre sus dueños y alaxas,⁸
 Ya parecen cuerpos muertos }
 Sobre las furiosas aguas. }
 Ya en la safina suben
 Muchas de sus anchas tablas,
 Quando los mas astuciosos.¹⁰
 Sus defensas procuraban
 Unos suben á los montes;
 Otros, á las torres altas;
 Otros, por asir las ramas }
 Otros á los arboles suben }¹¹
 Asidos unos con otros
 Cayan y se ahogaban.
 Los que estaban en las torres,
 Y en las mas altas montañas,
 Se retraian á la cumbre;
 Mas, muy poco aprovechaba,
 Que ya el agua á todas partes¹²
 Les va detras dando caza,
 Hasta que los reducía
 Sobre las cumbres mas altas,
 Donde usaban de crueldad
 Los que mayor fuerza alcanzan,
 Subiendo sobre los otros;
 Que cada qual procuraba
 Ser el postrero en la muerte.
 Mas ; ay que en vano trabajan

¹ Saber, MS. de Londres.² Ondas, P.³ Su ampara, P.⁴ Del MS. de Paris.⁵ Del MS. de Paris.⁶ Y hiertos, P., por enyertos.⁷ Suenan, Paris.⁸ Alhajas.⁹ Del MS. de Paris.¹⁰ Atrevidos, Paris.¹¹ Otros á los arboles suben,

Otros, asiendo á sus ramas,

Unos por encima de otros

} MS. Paris.

¹² Toda prissa, P.

Estos pobres homicidas !
 Mil muertes en una tragan,
 Viendo ahogar á sus amigos,
 Padres, hermanos y hermanas.
 Sus mugeres y sus hijos
 Borbolan¹ entre las aguas !
 Y ellos, quel fogoso aliento
 A despedir ya no bastan,
 Aunque mas y mas impiden ;²
 Ya les cobija las barbas,
 Ya ven su muerte al ojo,
 Ya no hay subir otra escala;
 Atajandoles á una
 Las ultimas alentadas :
 Pues los animales simples,
 Y las fieras alimañas,
 Ya no habia mencion de ellas,
 Ya eran todas acabadas ;
 Solo las aves se esfuerzan,
 Sacudiendo aquellas alas
 Que les dió naturaleza,
 En las quales revolaban ;
 Mas no pueden sustentar
 Aquella tan grande calma,
 Donde con el gran temor
 Se rinden, turban y cansan.
 Y aunque mas alto revolán,
 La tempestad les alcanza,
 Cubriendo quareinta codos
 A la mas alta montaña.
 Todo quedó sumergido
 Quanto vida gobernaba ;
 Solo los que hemos nombrado
 Que estaban dentro del arca,
 Que alli fueron alumbrados
 Con la luz del gran Muhamad,
 Que en³ la faz del justo Sem,
 Qual la luna relumbraba.
 Quareinta dias y noches,
 Duró el llover sin distancia ;
 Y ciento y quince la tierra
 Tuvo las aguas en calma.
 Comenzó este gran diluvio,
 (Y esta justicia asolada)⁴
 A diez y siete de rachab,

Y por la cuenta nazara⁵
 A diez y siete de Abril ;
 Yendo bombeando el arca
 Seis lunas por justa cuenta,
 Hasta que quedó asentada
 El santo dia de axora,
 El deceno de almuharram
 Sobre la sierra de Armenia,
 En el mundo celebrada.⁶
 Y dende quareinta dias
 Ya los montes comenzaban
 A enseñar sus altas cumbres,
 Dando señal de apaganza.
 Y se apareció en el cielo
 Una señal, con tres bandas
 De diferentes colores,
 Bermeja, verde y gualdada,⁷
 Que denotaba su vista
 Sangre, muerte y esperanza ;
 Y que de estas tres colores
 Sacó la verde fincada ;⁸
 Por que de las otras dos
 Ya sus efetos cesaban.
 Esta es la señal que hoy dia,
 En arco se nos señala,
 Quando las espesas nubes
 De su diluvio se paran.
 Y de alli á otros quareinta,
 Que abrieron la ventana⁹
 De la safina vedriera,
 Y á un cuervo mandó que vaya
 A que descubriese tierra,
 Y viese el mundo, en que estaba.
 El fué, y en los altos montes
 Dó mas la gente habitaba,¹⁰
 Halló tantos cuerpos muertos,
 Que le codició la caza ;
 De suerte que no volvió
 Con la respuesta aguardada.
 Viendo Noh que no venia,
 Quando vino á la mañana,
 Mandó fuese la¹¹ paloma
 La qual vino¹² á la tardada,
 Y traxó un ramo de olivo
 Verde ; y á la otra semana

¹ Borbollando, P. ² Se enpinan, P. ³ Que en, P. Con, MS. Londres.

⁴ Del MS. de Paris. ⁵ نصارى Cristiano. ⁶ Tan nombrada, P.

⁷ Amarillo. ⁸ Solo la verde fincaba, P. ⁹ Abrió Noh la ventana, P.

¹⁰ Acuytaba, P. ¹¹ Una, P. ¹² Volvió, P.

La invió segunda vez;
 Mas ya no volvió con nada;
 Por donde conoció Noe
 Quera consumida¹ el agua;
 Y aunque pudo salir luego,
 No quisó, por que aguardaba
 Licencia de su Señor,
 Como para entrar fué dada.
 Pues como Alláh dió licencia,
 Salió Noh y su compañía;
 El mismo día que entraron,
 Cumplido un año sin falta;
 Muy alegres y contentos,
 Dando al Señor alabanzas,
 Los libró de tal fortuna
 Por su piedad y su rahma.
 Luego, Noh hizo holocausto
 De las aves y alimañas
 Que dentro de la safina
 Quedaron² desapareadas.
 Alláh puso bendicion
 Sobre Noh y su compañía,
 Para que muntuplicasen
 De nuevo criazon³ humana.
 Mandó á todas las cosas
 Se les ajunten, y hagan
 Su mandado, en quanto quiera;⁴
 Y á las yerbas y á las plantas
 Mandó produciesen fruto
 Con fertilisima gracia;
 Con que se poblase el mundo,
 Mejor que de antes estaba.
 Pasado que fué el diluvio,
 Ya la tierra sosegada,
 Ajuntó Noh á sus hijos,
 A todos les dice y habla,
 Diciendo: "Queridos hijos,
 Acordaos destas palabras,
 Con las quales os monesto
 La salud de vuestras almas!
 Tened siempre en la memoria
 Esta justicia, pasada,
 Que vuestro Señor ha hecho

En esta gente engañada;
 Y que se queda su azote
 Y su mano levantada,
 Para castigo de aquellos
 Que sus preceptos no guardan.⁵
 A él solo habeis de adorar,
 (Sin ponerle semexanza),⁶
 Que no consiente aparcero
 Él que dá el plazo y lo alarga.
 Él, sustenta sus criaturas;
 Él solo, gobierna y manda:⁷
 Amaos unos á otros,
 Con amor firme y constancia,
 Y luziran vuestros hechos,
 Vuestros campos y manadas;
 Producirán vuestros algos
 Con bendicion y abundancia;
 Y la de vuestro Señor
 Y la mia os sea dada."
 Y á su hijo Sem departe,
 Ques él que la luz llevaba,
 Se la encomiendó qual Adam }
 A Siz su hijo encargaba. }⁸
 Pasados ya muchos años,
 Que vivian, y poblaban
 El triste mundo desierto,
 A todas partes sáncchaba,⁹
 Como era gran fabricante }¹⁰
 A todos les enseñaba,
 A sembrar y arar la tierra
 A todas sus cultivanzas,
 Que con su grande presencia¹¹
 Tracendia,¹² y fabricaba
 Los cursos y movimientos;
 Y principió á dar la traza
 Del peso y de la medida,¹³
 Y las demas ministranzas
 Que á nuestra humana vivienda
 Convenian é importaban.
 Todó sucedio que un dia,
 Entre otras queespirmentaba,
 Cogió unos dulzes racimos,
 Que estaban en una parra;

¹ Resumida, P. ² Dentraron, P.; denotaron, Londres. ³ Criacion, P.

⁴ Pida, P. ⁵ Variante. Que su nombre desacatan, MS. Paris.

⁶ Del MS. de Paris. ⁷ Variante. El solo rebilca y mata MS. Paris.

⁸ Del MS. de Paris, segun el MS. de Londres:

Se le encomienda aquel don A Siz su hijo encargado.

⁹ Se ensanchan, P. ¹⁰ Del MS. de Paris. ¹¹ Experiencia, P.

¹² Transcendia, P. ¹³ Mesura, P.

Estrujandoles el mosto
 Bebió dél por que gustaba
 De saber que efecto hacian
 Todas las frutas¹ y plantas.
 Él bebió y en aquel punto
 Pirdió el sentido y la habla,
 De suerte, que cayo en tierra
 Dandole terrible basca;
 Y parece que esta fruta
 Va confirmando a la clara
 La opinion de los que dicen
 Que fué la que gustó Hagua.
 Llegó á esto un nieto suyo²
 Dó su buen aguelo estaba,
 Y vió sus ocultas partes
 Descubiertas sin amparas;
 Y envez de se las cubrir,
 Con grande risa llamaba
 Luego á su padre Iafed³
 Otros dicen que esta falta
 Fue de Cam, hijo segundo
 De Noh; que para mi causa
 Poco importa sea qual quiera,
 Lo cierto fue que mofaban
 Del buen Noh, hasta que vino
 Sem, y con su propia capa
 Cobijó á su amado padre
 Con gran recato y crianza,
 Retando á sus hermanos
 Su risa desvergonzada.
 Y siendo ya Noh despierto
 De la embriaguez pasada,
 Y enterado de la risa,
 Luego á Iafed señala⁴
 Con su saña y maldicion,
 Y lo descluye y aparta
 De sus adqueridos bienes,
 Y de su amparo y su gracia.
 Por esto la santa Suna
 Deshereda y desampara
 Al hijo desobediente

Que á sus padres desacata.
 Fué la maldicion de Noh
 Tan penetrante y tan larga,
 Que durará en este mundo
 Mientras criaturas⁵ haya
 En la prosapia y linage
 De Iafed tan señalada;⁷
 Que será entre las naciones
 Su cara⁶ desfigurada.
 Deste tomaron principio
 Los machuches, á quien llaman
 Los negros masticencos,⁸
 Cuyas colores tiznadas
 Tomaron de su patron
 Iafed,¹⁰ porque fué mudada
 Su color blanca en negrida¹¹
 Quando perdio aquella gracia.
 Todo lo que este pirdio,
 Sem lo cobró de alabanza,
 Que fué el mas aventajado
 En virtuosas crianzas.
 Este fué el que á peticion
 De los de Baniceraila¹²
 Resucitó el justo¹³ Yee,
 Y salió tan demudado
 Su color, barba y cabeza
 Medio negra y medio blanca,
 Pensando que ya á la cuenta
 Del juicio lo llamaba.
 Deste Sem nació Arfahan,¹⁴
 Y llevó la luz preciada
 El qual engendró á Sale,
 Deste a Eber fue mudada,
 De cuyo nombre tomó
 Principio la lengua hebraica;
 De aqui decendió Falaile¹⁵
 De do en Sareg fué asentada,¹⁷
 Deste Ezar traducio¹⁶
 Y de allí á Tareh mudada.
 Este fué padre de Ezar,
 Aquel famoso ydolatra

¹ Yerbas, P. ² Llegó á esto Cam su nieto, P. ³ Así tambien en el MS. de Paris.

⁴ Del MS. de Paris; en vez de estas lineas el MS. de Londres dice: Y los dos juntos mofaban. ⁵ Al absoluto señala, P. ⁶ Alecados, P.

⁷ De aquel que perdió la gracia, Paris.

⁸ Color.

⁹ Los morenos mesticencos, MS. Paris.

¹⁰ Aquel, P.

¹¹ De blanca en negra, P. ¹² بني اسرائيل los hijos de Israel. ¹³ Sancto, P.

¹⁴ Arfaxad.

¹⁵ Estas tres lineas faltan y son sacadas del MS. de Paris.

¹⁶ Falah, Paris.

¹⁷ Sarug, Paris.

¹⁸ Del en Naçor traducida, MS. Paris.

A quien Alláh por misterio
 Quiso que fuese asentada }
 La luz santa y escogida, }
 Que solo Él á si se entiende,
 Nadie penetra sus trazas :
 Y aunque este fué descreido,
 En lo que á la vida humana
 Convenia, era zeloso
 Y su vida limpia y casta.
 Este fué padre de Ibráhim ;
 Ved la diferencia tanta
 Que, quanto el padre fué malo,
 Tanto el hijo tuvó gracia !

Por eso, el santo alcoram
 Nos dice, enseña y declara
 Que, "saca el muerto del vivo,
 Y el vivo de muerto saca :"
 Saca del² justo un infiel,
 De donde engendra una casta,²
 Como de Tare á Ezar,
 Y de Ezar un patriarca,
 Como Ybráhim, cuyos hechos
 Requieren nueva garganta,
 Que para tan grande empresa
 Tengo ya la voz cansada,

¹ Detuvó la luz honrada
 Para con tan gran misterio

² De un, P.

Dar á la gente enseñanza.
 —MS. Paris.

² De dó engendra un alma sanota, P.



ART. XII.—*Materials for the History of India for the Six Hundred Years of Mohammadan Rule previous to the foundation of the British Indian Empire.* By Major W. NASSAU LEES, LL.D., Ph.D.

[Read January 20, 1868.]

EVERY inquiry which can elucidate the history, the laws, the institutions, or the characteristics of the people of India, ought to have a very practical interest for the people of England, and especially for that small section of them which is entrusted with her government, either more directly as connected with the India Office, or less so as members of the British Parliament. Nor can it be said that information acquired by personal inquiry from people living on the spot is the most satisfactory for the purpose, or can be considered sufficient. Such is not the case. Englishmen in India, as a rule, never mix in social intercourse with the natives. They may receive friendly visits from a few; but, in ordinary, the relations between Englishmen and the higher classes of the natives of India are either purely official or purely of a business nature, and with the lower orders those of master and servant. Again, the few natives of India who have received an English education have been effectually isolated from the great body of their fellow-countrymen, with whom they have as little *real* sympathy as with their English rulers. In the former case, sometimes from fear, but more often from a desire to coincide with and to please or flatter his superiors, as the Hindu historians did in the reigns of Akbar and his successors,—and in the latter, sometimes from ignorance, but sometimes also from interested motives,—the opinions of natives with which Europeans are likely to be favoured are not always a safe guide. On the contrary, in some respects, the greater the progress that is made in educating the upper classes of the natives of India on the English model up to our own

standard, the greater will be the necessity most cautiously to guard against the tendency that will arise, and naturally so, to depend for our knowledge of the feelings, prejudices, and wishes of our native subjects on native public opinion, as expressed through the medium of that section of the native community which we have separated from the mass of their fellow-countrymen.

And the reason why I have so far transgressed the rules which ordinarily should guide contributors to a learned Society or Journal, as to discuss these matters from a material point of view, is this,—I desire to show how deeply interested the Government, the Legislature, and the people of Great Britain are in the researches of any Society whose object is to investigate the social and political history and the antiquities of India, and I am quite certain that my best chance of success is to combine the practical with the literary and scientific.

It is true, I admit, and it is very gratifying that it is true, that the spirit of enquiry regarding the history and the traditions of the Hindus which has sprung up in Europe within the last few years has awakened a deep interest in this ancient people, their institutions, and their languages. This interest, moreover, has extended far beyond the boundary limits of that comparatively small section of European communities which is connected with India, and which may be said to be directly interested in the welfare of her peoples; or that fraternity of literary and scientific men who occupy themselves with old stones and bones, foot-prints of ages long since passed away. Not only the antiquity of the Aryans, and their influence and that of their language on the peoples and languages of the West, but the brotherhood of the race have been fully recognized.

But if the study of the literature of the Hindus makes us acquainted with ancient India, and the modes of thought, the institutions, and the degrees of civilisation attained by the peoples of India in former times, it is not until we are brought in contact with the Moslim in India that we are enabled to assign accurate dates to kings, or that the sequence of events

can be recorded with that guarantee for their accuracy which is necessary for the requirements of history. Even here we are sadly at fault; for, regarding the early Moslim conquests in India, little reliable evidence has been recorded, some of that little has been lost, and much of that which remains is still unavailable to the public, being locked up in MSS. which are daily becoming more scarce from the ravages of time, climate, and moths, insects, and worms, upon whom nature imposes the necessity of sustaining life.

Many able men have occupied themselves with the history of India, and each and all of them have contributed in their degree to dispel the mists of ignorance which cloud the knowledge of even the best informed persons in England on this subject. The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone has written, perhaps, the most generally approved history of India. Still how very incomplete it is, and how very incomplete is every history of India that has yet appeared! Yet the materials for a history of the Mohammadan period, if incomplete for the whole, exist in abundance for a great if not the greater part; and it does not reflect credit on the English name or nation, that having been the paramount power in India now for upwards of a century, and having been for upwards of half that period in complete possession of the greater portion of it, no efficient effort has been made to collect and consolidate these materials in such a manner as to make them available for the service of the future historian and for the instruction of the patient student, or of those who come to India to rule, to trade, to travel, or for any other purpose of business or pleasure. True it is, as just stated, that the materials for the compilation of a history of India for the six hundred years of Mohammadan dynasties are not so complete for all portions of that period as could be wished; indeed, for some they are very scant. True it is that the great mass of Mohammadan historical works partake more or less of the character of biographies, and are rather chronicles of the deeds of kings than of the events of the period, the institutions of the people, the progress of civilization, and the results of policy and contemporaneous opinions regarding them, and are deficient in

many of those characteristics which enable posterity to derive valuable lessons from the experiences of the past. More true still is it that most of the historians were for the most part court chroniclers who wrote to order, and whose business it was to employ their eloquent language to draw a veil over the vices of those whose virtues they were hired to extol. Still, I do not coincide in opinion with those who estimate as of little worth the large body of historical works which has been bequeathed to posterity by the many very able writers who flourished at intervals within the period above mentioned. Where are the historians from the ages of the Greeks and Romans down to our own time, to whose writings many and grave objections may not be taken? You might almost count them on the fingers. In reading Oriental histories, moreover, all due allowance must be made for the influences of despotism, bigotry, love of flattery, and personal vanity, which is peculiarly characteristic of the men and the times of which they wrote; but though exaggeration may sometimes have been resorted to, a main peculiarity of Mohammadan writers—which is of the essence of all sound history—is regard for truth. Nor are we altogether dependent upon court chroniclers; we have in some instances contemporary and independent historians; besides which, writers have never failed to comment freely upon the histories of those authors who have preceded them, and their testimony in such cases may be considered impartial. Where, again, is the Emperor in modern times who would so truthfully and so frankly record his own follies and vices as the Emperor Jehángír has done in his memoirs or auto-biography, commonly called the *Túzak-i-Jehángíri*? Where is now-a-days the empire in which an author could dare to write of his despot ruler in the unmeasured terms in which 'Abd al Kádir of Badáon has written of the Emperor Akbar? Where in the whole range of the literature of that period of the world's history can we find a more valuable and complete compendium of the political, religious, social, commercial, and agricultural institutions of a nation than is contained in the Institutes of Akbar compiled by Abul Fazl? That much valuable information is to be acquired,

and that many useful deductions may be drawn from the facts and events found recorded in the pages of the Mohammadan historians of India there can be little doubt; and it is the more to be regretted that though attention was called to this subject now nearly twenty years ago, and a beginning was made, since then little has been done towards rescuing from destruction what the moths and insects have left behind.

The person who first drew attention to this important subject was Sir Henry M. Elliot, late Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and one of the ablest public officers and most accomplished scholars who ever adorned the Indian Civil Service. But the death of the author at the early age of forty-five not only put an end to the immediate completion of his original design, but the idea seems to have been abandoned by the Government, for whom, and on whose account, this lamented scholar prepared the materials which are now going through the press. This design was, to print or lithograph a "Uniform Edition of the Historians of India." The proposal, it is true, was not accepted by the Government of the North-West Provinces of India, to which it was addressed, on the grounds that the education funds at the disposal of Government were not sufficient to defray the expense of such an undertaking. It was intimated, however, that it was desirable that an index should be prepared so that the MSS. should be sought for, and the works deposited in some College Library, "to be printed or lithographed hereafter should circumstances render it expedient, and *should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Mohammadan History of India.*"

Sir Henry Elliot published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mohammadan India" in 1859; but neither then nor since, as far as I am aware, has any search been made for the MSS. therein indexed, which were to be placed in the College Library, to await that future favorable moment when they could be printed or lithographed. Whether it is to the inexpediency of "circumstances," or the "indifference of public taste," we are indebted for this unfor-

fortunate result, I cannot say; but, be that as it may, it is now too late to make the attempt.¹ With the overthrow of native dynasties, and the general break-up of Mohammadan society consequent on the mutiny and rebellion of 1857-58, all prospect of obtaining many rare or valuable MSS. in India disappeared; and though a good book may now and again be picked up, they are, in these days, seldom to be met with.

A circumstance occurred, however, about eight years ago, which, if it proved mischievous in some respects, was fortunate for the design of Sir H. M. Elliot. The *Bibliotheca Indica*, a series of Oriental works, liberally patronized by the late Court of Directors to the extent of £600 a year, had some time contained a large number of Arabic works. Indeed, the character of the works which, from time to time, appeared in this publication, was influenced by the acquirements and predilections of the editors. During the incumbency of Dr. Röer, or from the year 1847 to 1852, the majority of the works it contained were Sanskrit. During the incumbency of my learned and esteemed friend, Dr. Aloys Sprenger, activity was shown chiefly in the publication of Arabic works. It was during this period that those grand works, the *Kashfu 'z-zunún*, or, "Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Mohammadans," and the *Iqábah fi tamyizi 'ç-Çihábah*, or, "Biographical Dictionary of the Companions of Mohammad," were commenced. The value of such works as these to the students of Arabic philosophy and science, and the history of the first period of *Islám*, is incalculable. But a Sanskrit scholar, Professor H. H. Wilson, could not bear to see so much of the Honourable the Court's grant expended in publishing Arabic works. At his instance the noble old Court of Directors ordered that no work other

¹ Since the above was written, Mr. Edward Thomas, the distinguished savant to whom the public are most indebted for the continuation of the papers of Sir H. M. Elliot, has brought to my notice that, under Mr. Colvin's orders, much search was made by Mr. Hammond, of the Bengal Civil Service, and that a number of MSS. were collected, but they were lost or destroyed in the mutiny. I remember the search made by Mr. Hammond, for he was in communication with me for some years; but I was not aware that his labours had resulted in the recovery of any MSS., or that they were lost. It would be interesting to have some record of what MSS. these were, so that, if possible, they might be traced. Possibly they may be amongst the Delhi prize MSS. (See Appendix to this Paper. Ed.)

than works relating to India should be printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, under pain of the grant being withdrawn; and it was under these circumstances that the Asiatic Society of Bengal conceived the idea of devoting the funds hitherto expended in the publication of Arabic works, to a Persian series, which should contain chiefly works on the History of India. Dr. Sprenger having returned to Europe, the task of the selection of the histories to be printed, subject to the approval of the Council of the Society, devolved upon me; as also their superintendence while passing through the press. I may, therefore, give my own explanation of the objects of the publication, as addressed to the Society from the Chair, at the general meeting for August, 1864, which was as follows:—"The present object of the Society in regard to the Persian series of the *Bibliotheca Indica*, is to aid in working out an idea which originated with the late distinguished Sir Henry Elliot, viz., to place in the hands of the future historian the best original materials for compiling a history of this country; and the plan proposed for accomplishing our task is, to publish texts of the most trustworthy authors, giving the preference, when possible, to writers contemporary with the events their histories chronicle."

I have underlined the last passage in the above extract, because it has been the guiding principle which I have kept before me in my selection of the histories which have been printed, and those which remain to be printed—to obtain, if possible, the evidence of eye-witnesses of the events narrated; failing this, that of contemporary writers; and failing this, to obtain as near a view of the history of each period as possible; always assuming the authors selected to be considered trustworthy by their contemporaries, or by subsequent writers of note. That this principle is sound will not be questioned; but it has not, of course, been practicable to meet the first two conditions very often. Up to the reign of Akbar, we have not much contemporary history; nor have we any histories that were not available to the Mohammadan historians of later periods; but, still, when it is remembered that all European histories of India have been compiled from works written

centuries after the events they record, it will be a great stride in advance to get our materials first hand. One of the greatest faults of a large proportion of Mohammadan historians is their ambition to eclipse all writers of history who preceded them. Each historian seems to have set himself to write a history that would render all other histories obsolete. Hence, the great number of universal or general histories, commencing with the birth of Adam, and brought down to the period of the author. Now it is plain that an author's version of events which occurred one or two hundred, or one or two thousand, years before he lived, could be useful only in the event of his having had access to works no longer extant, or which are not now easily procurable. When we had to deal, moreover, with so extended a period as six centuries, and had very limited funds at our disposal, it became necessary to consider whether it would be possible, within reasonable limits of time, to publish complete editions of all the works whose author's histories of their own times, and of those immediately preceding them, it was desirable to publish. I was of opinion that it would not; and that we should confer greater benefits on the public by adding, as soon as we could, as many missing links to the chain of the historical record as our search for good MSS. would enable us. It was not intended, however, to leave what may be termed *standard* works incomplete. Such works, it was always my opinion, should be completed as soon as the immediately pressing want was supplied and funds were available for the purpose. And an additional reason for this arose when it was found that the natives of India did not approve of incomplete histories, and would not readily purchase them. On financial grounds then the completion of certain histories is desirable, though the contents of the previously suppressed portions may not add much to the information already available to the future historian.

The first work of the new Persian series published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, was Abú'l Fazl Baihaqi's history of Mas'úd, the son of Maḥmúd of Ghaznin, edited by the late W. Morley, to whom was originally entrusted the task of

editing Sir Henry Elliot's posthumous papers. This work he styled the *Tārīkh-i-Baihaḳī*, but it is simply a portion of a very much larger work in several volumes entitled the *Tārīkh-i-āl-i-Subuktagīn*, or "History of the descendants of *Subuktagīn*," the father of Maḥmūd the Great, and nominally the founder of the dynasty commonly called the Slave.¹ This is a great work, and a standard work for that period; and I was in hopes that more volumes of it might be found; but after much search I have not been able to hear of another volume, nor can I find even a complete notice of the work anywhere, nor that any late author has had access to it. I fear, therefore, that the remaining portion of this very valuable history has been lost. Shams-i-Sirāj, the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāḳirī*, had a copy of it; and he has taken a great portion of his account of the kings of this family from its pages, quoting Baihaḳī often in preference to any other author, which gives an additional value to those portions of his work which treat of times anterior to his own.

Mas'ūd, however, was not one of the kings of India, or, as they were in earlier times styled, kings of Delhi. But the history of the kings of Ghaznīn and the Princes of the house of Subuktagīn, from the time of Maḥmūd up to the final subjugation of Hindustan and the establishment of the Mohammadan power at Delhi, are so interwoven with campaigns and incidents connected with the foundation of the empire which the Pathāns succeeded in creating, that any history of India without some account of the rise, progress, and decline of the kingdoms of Ghaznīn and Ghor would be incomplete. I doubt much, however, materials being found to give a very full account of this important period of history. Sir Henry Elliot has given a long list of authorities for a history of the kings of Ghaznīn, but many of these books he had not seen, and his lists in great part are made up of the authorities he found referred to in the prefaces of Mohammadan histories. In his notices of authors and their books he has invariably stated what works he had himself seen and consulted, and those he had derived information of from others;

¹ Shams-i-Sirāj, in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, calls the work the *Tārīkh-i-Nāḳirī*.

but the notices which have been published are very few. The celebrated poet 'Unçuri wrote a history of the life of Maḥmūd, and copies of it were extant about a century and a half ago, for it was consulted by the author of the *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh*, one of the most carefully compiled general histories of India I know of. The author commences with the Pandus, and brings his narrative down to the end of the year 1107 A.H. It was continued for some years later by another hand; and here I may mention, as an instance of how desirable it is to print the texts of all the valuable histories of India compiled in former times we can, that the author of the well known *Siyar ul Mutaakhhkharin*, who wrote his history when Lord Hastings was Governor-General, has transferred almost the whole of this work to his pages verbatim, without ever once mentioning the author's name. A more glaring instance of plagiarism it would be impossible to conceive, yet the author of the *Siyar* has a great reputation, especially amongst European writers, and the name of the modest Subhān Rai, the real historian, is probably wholly unknown. To make matters worse, this dishonest copyist says, in the preface of his book, that he found a *few pages* of an old book prepared by *some Munshi* for *one* of the Mohammadan Emperors, which he made use of, but it was full of mistakes, which he corrected. This is nothing else but a barefaced falsehood; for if there are mistakes in Subhān Rai's history he has copied them all, and made very many of his own besides. Another dishonest writer translated the same history into Hindustani, and giving it a new name, the *Ardāsh-i-Mahfil*, passed it off as an original composition. He was, however, more honest than the other, as, though he denies that his book is a translation, he acknowledges *some* obligation. He deceived Mr. Shakespeare, however, the author of the Hindustani Dictionary, who always mentioned him as the author; and also Professor Dowson,¹ the able editor of Sir H. M.

¹ The author seems to have been under some misapprehension on the subject. Mr. Shakespear heads his selections from the *Ardāsh-i-Mahfil* with the statement that this work "is for the most part founded on the *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh*." Professor Dowson himself has on no occasion entered into the question of the authorship of this work, having merely quoted the work by name.—Ed.

Elliot's History of India, now going through the press. A great portion of the remainder of the *Siyar* is copied, though not verbatim, from *Kháfi Khán*. This author I suppose was too well known to admit of the perpetration of so disgraceful a fraud upon the public without the certainty of detection.

'Unçurí was a contemporary of Maḥmúd, and, from his high reputation as a scholar, a history of this king from his pen would be very valuable; but I fear the book has been lost. We have a history, however, by a contemporary writer, also a very accomplished scholar and distinguished poet, Abú Naçr Moḥammad bin 'Abd al-Jabbar al 'Otbí, the author of the *Tárikh-i-Yamini*. He wrote his history in the year 410 A.H., and it has always been considered in India a masterpiece of style and Arabic composition. It is consequently very difficult to understand; and having been written at the time the events it chronicles occurred, or when they were not only fresh in the memory of all, but the talk of half the continent of Asia, the facts related can be depended upon. Still as a history it would have been more acceptable had it been written in a simple narrative style. The consequence has been that the history has been overcome by the rhetoric, and what the author has gained in reputation as an elegant scholar he has lost as a truthful historian. Several commentaries have been composed on this work, one by Kásim bin al-Husain al-Khwárazmí, who died as early as 555 A.H.; and one by Abú 'Abdallah Maḥmúd bin 'Omar an-Najátí an-Nishápúrí, entitled the *Basátin al-Fuzalá wa Riáḥin al'Ukalá*, in 704 A.H., who says in his preface that he had consulted *five* previously written commentaries. A translation of the work in Persian was also made by Abú' sh-Sharf Naçíḥ bin Zafar.¹ The book is very highly esteemed, especially in India, and was lithographed at Delhi by Dr. A. Sprenger in 1847, and was formerly one of the test books in the Oriental Colleges in Upper

¹ (An English translation of the Persian text, by the Rev. J. Reynolds, was published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund, in London, in 1853.) See also Nöldeke's article on the *Kitáb Yamini* in "Sitzungs-Berichte der Wiener Academie der Wiss," vol. 23 (1857).—Ed.

India; yet I do not think it has ever been used by any European historian. For some years copies have not been procurable; but I have lately extracted and reprinted the portion relating to Maḥmūd's conquests in India in a text book which I compiled for the Calcutta University B. A. examination; and as the Asiatic Society of Bengal are precluded from publishing it in their Bibliotheca, I intend printing and publishing a complete edition of this work at my own risk if I can obtain good MSS.

But the most remarkable author, perhaps, of all those who wrote upon India at this period was Abú Raiḥán al-Bīrūnī (430 A.H.), of whom Rashīd ud-dīn, who wrote before and after 700 A.H., expresses the following opinion:—"He was the servant, the philosopher, and astronomer of Maḥmūd, son of Subuktagīn; he lived for forty years in India,¹ and has related everything connected with the religions, astronomy, laws, and psychology of the people, the height and density of their mountains, their deserts, rivers, cities, manners, customs," etc. But al-Bīrūnī was a traveller, and his book is valuable for the elucidation of the Hindu rather than the Mohammadan period of Indian history. There are two copies of his work in Europe, and we were promised an edition of it by Professor Wöpcke, but since the death of this distinguished scholar there is every reason to fear that the idea has been abandoned. Rashīd ud-dīn's history, or the *Jāmi'ut-Tawārikh-i-Rashīdi*, has a great reputation amongst European scholars. The greater portion of it was supposed to be lost, and the discovery of the missing portions was welcomed with great rejoicing in Paris, London, and Calcutta. But except in so far as concerns the history of the reigns of Ghāzán Khān Oljāitū and of Rashīd ud-dīn's own times, for which it may be considered a standard work, and in the sense before mentioned, it is of little value. The *whole* of the *Tārikh-i-Yamīni* has been transferred by the author to his pages; and the same in regard to other works, may be said of the remainder of his history down to about 650 A.H. It is unnecessary, however,

¹ This, I think, must be a mistake, otherwise Abū Raiḥán must have left Khorasan too young to gain the high reputation he acquired in his own country.

here to go into this question. I have discussed it fully in the fragmentary materials for a treatise on the "Principles of Historic Criticism as applied to the writings of Mohamadan Historians," which I have for some years been collecting, but which I have not had time to attend to.

But to return to Al 'Otbí, who has been so long neglected by the Oriental literary world, and to my humble effort to restore to him that merit of which, though justly his due, he has been deprived. I am unable to say how far the distinguished and undoubtedly very able and accomplished Rashíd ud-dín is responsible for the disingenuousness involved in the suppression of Al 'Otbí's name, because I am not certain—rather, I should say, I have grave doubts—that we have his history in the form in which he wrote it; and because I do not know whether or not he made use of Sharf ud-dín's Persian translation of the *Tárikh-i-Yamíní*, or the work of some other author who had previously appropriated things not his own without due acknowledgment. Writers in Persian are unfortunately extremely unsatisfactory on all points of this nature, and this is especially noticeable when we have to deal with translations into that language. (Compare the Persian translation of *Tabarí* by Bal'amí with the original in Arabic.)

But with all this I have no concern just now. The translation of the *Tárikh-i-Yamíní* to be found in the *Tárikh-i-Rashidí* is extremely free, and, though in substance accurate, contains in the MSS. which I have consulted a good number of omissions. Still the author or translator would not seem to have availed himself of any fresh materials. He begins his narrative where Al 'Otbí began his; and although writing about three centuries later, he leaves off where Al 'Otbí has concluded. And as Rashíd ud-dín, at the present day, has a very great reputation, and Al 'Otbí is comparatively unknown, for the satisfaction of all who may be interested in the matter, I give the headings of the chapters of both authors, premising that while Rashíd ud-dín has followed the narrative of Al 'Otbí throughout, he has not thought it necessary invariably to adopt his division into chapters.

Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī of Al 'Otbī.	Page	Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī of Rashīd ud-dīn.	Page
Of the times of the late Amīr Abū Mansūr Subuktāgīn and of his life.	16	Of the history of the genealogy and affairs of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Subuktāgīn and the origin of his Sultanat.	467
The Conquest of Bust.	19	Conquest of Bust.	468
The Conquest of Kūḡdār.	22	Conquest of Kūḡdār.	469
Of the causes which enticed the Turks into the country of the Amīr Abūl Kāsim Nāḥ b. Manṣūr, and the difficulties of his Government, and his flight from his country and province.	30	A leaf appears to be missing here.	
Of Segistan.	34	Of the affairs of Seestan.	470
Of Husain ud-Daulah Abī'l-'Abbās Tāsh al-Hājib, and his appointment to the Commander-in-Chiefship of the Army.	39	Story of Kūbur and Fakhr ud-Daulah.	
Of the return of Fakhr ud-Daulah towards his territories, and what took place afterwards in connection with engagement for mutual assistance, between him and Husain ud-Daulah, to the death of the latter.	54	Of Fakhr ud-Daulah's return to his country, and his friendship with Husain ud-Daulah.	474
Of the departure of Abū'l-'Abbās Tāsh towards Jurjān, and the arrival of Abī'l-Hasan bin Simjūr at Nishapur in command of the army.	60	No heading, but the accounts are the same.	
Of Abū 'l-Hasan bin Simjūr, Commander-in-Chief of the Army until he died; and the transfer of the command to his son Abū 'Alī.	69	Of Abū 'l-Hasan, son of Simjūr, and his Government in Khorasan until his death, and the succession to his office of his son Abū 'Alī.	477
Of Fāik, and what happened to him after the occurrence of the events mentioned in the foregoing chapter.	75	Of Fāik and his affairs at Marāḡd after his defeat.	478
Of the arrival of Bughrā Khān at Bokhara.	78	Of the departure of Nāḥ bin Manṣūr from Bokhara and the arrival of Bughrā Khān at Bokhara.	479
Of the return of Rādī to Bokhara after the departure of Bughrā Khān.	81	No heading, but the subject matter is the same.	
Of Abū 'l-Kāsim bin Simjūr, brother of Abū 'Alī, and what happened to him after separating from him.	120	Of Abū 'l-Kāsim bin Simjūr, brother of Abū 'Alī, and his circumstances after his separation from his brother.	485

Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī of Al 'Otbī.	Page	Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī of Rashīd ud-dīn.	Page
Of what took place between the Amīr Saif ud-Daulah Maḥmūd and his brother the Amīr Ismā'īl, after his (Ismā'īl's) accession to the throne of his father.	134	No heading.	
Of what took place between Abū 'l-Kāsim bin Simjūr Bukhtu Zūn after the above.	140	No heading.	
Of the Khilats or dresses of honour which the Khalīf Al Kādir Billah conferred upon Maḥmūd.	161	Of the sending of a Khilat or dress of honour by Al Kādir Billah to Maḥmūd.	490
Of the return of 'Abd al-Malik bin Nūh towards Bokhara.	162	Of the return of 'Abd al Malik bin Nūh to Bokhara.	491
Of the setting out of Abū Ibrāhim Ismā'īl bin Nūh al Muntaqir, and what took place between him and Ailak Khān at Māwaraulnahr, and between him and the Commander of the Armies of the Amīr Abū 'l-Muzaffar Naṣr bin Naṣr ud-dīn.	180	Of the setting out of Abū Ibrāhim Ismā'īl, and what took place between him, Ailak Khān, and Amīr Naṣr bin Naṣr ud-dīn.	
Of the Sāmānī Amīrs and the period of their dynasty from their accession to the succession of Maḥmūd.	182	Of the Sāmānī Amīrs and the period of their dynasty.	495
Of the causes of the friendship and enmity which arose between Naṣir ud-dīn Subuktagin and Khalaf bin Aḥmad Wālī of Sajistān; of the enmity and jealousy which afterwards took place between him and Maḥmūd, until the latter deprived him of his kingdom; and Maḥmūd's victories in India, until he accomplished his wishes by the aid of the Almighty.	185	Of the friendship and enmity which arose between Naṣir ud-dīn Subuktagin and Khalaf bin Aḥmad; and how the Sultan deprived him of his kingdom.	495
Of Shams al-Ma'ālī Kābūs bin Washmīkar, and his departure to his kingdom after long and many vicissitudes.	207	Of Shams al-Ma'ālī Kābūs bin Washmīkar and his arrival on the borders of his own country.	
Of what passed between Maḥmūd and Ailak Khān regarding a treaty offensive and defensive, and allaying rebellion.	234	Of the friendship of Maḥmūd with Ailak Khān and their subsequent hostilities.	503
Of the battle of Bhātiyah.	258	Of the battle of Bhātiyah.	503
Of the battle of Multan.	261	Wanting.	

Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī of Al 'Otbi.	Page	Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī of Rashīd ud-dīn.	Page
Of the passing over of the army of Ailak Khān.	264	Wanting; apparently defect in MSS., as the next chapter begins, "The Sultan after these <i>two</i> victories," one only having been mentioned.	
Of the taking of the Fort of Bhīm Nagar.	278	Of the taking of Bīmbughrā (Bhīm-nagar).	504
Of the descendants of Farīghūn.	282	Of the descendants of Farīghūn.	505
Of the Amīr al-Muminīn al-Kādir bi'llah, and his succession to the Khalīfat, and his confirmation in the office of Imām, and the acceptance of him by the people after At-Tāyī'i, and what took place between Maḥmūd and Bahā ud-Daulah, Abū Naṣr bin Adad ud-Daulah.	286	Of Al Kādir bi'llah and his succession to the Khalīfat after Tāyī'i, and his friendship with the Sultan and Bahā ud Daulah bin Adad ud-Daulah.	505
Of the battle (conquest) of Narain.	303	Of the battle of Narain.	507
Of the battle (conquest) of Ghor.	305	Of the battle of Ghor.	508
Of the famine which occurred at Nishāpūr 401 A.H.	308	No heading, but account of the famine of 401 is there.	
Of what occurred with the Khāns of Turkīstan after his return from Māwarā'ul-nahr.	312	Of the Khāns after his (Maḥmūd's) return from Māwarā'ul-nahr.	509
Of the conquest of Kūqdār.	316	Of the conquest of Kūqdār.	
Of the <i>Shdrum</i> (two Princes), the father Moḥammad and his son Abū Naṣr.	317	No heading, but the account is there precisely as given in Yamīnī.	
Of the battle of Nārdīn.	329	Battle of Nārdīn. (No heading).	
Of the battle of Thanēsūr.	336	Of the battle of Thanēsūr. (No heading.)	512
Of the Wāzīrship of the Shaikh Shams ul-Kufāt Abū 'l-Kāsim Aḥmad bin Al-Hasan.	346	Wanting.	
Of Shams al-Ma'ālī Kābūs bin Washmīkar and the end of his affairs; the succession of the Amīr Falak ul-Ma'ālī Abū Maṇṣūr Ma-nūchīhir to his inheritance.	357	Heading wanting; account precisely the same.	513
Of Dārā bin Shams al-Mā'ālī, and what happened to him in the end.	362	Wanting.	

Tárikh-i-Yamíní of Al 'Otbi.	Page	Tárikh-i-Rashídí of Rashid ud-din.	Page
Of Majd ud-Daulah Abú Tálíb bin Fakhr ud-Daulah.	366	Heading wanting; account precisely the same.	514
Of Bahá ud-Daulah and his end.	371	Heading wanting; account the same.	515
Of Ailak Khán and what happened to him in the end.	376	Heading wanting; account the same precisely.	515
Of the Amír Abú Aḥmad Moḥammad bin Maḥmúd.	138	Wanting.	
Of At-Taharti, the Envoy from Egypt.	383	Wanting.	
Of the Amír Abú'l 'Abbás Mamún bin Mamún Khwárazm Sháh, and what happened to him until Maḥmúd took possession of his country.	389	Heading only wanting; contents the same.	516
The conquest of Mahrah Kin-nauj and the Province of Cashmir.	395	Wanting.	
Of the Great Masjid at Ghaznin.	410	Wanting.	
Of the Afghans.	415	Of the Afghans.	519
Of what happened in Nishápúr after the Wazír Abú'l 'Abbás, in connection with those who were appointed to govern it until the appointment of Abú 'l-Hasan 'Alí bin Moḥammad As-Saiyáryi.	419	Here 'Abd ar-Rashid closes his translation from the Tárikh-i-Yamíní; but the remaining chapters, in which he gives the history of Moḥammad bin Maḥmúd and Maudúd bin Mas'úd bin Maḥmúd, are contained in a page and a half, which would seem to establish that he had only a copy of Baihaqí's work,—provided always that we have his history as he wrote it, which would not appear to have been the case.	
Of Abú Bakr Moḥammad bin Ishák bin Mahma Shaz, and the Kadhi Abú 'l 'Alá Sa'id bin Moḥammad, and what happened regarding them at Nishápúr.	423		
Of the Commander-in-Chief Abú 'l-Muzaffar Naḥr bin Subuktagin.	469		
Of what took place regarding myself when having completed my history so far I submitted it to the Wazír Shams al-Kufát, and his recognition of my services.	464		

But to return to Abú Moḥammad bin al-Hosain al-Baihaqí (d. 470?) I have not been able to ascertain the date of his birth. It was probably about 400 A.H.; and as he wrote his history apparently between the years 450 A.H. and 460 A.H.,

he may be considered a contemporary author for the first sixty years of the fifth century. In speaking of Subuktagín he generally says, "I heard so and so from my father." During the reign of Maḥmúd's son Mas'úd, Baihaquí's master, Abú Naḥr Mishkán, who also wrote a history, which is lost, was head of the Government Secretariat Department, and, according to Baihaquí, was a very elegant letter writer. Baihaquí was his chief assistant or secretary, and had frequent interviews, on business, with the Sultan. On the death of Abú Naḥr, not having been appointed to succeed him, he considered himself slighted, and placed his resignation in the hands of the king. Mas'úd, however, would not accept it; and although he acknowledged Abú'l-Fazl's fitness for the office, he said he was somewhat too young for so important a post. The portions of his history published, although they are chiefly devoted to the biography of Mas'úd, which is brought down to his imprisonment in 431 A.H., treat also of matters connected with the reigns of Subuktagín, Maḥmúd, Moḥammad, and, incidentally, of events of the reigns of Furrukhzád and Ibráhím, who ascended the throne, according to Baihaquí, in 451 A.H. This latter king reigned forty-one years, and Baihaquí died in the middle of this reign, so his work cannot contain a complete history of the dynasty founded by Subuktagín, which terminated with Khusraw Malik Khusraw Sháh, who was killed by Mu'izz ud-dín Sám, the Ghorian, 598 A.H.

Al Baihaquí has also given some account of the kings of Khwárazm, which he has extracted from a work by Rashíd ud-dín's oracle, Al-Bírúní, who was a contemporary, though forty years his senior. His whole history is confused, and presents the appearance rather of a rough draft than of a revised text. That which he has related, however, is accurate, and can be accepted as truthful history; for we have not only his own statement, viz., "I have recorded nothing that I have not myself seen, or have not received on the most trustworthy authority," but the internal evidences of truth and honesty his history affords, and the high testimony borne to his character by other writers of note. Regarding the con-

fused style of his history, moreover, it is only doing him common justice to record here his own pathetic lament for the loss of the official documents which would have enabled him, he says, to make his history so much more worthy of posterity. In speaking of a despatch sent by Mas'úd to the Khalifah at Bagdad he makes the following remarks:—

“My master Bú Naçr made a draft of the letter in a style that he knew so well how to do, for as a letter writer he was the first man of his age (*Imám-i-rozgár dar dabíri*), I who am Abú'l-Fazl copied this letter. All letters to the Khalifah, the Kháns of Turkistan, and the kings of the neighbouring countries, were in my handwriting, and I had charge of the office copies; but, intentionally, they made away with them (*na chíz kardand*). Alas! many times alas! that that garden of Paradise is gone, for had it been otherwise, this history would have been very different from what it now is. But I am not hopeless that through the grace of God I may yet obtain these papers, and thus be able to publish them all. The public will then be in a position to judge of the worth of that high official (Bú Naçr).”

The poor fellow seems to have been sadly distressed by the loss of these papers, though how they were kept from him his remarks do not make clear. He refers to them again further on in his history, and repeats the above lament, adding that he had asked the sons of Bú Naçr for the copy of a letter without result. He mentions in very high terms a contemporary, Maḥmúd Warrák, who, he says, had written “the history of a few thousand years (*chandia hazár sál*),” bringing his narrative down to 409 A.H.; and adds, “he there stopped, because I had commenced my history from that year. And this Maḥmúd,” he continues, “is accurate and trustworthy. I have seen about ten or fifteen of his works on various subjects of great merit, and I wished to write a long eulogy upon him, and to quote much from him, but as soon as his sons heard of it they said to me, ‘We who are his sons are not willing that you should take more than you have already taken from our father.’ Being helpless, therefore, I desisted.” What foolish children those of Maḥmúd Warrák? Who now knows anything of their father? Where are the ten or fifteen works on various subjects of this able writer

and no doubt learned man? Where are the numerous works of Abú Naçr Mishkán; of Aṭ-Tálabí, of 'Imád al-Kátib; of Aç-Qábí, the author of the *Tájí*; of Abú Raihán al-Bírúní, the philosopher and astronomer royal of Maḥmúd; of 'Alí al-Bustí, Subuktagín's Kátib; of Ibr al-Mastaufí, and hundreds of other authors of this period, who were contemporaries with Al-Baihaqí or immediately preceded him, and of those whose names even are no longer known? Where is the *Nasab Námah-i Saláṭin-i Ghor*, compiled in verse by Fakhr ud-dín Mubárah Sháh, and dedicated to 'Alá ud-dín Hosain Jehán Soz, and the abridgement of Baihaqí's own work, which Minháj ud-dín tells us was made by one of the illustrious men of Ghaznin in the times of Mu'izz ud-dín Moḥammad Sám (602 H)? Al 'Otbí mentions the names of nine or ten poets of celebrity of his time, scarcely one of whom Ibn Khallikán or others have given us any notice of whatever; besides a whole host of other authors might be mentioned whose works have been involved in the general destruction of MSS. which has been steadily progressing with the revolutions of the seasons and the wars of Islám. If anything is to be done in India it must be done quickly, for our climate is very different from that of the dry climate of Arabia, where neither the worm nor the moth abound. But I wander somewhat from the immediate subject in hand.

There are other special histories of the kings of Ghaznin, and perhaps of the kings of other dynasties, which it would be desirable to publish in a series devoted to the history of India; but as I see no present prospect of obtaining materials in India for giving editions of them, I may pass on to the histories of those sovereigns of the house of Ghaznin who may legitimately be styled kings of Delhi. The first on the list is the *Táj ul-Maásir*, by Hasan Nizámí,¹ who wrote the history of the times of Kutb ud-dín Aibak and Shams ud-dín Ailtimash, the first Mohammadan conquerors of Delhi, with whom he was a contemporary, and at whose courts he resided. Contemporary historians of this early period are very scarce;

¹ Haji Khalifah calls the author Çadr ud-dín Moḥammad bin Hasan-i-Nizámí; Zia-i-Barní calls him Kwájah Çadr Nizámí.

and although Hasan Nizámi's history, in regard to style, is open to the same objection as Al 'Otbi's, it will be published as soon as a sufficient number of good copies can be obtained. I have at present only one copy, but other copies are procurable in India. The author's preface breathes the same spirit as that of Al 'Otbi, that, indeed, of the times in which he lived—the true spirit of Islám, “universal dominion.” We find in it also the same complaint of want of appreciation of learning and learned men, which scholars have been making from the earliest ages down to our own times, and considerably more egotism and vanity than could well be tolerated at present. Still he was an accomplished scholar, and he has so truthfully given expression to the Mohammadan “idea,” that I think it worth while to make a short abstract of a portion of his remarks:—

“Be it known,” says he, “that in accordance alike with the canons of the law and the dictates of the understanding, to wage war with the enemies of religion is both desirable and incumbent. The virtue of a religious war (*jihád*) has been made evident by many very clear texts, viz., ‘Fight in the path of God the righteous fight.’ Again, ‘Fight the unbelievers in God and the last day.’ Again, ‘Fight the polytheists (*mushrikin*) every one of them.’ All persons of intelligence and understanding very well know that the stability of religion and good government, and the maintenance of the integrity of the law, are dependent upon *jihád*; and that the prosperity and vigour of the Church and State are bound up with it. The administration of the affairs of a State without the intervention of the sword is impossible; and although the government of a country without the instrumentality of the pen or the civil power is equally so, still until the foundations of empire have been laid and strengthened by the sword, and the boundaries about and around the frontiers of *Islám* are cleared of the enemies of religion; until laws and regulations of justice and right are enforced for the protection of the cultivators and the poor,—who are a sacred trust bequeathed (to kings) by the Creator,—and the hand of oppression and persecution is stayed from the shedding of blood, and the rapine and plunder of the property of the Moslims; until all this has been accomplished by the sword, the orders and legal decisions of the learned, who are the inheritors of the laws of the Prophets, can meet with neither honour nor respect, nor

can the affairs of a kingdom be well administered." The author then goes on to say that "proof of his position lies in the fact which is fully borne out by history, that in every age some one 'defender of the true faith' has arisen to fulfil the requirements of this theory; as, for instance, in the time of Mu'izz ud-dín Abú'l-Muzaffar Mohammad bin Sâm bin al-Husain, Abú'l Hárith Kutb ud-dín Aibak,¹ who having cleared Hindustan of the enemies (of Islám) by the sword, has left us the evidences and signs of his greatness and prowess to be the ornament of history."

Regarding the author himself, we glean from his work that he was born at Nishápúr, whence he came and settled at Ghaznin. He was a man of considerable attainments, and writes with much elegance, according to the Oriental idea, and consequently with great verbosity. He has devoted no less than fifty-seven pages to a recital of his objects and reasons for setting out from Ghaznin for Delhi, the objections his friends raised to it, and the circumstances which induced him to write his history. I can therefore only give a précis of his remarks. He says—

"I, Hasan Nizámí, although it is desirable to abridge my remarks, yet since elegant writing hath charms which dispel weariness, before commencing on my subject, I may as well acquaint my readers with certain misfortunes which befel me, and a few of the events of the times. And, first, I would observe that I had never before travelled, or even contemplated travelling, until wars and rebellion in Khorasan became the rule, and no one any longer paid the slightest attention to persons of learning or erudition. Then, certainly, I resolved firmly to get out of the country. My friends opposed my intention, and this caused me to waver. At last, however, I left Nishápúr, and, following the advice of Shaikh Muḥammad Kúf, I went to Ghaznin, where I had the distinguished honor of kissing the feet of Shaikh Muḥammad Shírází, and through the kindness of the Lord Chief Justice, *Majd al-Mulk*, my lucky star became in the ascendant. Some time I spent very pleasantly with him, but afterwards I was so unfortunate as to be separated from the companionship of these two most exalted personages. I, then, with a party of learned men and scholars, set out for

¹ *Aibak* means finger-cut; Kutbuddín the finger-cut, as we say Taimúr *lang* or Taimúr the lame. He had lost his little finger.

and arrived at Delhi, which is the seat of honor and the centre whence liberality radiates. The fatigues of the journey caused me to fall sick, but my illness was not very serious, and after a little I recovered. *Sharf al-Mulk*,¹ the Lord Chief Justice of Delhi, was very kind to me, and showed me, as his father had done before him, great attention. Other dignitaries also, seeing this, showed me the attention due to a stranger. Soon afterwards some of my intimate friends hinted to me that 'if a work in Persian,—because the inclination of the people of the times either from want of ambition or deficiency in scholarship is more partial to that [language than to Arabic],—were prepared, having a few couplets in praise of the men of the age interspersed throughout it, it would be very opportune at the present moment; it would remain as a memento of my scholarship for future ages, and the undertaking would certainly not be without some profit.' I naturally felt annoyed at this suggestion; lost my temper to such an extent that my sensitive understanding deserted me. I said to myself, is it not passing strange that the men of these times should think the highest result of education and the ripe fruit of hard and laborious study is the compilation of a book in Persian and the writing of a few verses? Nevertheless, reflecting upon the following words of the holy text, 'When the ignorant address ye, agree with them, or assent to what they say;'² and after many and extreme arguments I said to myself, after all the meaning of the proverb, 'a man is known by his parts,'³ will not be hid from the observant. More especially, since I had been instructed to write an account of the victories of the king, it did not seem to me that I had the power longer to refuse, and that I ought to comply with the royal order, and relate the events and victories of his imperial reign, and at the same time do so in a composition which by its language and style would lead captive the hearts of all who should read it, while rendering

¹ The words I have translated are *Ṣadr-i-Aʿlī*. *Sharf al-Mulk* is a title similar to *Majd al-Mulk* of Ghaznī. The Chief Justice was generally known by his title and not by his name. *Ṣadr-i-Jihān* was not common. From Taimūr's time they were more generally known by the designation of *Kāzī al-Kūzāt*, though this title is also used in India earlier, as *Akẓa'l-Kūzāt* in Arabic.

² Koran 9th S. 3 v. : *إذا خاطبهم الجاهلون قالوا سلاماً* "they say, peace be unto them," and the meaning is precisely, "keep the peace with them, do not get into arguments or quarrels with the ignorant."

³ A *ḥadīth* *البِرُّ باصْغَرِيه* *lit.* "by his heart and tongue." The author apparently means to imply that whatever he writes, men of understanding will easily perceive that it bears the impress of genius.

conspicuous the eloquence and rhetorical power of the author. I commenced to write my work in one of the months of the year 602 A.H."

The headings of the chapters of the *Tāj al-Maāşir* are as follows: "An account of the march [of Kutb ud-din Aibak] to conquer Hindustan and the battle of Ajmír in the year 585 A.H.; of the consignment of the Governorship of Ajmír to the son of Rai Pithora; of the conquest of Delhi, may God protect its good fortune, and perpetuate its glory; of the Governorship of Kahrám and Sámánah; of the defeat of Khunwán? and the killing in battle of the Rai; of the rebellion of Harráj, brother of the Rao of Ajmír; of the march of his Highness towards Ghaznin; of his march towards Kol (Köil or Alighur) and Banares; of the battle of Banares; of his march towards Kol, and the consignment of its Government to *Málík al-Umará* Hisám ud-dín Ughlabak; of Ajmír again; of the consignment of the Government of Thankar to Bahá ud-dín Tughral; of the conquest of Kaléwar (Gualior); of the battle of Nahrivalah, and the defeat of the Rao; of the consignment of the Fort of Kalingar to *Huzab ud-dín* Hasan Arnab; of the return of the Emperor (*Sultán us-Saláttin*) from Khwárazm and the battle of Kokar; of the martyrdom of the Emperor Mu'izz ud-dín Moḥammad bin Sám; of the resignation of the neighbouring Princes and of the acceptance of *Islám* by the kingdoms of Hindustan; of the death of his Majesty the Emperor S. S. Kutb ud-dín; of the accession to the throne of his Majesty the Emperor Shams ud-dín, may his reign last for ever; of the defeat of the army of Ghaznin, and the capture of Malik Táj ud-dín (Yaloz); of the fight with, and defeat of, Náçir ud-dín, and the conquest of Lúhúr (Lahor); of the consignment of the Government of Lahore to his Majesty's son Náçir ud-dín."

The book is brought down to the year 614 A.H., but having but one copy I am not certain that it is complete throughout. The above is sufficient to show that the author was a competent chronicler of the events of his own times, and that his history contains matter of interest; in short, that the selection is a fit one. It will be observed that Hasan Nizámí

omits all mention of *Arám Sháh*, who has been included by later historians amongst the Sovereigns of Delhi, between *Kutb ud-dín Aibak* and *Shams ud-dín Ailtimash*. The truth appears to be that one party set up *Arám Sháh* and another *Ailtimash*, and the latter was victorious; and of those who admit him to the honours of sovereignty, some say he reigned less than a year and others accord him only two or three days. None of his coins I believe are known to exist.

Another work which I have had before my mind's eye, and which should be published in this series, if materials can be obtained for an edition, is the *Jam'i ul-Hikáyát wa lam'i ur-Riwáyát* of *Jam'ul ud-dín Moḥammad Al 'Aufi*, who also wrote in the time of the Emperor *Shams ud-dín Ailtimash*, and by order of his Wazir *Nizám ul-Mulk*. It is in Persian, and was translated into Turkish by *Aḥmad bin Moḥammad*, commonly called *Ibn 'Arab Sháh* (d. 854). *Ziá-i-Barni*, *Khwandahmír* and others quote it; but as I have not seen the work I say nothing more about it, except that if any one has a copy I hope he will lend it to me. A copy is in the Paris Library, and copies could possibly be obtained elsewhere if they were sought for. These two works, the *Táj ul-Maâşir* and *Jam'i ul-Hikáyát*, will give us a very near view of the events of the reigns of—I. *Kutb ud-dín Aibak*. II. *Shams ud-dín Ailtimash*.

The next work of importance on the list, and which has already been published under my editorship in this series, is the *Tabaqát-i-Náçiri*, by the Lord Chief Justice *Abú 'Omar Minháj ud-dín 'Othman bin Siráj ud-dín al Jauzjáni*. He was born at *Fírozkoḥ*, in *Khorasán*, 590 A.H., and came to India in the year 624 A.H., where he was made Principal of the College of *Uchh*, in *Sindh*. This was very shortly after *Hasan Nizámí*, the author of the *Táj ul-Maâşir*, died. We subsequently find him in *Oudh*, at *Lakhnautí*, and at *Gualior*, always holding the highest legal and ecclesiastical offices; and finally at *Delhi*, first in the reign of *Bahrám Sháh*, and afterwards in that of *Náçir ud-dín Maḥmúd*, as Chief Justice. His work, as its name imports, is rather a book of dynasties than a history of any particular dynasty or number of reigns;

and owing to the number of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, he has given us notices of in the portion which I have printed, viz., ninety-seven, many of them are extremely brief. Indeed, with the exception of the reign of Nāṣir ud-dīn, in whose honour he compiled his work, and in the fifteenth year of whose reign he wrote it (658 A.H.), most of his biographical notices contain a mere outline. It must be borne in mind, however, that in Minhāj-i-Sirāj's time Mohammadan India was divided into four kingdoms, the three minor ones acknowledging but a very nominal subordination to the Central Government, and that only under powerful Sovereigns. These were Hindustan, Bengal, the Punjab, and Sindh, each having their seats of Government at Delhi, Lakhnautī, Lahore, and Uchh. Now the peculiar and most important feature of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* is that it gives us a biographical sketch of the contemporary rulers of *all* these kingdoms, as also of the Kings of the countries beyond the Indus, as well as of the Emperors of Delhi. An objection to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, however, is, that in the author's treatment of his subject he has generally applied his kingdoms to his kings instead of the reverse; and we therefore find Kings of Bengal mixed up in the same chapter, or *ṭabaḳah*, with Emperors of Delhi, and *vice versa*, because they were of the same lineage. Another very unsatisfactory point about his work is that he seldom names his authorities, contenting himself with that abominable habit, so sparingly adopted by good Arabian authors, of commencing a passage with "trustworthy persons relate." The brevity of the notices too, even of many of the Emperors under whom Minhāj-i-Sirāj himself held office, excludes them from the category of history. Still, short though they be, they are of the utmost importance as a means of checking the accounts of later and less trustworthy authors; and, looking to the comprehensive scope of the work and the very scanty remnants of the manuscript histories of the dynasties of which he has given us an account, the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* is certainly the most valuable historical record of the period which has been preserved.

Minhāj-i-Sirāj, in the preface, gives the following statement

of the objects and reasons for compiling his work. He says, briefly :—

“I found a chronological table of historical events which had been compiled by certain learned men in the times of the successors of Nāçir ud-dín Subuktagín with the view of enlightening posterity regarding the history of the Prophets, Khalífahs, and Kings, and their descendants in times past; and in the preparation of which they had indented on every available source of information.¹ After treating of the affairs of the prophets and their pure descendants and the Khalifs of the *Bani Umayyah*, and the Bani'l-'Abbás, and the Kings of Persia and the Khusroes, they concluded with an account of the affairs of the house of the auspicious Sultan Maḥmúd Subuktagín, excluding the history of other Kings, and Emperors, and their collateral branches, anterior and contemporary. I therefore desired to enlarge this abridgement so as to include the history of all the Mohammadan Sultans of Arabia and 'Ajam, both in earlier and later times; and throw some light on the affairs of each separate house and family, such, for instance, as the Tobb'as of Yaman, and the Himyarite Kings; and after treating of the Khalífahs, recount also the affairs of the 'Al-i-Boyah, and the Táhirian, Saffárian, the Sámánian, Saljúkian, Rúmian, Shansbánián, who were the Sultans of Ghor, and Ghaznín, and Hind, and the Khwárazmsháhan, and the Kings of Kurd, who were the Sultans of Syria, and the Kings and *Saláṭin-i-Mo'izziyah*, who sat on the thrones of Ghaznín and India down to the auspicious times of the present reigning Sovereign Nāçir ud-dín Abú'l-Muzaffar Maḥmúd bin us-Sultán, who is of the dynasty of Ailtimash, and who has inherited the throne by regular succession. I wrote this history and adorned it by entitling it after this auspicious Sovereign, '*The Tabakát-i-Nāçirí.*' Minháj-i-Siráj continues in the introduction to his chapter on the Ghaznaví Kings: 'The *Imám* Abú 'l-Fazl al-Husain Baihaqi in the *Tárikh-i-Nāçirí* relates on the authority of the Sultan Sa'id Maḥmúd, that he (Maḥmúd) had heard from his father Subuktagín,' etc.; 'and the *Imám* Mohammad 'Alí Abú 'l-Kásim Hammádi, in the chronological or historical table (*Tárikh-i-Majadwal*) relates as follows,' etc. He also quotes the *Tárikh-i-Muḥaddasí*, and a work by

¹ Literally, "from every garden a flower, from every ocean a drop, they had collected. It is a pity Minháj-i-Siráj did not mention the names of these authors or the name of their book. Possibly it was Maḥmúd Warráq of whom Baihaqi speaks."

Abú 'l-Hasan al-Haidham an-Nábi (?); but generally, as before mentioned, he has not given his authorities."¹

He concludes his chapter of the biographies of the Emperors of Delhi with an account of the events of the fifteenth year of Náçir ud-dín's reign (658 A.H.), or up to the date of his writing his book; and he there expressed a hope that if he lived he would be able to continue his history; but he does not seem to have done so. He wrote another work, however, named the *Náçiri-námah*, but I have no information of it except that it contains an account of the siege of the Fort of Nandanah, near Kinnouj, by General Balban, then styled Ulugh Khán, and afterwards Emperor, and of the capture and imprisonment of Dalkí and Malkí.²

Taking up the history where the author of the *Táj ul-Maásir* lays it down, Minháj ud-dín has given us an account of the reigns of the following Emperors of Delhi:—

- II. Shams ud-dín Ailtimash.
- III. Rukn ud-dín Fíroz Sháh.
- IV. Rádhayah, the Queen.
- V. Mu'izz ud-dín Bahrám Sháh.
- VI. 'Alá ud-dín Mas'úd Sháh.
- VII. Náçir ud-dín Maḥmúd Sháh, first 15 years.

Following in the wake of Minháj-i-Siráj, but about half a century later, Zíá ud-dín Barní wrote a standard history of very great merit, which has already been published in this series, under its title, the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi*. The author was born about the year 684 A.H. At least he says in his history that in the year 758 A.H. he was then 74 years of age. He frequently says throughout his book, "I heard so and so from my father;" and taking dates, and the standing and position of the authorities, I think I am authorised in including these two histories in the historical chain without any connecting link.

The preface of the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi* is rather long and somewhat bombastic. The author enters into a long dis-

¹ [A full list of the contents of the *Tabaqat-i-Náçiri* is to be found in Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society (1854.)—Ed.]

² The copulative has puzzled Orientalists, as it is plain from the context that one individual only is meant.

quisition on the value of history, and has given at length seven reasons for its superiority over other branches of knowledge, and why very few are competent to undertake the task of writing a history, and why he himself was possessed of peculiar fitness for it. I give a few extracts from it and his book below; but I may mention here, that my main object here is to show that the works selected for publication in the Persian series are the best available sources for the history of Hindustan under the Mohammadan Sovereigns of Delhi, and that the authors of them are trustworthy, and have been considered so by their contemporaries and those Mohammadan historians of celebrity who followed them.

Ziā-i-Barnī mentions four historians of Delhi, who, he says, were trustworthy. Qadr Nizāmī, the author of the *Tāj ul-Maāsir*; Qadr ud-dīn Afi, the author of the *Jāmi' ul-Hikāyat*; Kādhi Qadr-i-Jihān, Minhāj Jauzjānī, compiler of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*; and Kabīr ud-dīn, son of Tāj ud-dīn 'Irāki, who, in the times of 'Alā ud-dīn, wrote his victories with great elegance. "All four," he says, "were trustworthy, honourable, and illustrious. And be it known that whatsoever trustworthy historians have written, others have accepted; but whatsoever upstarts and unknown people have written, wise men have treated with inattention and rejected, and the histories of such worthless writers having lain for years in the shops have been handed over to the manufacturers, and become again fine white paper." He adds an important condition as affecting the character of an author, viz., that he ought to be a man of sound and orthodox religious principles, as many writers from excessive bigotry have been induced to tell lies. He refers also to the precautions he has taken to state nothing but the truth; and further on (p. 237) he says, "I, who am the compiler of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz-Shāhi*, have in my preface made this agreement, that whatever I shall write in this history shall be the whole truth (*rāsta rāst*). Of the persons whose history I relate I shall relate both their good and bad (actions). To publish men's good actions and to conceal their bad is what I shall *not* do; for if I should carelessly overlook (their bad actions) and

recount solely their excellent deeds, and shut my eyes to their evil deeds, then my writings in the auspicious eyes of my readers would be distrusted, and I myself should not be absolved by God." This is introduced in the midst of a passage in which he gives an account of the murder of Jalál ud-dín Fíroz Sháh, in which he has anathematized all who had a hand in this foul deed, including his own uncle, 'Alá ul-Mulk, who was a Kotwál, or Governor of Delhi,¹ and 'Alá ud-dín, the Emperor, and calls them *Káfirs* and other epithets, which sound equally elegant and polite in the ears of Moslims.

"Having in this preface before laid down the rules, etc., which should regulate the writing of history, and having treated of the excellence, etc., of this branch of literature in a manner which no historian, or writer of history in the Persian language, has ever done before, by intending in this lengthy treatise to show the great pleasure and profit I had derived from the study of this subject, I, Zia-i-Barní, the compiler of the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi* wished to write a history myself, beginning with the birth of Adam and his two sons, etc., etc. After recounting the events of the times of the Prophets, etc., to that, I wished to take up the reigns of the Khalifahs and Sultans of Islám, down to the king of my own time, with whose name I have adorned the title-page of this history. While fully occupied with this intention, however, I recalled to mind the *Tárikh-i-Tabakát-i-Náçiri*, which Minháj ud-dín Jauzjáni had compiled with such wonderful ability. This work he compiled at Dehli, and included in it an account of the Prophets, Khalifahs, Sultans, from Náçir-ud-dín, son of Shams ud-dín Ailimash, and the Kháns of the Shamsí and Náçiri families, the whole being contained in twenty-three *tabakáhs*. Now I said to myself, that if I should copy that which this illustrious and revered historian has written, the readers of my history who had already read his history would derive no profit; and if, on the other hand, I should write an account that should differ from his, or enlarge or abridge his history, then I should be accused of rashness and want of respect, besides which, the readers of the *Tabakát-i-Náçiri* would be involved in doubt. I, therefore, thought it wise to exclude every thing to be found in the *Tabakát-i-Náçiri*, and to confine myself to relating the

¹ *Kotwál* in these days means a city or town magistrate. In those days it was a very high office, as we read of Ghiyás ud-dín Balban having made the Kotwál his representative when he left Delhi.

history of the later kings of Dehli, not treated of by Kádhi Minháj ud-dín, etc., etc."

Ziá ud-dín brings history down to the sixth year of the reign of Fíroz Sháh, who was the son of Rajab Sálár, the brother of Ghiyás ud-dín Tughlaq Sháh, and his commander-in-chief. His tomb is in Baraich, in Awadh. Rajab Sálár, strange to say, and another Mohammadan Badí' ud-dín Madár, whose tomb is near Kinnauj, are held in great veneration by the sweeper-caste throughout Hindustan, by whom they are called Sálár-o-Madár. In the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi* we have the history of eight Emperors of Dehli, commencing with Ghiyás ud-dín Balban, and ending with Fíroz Sháh. He has excluded from imperial honours Shams ud-dín Kaiomurth bin Kai Kobád bin Baghrá Khán, bin-i-Balban, who was only a few days on the throne; Rukn ud-dín Ibráhím bin Jalál ud-dín Fíroz Sháh Khaljí, who was a few months on the throne; Shaháb ud-dín 'Omar bin 'Alá ud-dín and Náçir ud-dín Khusrau Khán, who sat on the throne—the one for three months and a few days, and the other for four months.

Some discrimination, perhaps, is necessary in ranking as sovereigns *all* who have taken advantage of the absence from Dehli of the rightful heir or the successful usurper to don the regal purple. Thus Kaiomurth sat on the throne but for a very few days; and though Rukn ud-dín occupied it for some months, what were the circumstances? 'Alá ud-dín had invited the king to Allahabad, nominally to tender his submission, but really for the purpose of murdering him; and, having accomplished his wicked purpose, he at once assumed the reins of power. The Queen, who was at Dehli, hearing of the King's murder, set up his son in his stead, and wrote letters to all the nobles and governors north of Dehli to come to his support; but on 'Alá ud-dín marching to Dehli he defeated the troops she was able to bring against him, and took possession of the capital. Rukn ud-dín Ibráhím and Shaháb ud-dín, though short-lived, were king's sons; but Khusrau Khán was simply a king's murderer, and not having popular suffrage even in his favour, is looked upon

by Mohammedans as a rebel. The first act of all such temporary kings no doubt was to assume the umbrella, to have the *Khutbah* read in their names, and to coin money, which are the principal insignia of royalty; and these facts are worthy of notice by numismatists, who might otherwise be puzzled at finding the coins of two kings of the same date. Still although an established and recognized ruler may lawfully be considered the sovereign as long as he holds his capital, it is questionable whether the accidental presence at the capital and the occupation of the throne by the lawful heir or a usurper, for a few days, weeks, or months, as the case may be, can give an aspirant to the throne a claim to descend to posterity as the emperor of a great nation, when he has not had the power to retain it against a competitor *then* in the field, nor has ever been acknowledged beyond the limits of a very small division or district of the empire.

Ziá-i-Barní undertook to continue his history to the close of Fíroz Sháh's reign, but he seems to have been disappointed in his expectations and hopes, and to have abandoned his task. He retired to a village in the suburbs of Delhi. This place was afterwards the burial place of many saints and distinguished men, and to the present day is celebrated as containing the shrine of the holy and revered Nizám ud-dín Ouliá. In his latter days Ziá ud-dín was reduced to such extreme poverty that no more costly shroud than a piece of coarse matting could be furnished for his funeral obsequies. He was the friend of the poets Amír Khusrú and Mir Hasan, the former of whom he quotes often in his history, and whose tomb is not far from his.

The portion of Fíroz Sháh's history which Ziá ud-dín left uncompleted, was finished by Shams-i-Siráj 'Uffí, who also entitled his book the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi*. This work is often confounded with the history of Ziá-i-Barní, and is generally supposed to be a continuation of it; but it is in itself a complete history of the life and reign of Fíroz Sháh, and may therefore more appropriately be entitled the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi* than the work of Ziá ud-dín, which contains so much of the reigns of other monarchs, and so little of that

of Fíroz Sháh. I have selected this work also for the series; but copies of it are more rare even than of the *Tárikh* of Zíá-i-Barní. One copy is in General Hamilton's library, and I have heard of another at Delhi, in the possession of Nawáb Zíá ud-dín Lohárú, of which General Hamilton's is perhaps a transcript, but I have not seen the work, nor yet the little work styled the *Futúhát-i-Fíroz-Sháhi*, said to be written by Fíroz Sháh himself, and inscribed on the walls of his Masjid, which have long since been destroyed. It is contained in eight chapters, one of which Ferishtah has reproduced, copied apparently from the *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, and very incorrectly (see Bombay edition, p. 271).

These two *Tawárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi* will give us the connected history of the following Emperors of Dehli:—

VIII. Ghiyás ud-dín Balban.

IX. Mu'izz ud-dín Kai Kubád.

X. Jalál ud-dín Fíroz Sháh, *Khalji*.

XI. 'Alá ud-dín, *Khalji*.

XII. Kutb ud-dín Mubárah Sháh.

XIII. Ghiyás ud-dín Tughlaq Sháh.

XIV. Abú'l-Fath Muḥammad Sháh.

XV. Abú'l-Muzaffar Fíroz Sháh.

But here I regret to say that there is a hiatus of about sixty years, which I fear there will be very great difficulty in closing up with the aid of contemporaneous historians. The period alluded to is that between Fíroz Sháh, 790 A.H., and Bahlol Lodí, 854 A.H., and the kings who reigned during this interval are as follows:—

XVI. Tughlaq Sháh II.

XVII. Abú Bakr Sháh.

XVIII. Náçir ud-dín Muḥammad Sháh.

XIX. Sikandar Sháh Humáyún.

XX. { Náçir ud-dín Maḥmúd.
Náçir ud-dín Naçrat Sháh.

XXI. *Dawlat Khán Sádi*.

XXII. Khizr Khán, the *Saiyid*.

XXIII. Mu'izz ud-dín Mubárah Sháh.

XXIV. Muḥammad Sháh.

XXV. 'Alá ud-dín bin Muḥammad Sháh.

Histories are mentioned, such as the *Jawáhir ul-Akhhár*, the *Tárikh-i-Mubárah-Sháh*, etc., but I do not know where to seek them. Information may incidentally be obtained from the several histories of Taimúr and his conquests, and some general histories. I only mention those histories, however, which have been printed in our series, and those special histories which I have selected, and of which I see a probability of obtaining materials upon which to found a tolerably accurate text. Nor do I think it at all probable that much contemporaneously written history will be discovered for this period, for I find that subsequent authors, and not of a very recent date, have lamented its absence.

Thus, in the next work which I have selected and already recommended for publication in this series, viz., the *Tárikh-i-Afághanah*, it is stated, as will be seen in the extract given below, that since the publication of the *Tabakát-i-Náçiri* and the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi* no history of merit has been written, and hence this history was compiled. The name of the author is Aḥmad Yadgár. I do not find a biographical notice of this historian, but in his preface he has given an account of the origin of his work, from which it is clear that he was attached to the Court of Dáúd Sháh, by whose order he wrote it. He says :—

“One day, when in the presence of the king, Abú'l-Mozaffar Dáúd Sháh, the history of Hamzah 'Açif Khán was produced, and the conversation turned on this subject. The king said to me, ‘Minháç ud-dín Jauzjáni compiled and dedicated a book to Sultán Náçir ud-dín, son of Sultán Shamas ud-dín Ailtimash, embracing a history of the world from Adam to the time of the Sultán alluded to, and in truth he executed a noble work. After him Zíá-i-Barní wrote his history, styled the *Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi*, including an account of the times from Ghiyás ud-dín Balban to those of Fíroz Sháh, thus giving the history of eight kings. But no one has written a history of the Afghan kings who after Amánat Khán (?) sat on the throne of Delhi. It would be a good thing, therefore, if you would undertake to relate some of the events which took place during the sovereignty of the Afghans.’ Since I have been a servant of this monarch for a long time, I see no alternative but to undertake the history of six of these kings,

and relate the events which happened during their reigns, fully, completely, and in the order in which they occurred, so that the memory of the departed may remain, and may the beloved Allah aid me in my task. And since this dynasty began with Bahlol Lodí, I commence my history with his reign."

In the same strain the author of the *Tárikh-i-Dáúdí* says:

"History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away; but it is a science which expands the intellect and furnishes the wise with examples. Since this humble individual has spent a considerable portion of his life in studying historical works pregnant with instructive examples, and has examined the conditions of things under many sovereigns; and it appeared that the records of the reigns of the Afghan kings (of Hindustan), who were one of the dynasties of the times, existed only in a scattered form, I involuntarily conceived the design of collecting them, with the aid of the Almighty, in one volume." I therefore undertook the work, and in a very short time completed it. "I commenced with the reign of Bahlol Lodí, who was the first king of the Afghan dynasty, and brought my history down to the (end of) the reign of Muḥammad 'Adlī Súr Dáúd Sháh, who was the last ruler of this race, and I entitled it the *Tárikh-i Dáúdí*."

Aḥmad Yadgár quotes the *Tárikh-i-Nizámi* and the *Ma'dan al-Akhhár*; but the former was not written till the year 1001-2 A.H., and Dáúd Sháh, in whose time the *Tárikh-i-Afúghanah* was compiled was killed 984 A.H. Sir H. Elliot includes the latter in his list of authorities for this period, but whether or not he had ever met the work, I cannot say. Aḥmad Yadgár commences his history with Bahlol Lodí (854 A.H.), and concludes it with 'Adil Sháh (965 A.H.), giving the history of six kings.

There has been, apparently, a little confusion in the titles of some of the histories of this period. The authors of the *Khulāṣat ut-Tawárikh* mentions a history called the *Tárikh-i-Afúghanah*, by Hásanī Khán Afghán, which I do not know. Sir H. Elliot gives two histories under the title of *Makhzan-i-Afghání*, and only one entitled the *Tárikh-i-Afúghanah*. Sir H. Elliot is, probably, right; but I have only met with one *Makhzan*, and later authors, it appears to

me, confound all. Aḥmad Yadgār does not make mention of the name of his book in his preface; and in my copy the book is styled the *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afāghanah* on the fly leaf; I have a copy of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, by Ni'mat Ullah, and he names it in his preface *Tārīkh-i-Khān wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī*. He calls himself Ni'mat Ullah bin Khwājah Ḥabīb Ullah al-Haruwī, and says that he compiled his work in the year 1020 A.H., by order of Khān Jihān Lodī, who was high in the favour and also in the service of the Emperor Jihāngīr and the conqueror of the Deccan. He is thus a later author than Aḥmad Yadgār by some forty years. He has divided his book into seven chapters, but two only are of interest for this period, viz., the third and fourth. The first treats of Saul and the children of Israel, from whom the Afghans trace their descent; and the second of the first four Khalīfahs, and of the conquest of Khālid bin al-Walid, in Syria and 'Irāk. The third treats of the reigns of the Lodī's—Bahlol, Sikandar, and Ibrāhīm; and the fourth of the Sūrs and 'Adlī Shīr Shāh, Islām Shāh, and Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, and the arrival of Humáyūn in India for the second time and the extinction of this dynasty, as he brings his history down to a later period than Aḥmad Yadgār; these two chapters might be published in an appendix to the *Tārīkh-i-Afāghanah*, if materials for editions of the *Ibrāhīm-Shāhī* of Maḥmūd bin Ibrāhīm Katwānī, or the other valuable authorities he quotes cannot be obtained. These are the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī* of Khwājah Nizām ud-dīn Bakhshī; the *Tārīkh Shīr-Shāhī* of Shaikh 'Abbās of Serdanah, and a work by *Mawlānā Mushtāqī*, of Delhi, the name of which he does not give; or better, perhaps, would be a portion of the *Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh*, by Nūr al-Haḳḳ, son of the celebrated 'Abd al-Haḳḳ of Delhi, especially that based on the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur-Shāhī*, which is written in a clear style. If any one has good copies of any of the above-mentioned books, I hope they will send them to me. Of the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī* I have two copies, but none of the *Tawārīkh Ibrāhīm, Shāhī Bahādur-Shāhī*, and *Shīr-Shāhī*.

The times subsequent to the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī were

troublous, and the record of them unsatisfactory. The authors mentioned, however, will give us the history of the following six kings, the two last of whom, however, can hardly be said to have obtained complete possession of the dominions over which they nominally ruled. Indeed, after the memorable defeat of Ibráhím Lodí by Bábar, with the exception of the interval of the reign of Shír Sháh, one of the least honoured of the Mohammadan sovereigns of India, though one of the most worthy of honour, there was little settled government in India. The glory of Delhi was gone, and the nominal sovereigns resided chiefly in Bengal; their power was broken, and the prestige of the empire had disappeared.

XXVI. Bahlol *Lodí*.

XXVII. Sikandar Sháh *Lodí*.

XXVIII. Ibráhím Sháh *Lodí*.

XXIX. Shír Sháh bin Hasan *Súr*.

XXX. Islám Sháh.

XXXI. 'Adíl Sháh '*Adli*.

Mr. Erskine's translation of the memoirs of Bábar, and his History of India for the conquests and sovereignty of Bábar and Humáyún, throw much light on the events of these epochs, and, though his materials were scant, he has provided fairly for this eventful period of Mohammadan rule in India. It cannot be said, however, that either Bábar or Humáyún founded a dynasty in India,—that honour in my judgment being the right of Akbar, whose generals, on Humáyún's death, had to defeat 'Adlí and Sikandar *Súr*, and to retake Agra and Delhi. Though quite a youth, it was he who conceived the idea of cementing the heterogeneous elements of the various nations of India into one whole, and of consolidating the empire; and it was he, with the able administrators he called to his aid, who accomplished the task. And amongst all the sovereigns of Asia, it is of him we have the fullest information.

Of histories of this period, general and special, we have such an abundance that we may exercise a choice. We have first the *Akbar-námah* of Abú'l-Fazl pronounced by all com-

petent judges to be an admirable history of the great Emperor's reign, but from the most favourable point of view,—a mirror, in short, warranted to reflect *only* his virtues. Next we have the grand history styled *Alfi*, or the history of a thousand years, in the compilation of which Akbar employed “all the talents” of his Court, and which is no doubt a work of very great merit, but unfortunately copies of it are *very* scarce. Thirdly, we have the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*, *Tabakát-i-Akbar-Sháht*, compiled by Khwájah Nizám ud-dín Ahmad Bakhshí, which is the basis of all the Mohammadan histories of this, and many of the preceding periods. Again we have the great work of Moḥammad Kásim, the *Gulzár-i Ibráhímí*, commonly called the *Tárikh-i-Ferishtah*, which has served European historians as usefully as the work of Nizám ud-dín Bakhshí has served Oriental writers. Fourthly, we have the *Muntakhab ut-Tawárikh* of 'Abd al-Kádir, of Badáon, a work which, as a history, is second to none in the whole range of historical works by Mohammadan authors. These, with the exception of the *Akbar-námah*, are all general histories, but special of course for the period of the author's own times, which are those of the period under notice. Besides them there are a number of special histories, none of which, however, deserve mention along with the important works above given, and several by late compilers. I exclude from these remarks of course the *Áin*, or *Institutes of Akbar*, compiled by Abú'l-Fazl, which some consider simply the third volume of the *Akbar-námah*, but which is a large work in three volumes complete in itself.

The *Akbar-námah* I had recommended for publication in this series, but it has just been published at Lakhnau. The *Tárikh-i-Alfi* contains the history of Akbar and his predecessor's times up only to the year 1000 A.H., or thirteen years before the great monarch's death. Of the *Tárikh-i-Ferishtah* two editions have been published, one at Bombay in 1832 A.D., and one at Lakhnau about two years ago. The Bombay edition, though not free from errors, is the best. The work has also been translated into English. The *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* or *Tabakát-i-Akbar-Sháht* is brought down

to only two years later, or the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign, but this history seems to have been recognized by all contemporary historians as a standard history, and was held in the greatest estimation by all subsequent writers of note. The author died at the early age of forty-five. 'Abd al-Ḳádir-i-Badáoní passes the highest encomium upon him, both as a man and an author, and says that there were "few either high or low at his funeral who did not shed tears over his loss, and bit the hands of remorse." Abú'l-Fazl, also, in the *Akbar-námah*, alludes to the general mourning that followed the death of this distinguished author; and says that the emperor was deeply affected by it and offered prayers for his soul. 'Abd al-Ḳádir's history professes to be simply an abridgement of Nizám ud-dín's; and *Ferishtah* states that of all the histories he consulted it is the only one he found complete. I recommended it for publication in 1864, but it has not, I regret to say, yet been commenced. The following extract I take from a report of mine to the Council of the Bengal Asiatic Society on that occasion :

"The history of the greater portion of the earlier periods we shall already have placed in the hands of the public, in the histories of Minháj ud-dín and Zia-i-Barní, far earlier and possibly far better sources of historic evidence than many of those consulted by 'Abd al-Ḳádir-i-Badáoní. We have thought it therefore undesirable to go over the same ground while the history of other periods remained uncompleted. I think it well worth consideration, however, whether in conjunction with this work we should not publish in lieu thereof certain portions of the *Tubakát-i-Akbari*, which 'Abd al-Ḳádir professes only to have abridged, and which all later historians have made such good use of. Sir H. Elliot in his *Muhammadian Historians* (I. p. 178) says that 'notwithstanding that Ferishta pronounces this work defective, he has borrowed from it very freely.' But Sir H. Elliot's translator (for he generally marked his passages, and gave them to others who had more time for translating than he had), has misinterpreted the passage; for what Ferishta does say has quite the opposite sense. He says, 'Of all the histories of Hindustan that have come into my hands, I have not found a single one complete, *except* the history of Nizám ud-dín

Aḥmad-i-Bakhshí,' meaning this 'Ṭabakát;' the only thing wanting, according to Ferishta, being the additional information which he himself possessed, and which we may assume he supplied in his own large work.

"It would seem hardly fair, also reviewing the question of character from that even, disinterested, and unbiassed point, and with that jealousy proper to the honest and truthful historian—to publish a history, the greatest value of which consists in correcting by its prevalent tone of censure and disparagement the fulsome eulogium of the *Akbar-námah*; without, at the same time, supplying the panegyric, the more especially as I find in Badáoní's history abundant proof that his religious bigotry was such as to render it difficult for him to give an unbiassed and impartial sketch of the character, or to draw right conclusions from the actions of so tolerant a monarch as Akbar. No recommendation has yet been made on this subject to the Society, but I hope soon to bring it forward.

"We will then have to consider the reigns of the three great successors of Akbar, Jahángír, Sháh Jehán, and Aurangzeb, during which, including the reign of Akbar himself, the glory of the Muhammadan power in India may be said to have attained its zenith. But for this and the fourth period, which we may call the *decline* of the Muhammadan power, no arrangements have as yet been made."

Since the above remarks were made, the *Akbar-námah*, as before mentioned, has been published; but it is inconceivable to me why so erroneous an estimate seems to have been formed of the *Ṭabakát-i-Akbar-Sháhi*, that it has not attracted more attention. It is the history which joins on to the *Tárikh-i-Firoz-Sháhi*, and is admitted by all contemporary and subsequent authors to be the standard history in continuation of those authorities. Unquestionably then the thread of the narrative as given by Nizám ud-dín Aḥmad should be taken up where the authors of the *Tárikh-i-Firoz-Sháhi* have dropped it, giving him the preference to 'Abd al-Kádir of Badáon, or any other author however excellent. The following extract from his preface fully bears out what I have so often repeated on the authority of almost all good Muhammadan authors, that Minháj ud-dín, and Zíá-i-Barní, were the great historians of the early Muhammadan

period, and that after their times up to the times of Akbar, however diligently we may search, few valuable historical works of a comprehensive nature will be found. The author of the *Tabaḳāt-i-Akbar-Sháhi* says :—

“I, Nizám ud-dín Aḥmad, son of Moḥammad Muḳím al-Harawí, who am one of the favoured protégés of the Court of His Imperial Highness, the increasing shadow of the most True, and the vicegerent of the Almighty, etc., Abú'l-Fath, Jalál ud-dín Muḥammad Akbar Bádsháh Ghází,—I, Nizám ud-dín, beg to represent that from my youth, according to the advice of my father, I devoted myself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation ; and by continually enquiring into the affairs of the travellers on the high road of life, which is to make the tour of realities : I thus removed the rust from my inert disposition. Now in the wide plains of Hindustan, which is an empire of vast extent, composed of several geographical divisions of the earth, (*chand akálm*),¹—and the surveyors of the plains of the world have described it as a fourth of the earth's surface,—many times in every division of this great country sections of the governing classes, obtaining an ascendancy, have assumed the title and discharged the duties of rulers, and the authors of their times having written histories of the affairs of their government, have bequeathed them as memorials to posterity. Such, for example, as the histories of Delhi, Guzerat, Málwa, Bengal, and Sindh, and similarly all the divisions and frontier provinces of the kingdoms of Hindustan have formed the subject of separate histories. It is most extraordinary, therefore, that not a single work containing a complete compendium of the affairs of that division, the historical events of which it professed to chronicle, has yet been written by any historian ; neither have the events connected with the centre of Hindustan, the seat of government of this empire, the capital of Delhi, been collected in one book. The work which is best known is the *Tabaḳāt-i-Náṣirí*, which Minháj compiled, commencing with the Sultán Mu'izz ud-dín Ghori, and concluding with Náṣir ud-dín bin Shams ud-dín : from thence to the time of Sultán Fíroz is written in the history of Zíá-i-Barní ; but from that time to to-day,

¹ This is rather loosely expressed ; India comprises nearly two *Akálms* according to Mohammadan geographers. (See *Kazwini*, ed. Wüstenfeld, page 84.)

because, for the greater portion of the time, there was much disturbance in India, and the people had the misfortune to be deprived of a powerful Imperial Government, I have only met with a few detached and incomplete compilations. I have not heard of a single history that comprises an account of the whole of India, and now, since the whole of the inlying and outlying provinces of Hindustan have been conquered by the world-subduing sword of God's vicegerent, and all the fractions of the empire have been united in one grand whole, and many kingdoms, beyond the confines of Hindustan, which none of the great sovereigns who preceded his Majesty had ever acquired, have been included in his empire, and it is to be hoped that the seven climes will yet come under the shade of the standard of the good fortune of that illustrious personage, and thus be protected, and secure peace and prosperity, I conceived the idea of compiling, in a simple style, a history which should embrace an account of the affairs of all the kingdoms of Hindustan, from the times of Subuktagin 367 A.H. (which is the date of the introduction of *Islám* into Hindustan), up to 1001 A.H., or the 37th year of the *Iláhi* era (which commenced with the accession of His Imperial Highness), dividing it into chapters according to the several dynasties which reigned, closing each chapter with an account of the conquest, by His Imperial Highness, of the particular province under notice. This abridgement of all the victories of His Imperial Highness will be given in the proper place; the account of these victories, in full detail, being found in the *Akbár-námah*, which *Allámi* Abú'l-Fazl has compiled with so much ability."

Next in order to the *Tabakát-i-Akbar-Sháhi* is the *Muntakhab ut-Tawárikh*, compiled by 'Abd al-Kádir bin Mulúk Sháh of Badáon. For that portion of the history of India anterior to his own times, his work cannot be placed before those histories which formed the basis of his own work, viz., *The Tárikh-i-Mubárah-Sháhi* and the *Tárikh-i-Tabakát-i-Akbar-Sháhi*. Its great value lies in its giving us a view of the character of the great Emperor from an opposition point, which is a somewhat rare qualification to find in contemporary Mohammadan writers of history, and the ability of its author and his superior qualifications for the task he undertook. He was a very bigotted *Moslim*, and the true spirit of *Islám* which so largely leavened his composition,

became enflamed and blazed forth at the conduct of Abú'l-Fazl and his brother Faizí, and the extremes of toleration to which they not only permitted the Emperor to go, but in which they actually encouraged him. He has, however, unquestionably allowed his bitterness to impair his judgment and impartiality; and as pointed out by me in the extract from my report to the Philological Committee of the Bengal Asiatic Society, it would be the grossest piece of injustice to the dead Emperor to present the public with 'Abd al-Kádir's review of his character and no other. In my humble judgment it behoves the honourable historian of past ages to be most sensitive on the point of character; and I would far prefer to give hastily an unfavourable review of the character of a king who was living, or one who had friends living to defend him, than I would of one who lived a thousand years ago. And while I greatly admire the high qualifications of 'Abd al-Kádir as a recorder of events, I think that his statements taken alone are calculated to give generally a very erroneous impression of the character, and particularly of the motives which actuated the greatest Sovereign that has ever ruled the destinies of India, in many of the measures of his Government. Europeans are too apt, and Englishmen far more so, I fear, than people of other nationalities, to take a disparaging view of the character of all Asiatics, and especially of Asiatic Sovereigns; and although I freely admit that any comparison between the Government of India under British and Mohammadan rule would be absurd, I cannot but think that it is equally as absurd as it is unfair of those who love to make such comparisons, to make them with British rule *as it is* and not with British rule here or elsewhere *as it was* two hundred and eighty or three hundred years ago. Considerations of this nature induced me to recommend the publication of the *Akbar-námah* and portions of the *Tabakát-i-Akbar-Sháhi* along with the *Muntakhab-i-Tawárikh*, as with both the eulogistic and the disparaging review of the character before it, the public would be in a position to form its own conclusions, or, in other words, to take the mean of the two extremes. And the same instruction I

fancy was intended to be conveyed, though perhaps it is not quite so clearly expressed, by Khāfi Khān, when he said in the preface to his history of Akbār's times, "If any one wishes to record in detail the events of the fifty-one years of that Emperor whose good fortune was like unto that of Alexander the Great, the account would not be contained in one volume. Whoever wishes to be accurately informed regarding the affairs of that world-conquering Khusrāu, he should attentively read the *Akbar-nāmah* and the *Tārīkh-i-Badāoni* of 'Abd al-Kādir." Further on, in regard to this author, he says :—

"'Abd al-Kādir, the compiler of the *Tārīkh-i-Badāoni*, who was long one of the confidential courtiers, the Chaplain Royal, and one of the special councillors in attendance on the Emperor, in common with other learned men of the time, differed openly regarding the tenets of the faith from Shaikh Faizī and Abū'l-Fazl, the sons of Shaikh Mubārak, who were special courtiers and in the secret confidence of the Emperor. He consequently imputed to the two brothers, and to those of their *protégés* who had access to the Emperor, many acts contrary to the tenets of *Islām*. Similarly he has said many things regarding the Emperor himself which are quite incredible, and which it would be improper to repeat or commit to writing. Indeed, if I should retail one hundredth part of them it would be disrespectful (to his memory) ;¹ nevertheless, 'by repeating the heretical sayings of others one does not himself become a heretic.' I extract some passages from the work of 'Abd al-Kādir, etc., etc."

There is no question, however, of the great value of 'Abd

¹ In another copy of Khāfi Khān, which differs materially from the copy from which the above extract is made, it is stated that, "Some of these passages having been brought to the notice of the Emperor Jehāngir, he ordered 'Abd al-Kādir's son to be imprisoned, and his house to be plundered. He further took an agreement from the booksellers of the capital that they would not sell the book ; nevertheless this book was found in their shops in greater numbers than any other. In consequence, however, of the well-known anger of the Emperor on the subject, Ferishtah and Mir al-Hakik, the compiler of the *Tārīkh-i-Zubdah* and another (?), who were the three contemporary authors at the commencement of Jehāngir's reign, made no mention whatever of this matter. But since the writer of this history, having nothing to do with princes and wazirs, has no occasion to suppress the truth, and since a person by repeating the heretical sayings of others does not himself become a heretic, such extracts as with much research he has collected from Badāoni and others he has written down." The same story is told by the author of the *Mirdt ul 'A'lam* with this difference, that he says nothing about 'Abd al-Kādir's son being imprisoned or his house pillaged. He simply states that the Emperor sent for his descendants (*Aulad*) and took an agreement from them, etc.

al-Kádir's work for the history of this period, and Kháfi Khán admits it; but while he states that the author of the *Tabakát-i-Akbari* is not so correct in his account of the affairs of the Deccan, he seems to think that his history of the life and times of Akbar, as far as it goes, is the most accurate; and as his opinion on a point of this nature is important to the future historian, I quote his remarks:

"Nizám ud-dín Harawí, who was in the Paymaster General's department of Akbar's government, wrote a history containing an account of the Kings of the twenty-one Subahs of the Deccan, called the *Tárikh-i-Nizámi*. Generally his account of the kings of the Deccan is not to be trusted; and with the exception of Mohammad Kásim Firishtah, no writer has compiled a history of the kings of the Deccan which can be fully credited. But since Nizám ud-dín spent his life in the service of the Emperor Akbar, his history in all that relates to the reign of that sovereign can be implicitly relied upon."¹

As Sir H. Elliot has given very copious extracts from 'Abd al-Kádir's work, it is unnecessary to allude to it further. The work is divided into three parts—the first containing the history of Ghaznin and Hindustan from the times of Subuktágín to Humáyún; the second is devoted to the reign of Akbar up to the 40th year; and the third to notices of the learned men and poets who flourished in his time. The first portion of his work,—which, excepting the addition of some verses, is simply an abridgement of the *Tárikh-i-Nizámi*, and not free from the defects attributable to all reproductions in manuscript,—it was not originally intended to publish at present. With a view, however, to meet the wishes of the native community, it has been put in the press, and will appear in two or three months. The second part has already been printed, and the third will follow in due course.

With the *Akbar-námah*,² the *Tárikh-i-Nizámi* or *Tabakát-i-Akbari*, the *Tárikh-i-Firishtah*, and the *Tárikh-i-Badáoní*, not to mention the works of later authors, such as the

¹ This is a proverbial saying with Moslems از نقل كفر كفر نميباشد.

² This work has been translated into English, but the translation has never been published, and I cannot say how it has been done. Elphinstone has used it.

Khulāṣat ut-Tawárikh (apud the *Siyar-al Mutaakhhkharín*), *Kháfi Khán*, etc., etc., the materials for the history of India for the reign of Akbar will be as complete as it is possible to make them.

For no other period of the history of India, anterior or subsequent, can we expect to find such perfect and complete materials as for the reign of Akbar; while, in some instances, the period subsequent to Akbar is, if possible, more difficult of illustration than that which preceded it. For illustrating the reign of his son, the Emperor Jehángír, I had suggested, and the Council of the Asiatic Society had approved and accepted, the *Jehángír-námah*, or autobiography of this monarch, and the *Ikbál-námah*; but before we could put our design in practice, the *Jehángír-námah* had been published in India by a native gentleman.¹ This freed the Society from half their obligation, and the *Ikbál-námah* of Mu'tamad Khán only was published. Some discussions arose regarding the merits of this work; but they were very conclusively disposed of by a "note" of mine, read at the July meeting of the Society in 1865. No writer of the period was more competent or more favourably circumstanced for writing a history of the reign of Jehángír than Mu'tamad Khán. He was his amanuensis, and a large, if not the greater portion of the Emperor's memoir was written by him. He would seem, moreover, to have been in the confidence of Jehángír, for the Emperor, at the point of his memoirs when he ceased to record the events of his life, says:

"By reason of the weakness which for two years I have experienced, and which still afflicts me, my brain and heart did not support me in drafting the events and occurrences [of my life]. About this time Mu'tamad Khán returned from service in the Deccan, and had the good fortune to make his obeisance, and since he was one of those servants who best understood my temper, and one of my most intelligent pupils, and, in addition, had formerly been employed in the performance of this service, and the recording of these events

¹ I stated at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal that this work was published by a native Society, but the whole credit is due to Sayyid Ahmad Khán, of Alighur. The work was edited, printed, and published at his own expense.

appertained to the duties of his office, I gave him my commands that, from the date up to which I had written (my memoirs), he should continue them, and add to them my draft; and whatever occurrences should take place subsequently, these he should enter in a diary, which, having submitted to me for correction, he should afterwards write out fairly."

This passage is sufficient, I think, to define the position of the author of the *Ikbál-námah-i-Jehángír*, both as to his qualifications and the resources at his disposal for compiling a history of the reign of Jehángír. Regarding the autobiography, however, questions have been raised which have afforded a field for discussion for the last seventy or eighty years, or since Mr. James Anderson first translated some extracts from it in the "Asiatic Miscellany," in 1785. In 1788 Gladwin published other portions of the work in his History of Hindustan, and in 1829 Major Price published, in the series of the Oriental Translation Fund, the translation of a work which he entitled "The Memoirs of the Emperor Jehángír, written by himself," and which the critical Baron de Sacy at once detected to be a different work to that which Anderson and Gladwin had made use of. Further investigations of the subject by Mr. Morley, when engaged on the preparation of his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society (1850-54), led to the discovery of two texts of the "Memoirs." Several later authors quote the *Jehángir-námah*; but their quotations do not help the solution of the difficulty as to the identification of the Emperor's own edition of the work called his autobiography; but rather point to the conclusion that there were more than two editions of the work. I myself have seen four that differ so widely as to warrant the supposition that they are distinct editions, if not separate works. It may be mentioned, and the fact is interesting, that, after the Emperor had completed the record of twelve years of his reign, he distributed copies of the book to the members of his family, and his principal officers of State; as was done by Her Majesty the Queen with the early life of the late Prince Consort. The passage in which this is

recorded is placed at the end of the history of the twelfth year, and is as follows :—

“I ordered that this twelve years’ Record should be bound up in a volume and several copies made of it; that I should present it to my confidential servants, and send it to all the Provinces of the Empire, so that the great officers of the State and my trusty servants should make it the rule of their conduct.”

The *Ikbál-námah-i-Jehángirí* has been published, and this History and the *Jehángir-námah* seem to have afforded the basis of the accounts given of this Emperor’s reign by subsequent historians. The *Jehángir-námah* is doubtless open to the objection to all autobiographies, and they will apply with almost equal force to the *Ikbál-námah*, because the relationship of the author was that of private or literary secretary. But Mírza Kámgar, who wrote in the reign of Sháh Jehán, three years after the death of Jehángir, has transferred a great portion of the *Ikbál-námah* to his pages, the first portion indeed being copied verbatim from it. Kháfí Khán, while giving praise to Mu’tamad Khán, reasonably objects that he and other contemporary historians were precluded by the circumstances of their position from being so free and outspoken on certain points as the independent and truthful historian ought to be; and as the future historian should be guarded on these points, I quote the passage :—

“Let it not be concealed from the intelligent that Muhammad Kásim Ferishtah, and other historians who were contemporary with the Emperor, out of consideration and regard for his Majesty, were content with slightly glancing at his rebellion when a prince; and did not enter into detail on the subject. But Mírza Kámgar, who was entitled Ghairat Khán, the nephew of Hamíd Ullah Khán,¹ who wrote a history of the life of Jehángir, and who has been less guarded in concealing the truth than Mu’tamad Khán, has mentioned something about the rebellion of Prince Salím (Jehángir).”

¹ I am not certain whether this author is Kámgar Husainí, the author of the *Madír-i-Jehángirí*, or not. If not, both the book mentioned by Kháfí Khán, viz., the *Jehángir-námah*, and the author, are new to me. Possibly the four *Jehángir-námahs* purporting to be from the pen of the Emperor, are by different amanuenses. One copy I have seen is styled the *Salim-Shahí* on the fly-leaf.

There are other special works in which something of the history of this reign may be found ; the *Haft-Fath-i-Kangrá*, *Baiádh-i-Jehángirí* and the *Tuhfat-ush-Sháh-i-Jehángirí*. These are mentioned by Sir H. M. Elliot ; and there are one or two other works quoted by Mohammadan historians, of which I find no mention. Kháfi Khán gives extracts from the *Minhá-j-uç-Çadíkín*, by Muhammad Çadík-i-Tabrízí, and the author of the *Mirát-i-Aftáb-numá*, who wrote in the times of Sháh 'Álam, quotes a work called the *Makálát-i-Jehángirí*, but by this latter I rather think the author means the "Memoirs," to one of the editions of which he has perhaps given another name.

For the reign of the Emperor Sháhjehán, the principal authorities are the *Bádsháh-námah* of 'Abd al-Ḥamíd-i-Láhorí and its continuation by Muhammad Wáris, and the *'Amal-i-Çáliḥ* of Muhammad Çáliḥ. There are other works, but none of very great value. There is a copy, for example, in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library of the *Sháh-Jehán-námah* by Muhammad Táhír, commonly called 'Ináyat Khán, son of Zafar Khán, some time Wazír to Jehángír ; but Mr. Morley says the author professes simply to have abridged the *Bádsháh-námah*. He adds that the style is simple ; but the extract given by Major Price in his Catalogue is taken verbatim from 'Abd al-Ḥamíd's work.

Another *Bádsháh-námah*, by Múnshí Muhammad Amín is mentioned by Muhammad Çáliḥ in the *'Amal-i-Çáliḥ*, a copy of which is also in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library. It only embraces, however, an account of the first ten years of the emperor's reign, and according to Mr. Morley contains nothing that is not to be found in 'Abd al-Ḥamíd's book. Elliot and others mention some other works, such as the *Mukaddima-i-Bádsháh-námah*, *Latáif-ul-Akhhbár*, *Tárikh-i-Sháh Shujá*, *Sháh-Jehán-námah* of Tálíb Kálím, *Maásir-i-Sháh Jehán*, but contemporary and subsequent authors do not seem to have considered any of these histories of importance, or to have made any use of them. A copy of the *Latáif-ul-Akhhbár* is in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library. (See also Stewart's Catalogue, No. 43.) It is devoted to an account of

the expedition of Dárá Shakoh to the relief of Kandahar. There is a copy, or a portion of a copy, of a third *Bádsháh-námah* amongst the MSS. taken at Delhi, by Jalál ud-dín Ṭabatabai. It is styled the "*Bádsháh-námah-i-Sháh-Jehán-i-taṣníf-i-ustád ul 'Aṣr Mauláná Jalál ud-dín Ṭabatabai.*" The MS. begins abruptly with the fifth and concludes with the eighth year of the emperor's reign, and is written as if the author was contemporary with the events he chronicles. It contains 586 pages of seventeen lines, in a small and closely written hand; and to embrace the entire reign would extend to at least ten or twelve volumes. I find no mention of this history anywhere. 'Abd al-Ḥamíd mentions amongst the doctors or learned men of this reign one Saiyid Jalál, who was an author, an elegant writer, and a poet, and who had two or three interviews with the emperor; but there are no grounds to suppose that this apparently distinguished man is this author. I know of no histories then for this reign equal to the *Bádsháh-námah* and its continuation, by Wáris Khán and the '*Amal-i-Ḥálih*. All three authors were contemporary, though Muḥammad Ḥálih was the youngest of the three. He speaks in the highest terms of the other two; and an equally good proof that, in selecting these works, no mistake has been made, is that Kháfí Khán has followed the order of the *Bádsháh-námah* as far as it goes, and seems to have based his history for the first twenty years of Sháh-Jehán's reign almost entirely on this work. The greatest objection to the work is the author's style which is of that adulterated kind of Persian introduced into India apparently by the brothers Abú'l-Fazl and Faizí.

The two parts of the *Bádsháh-námah* of 'Abd al-Ḥamíd have been printed, forming together two bulky volumes of 1662 pages 8vo.; but copies of the continuation of the *Bádsháh-námah*, by Wáris Khán, have not been procured,—so the publication is stopped for the present. The copy of the second part of the *Bádsháh-námah* which has been used for this edition is the finest MS. I have ever seen. It is written by Muḥammad Ḥálih Kambú, the author of the '*Amal-i-Ḥálih*, and bears on the margin the autograph of the Emperor Sháh-Jehán.

Next in order of the Mughal Emperors comes 'Abûl-Muzaffar Muḥí ud-dín Muḥammad Aurangzeb 'Ālamgír. The special authorities for this monarch's reign are not numerous. Elliot mentions no less than fifteen;¹ but most of them are of little value; some relate but remotely to history, and a few, as far as I know of, are not procurable anywhere. In the Royal Asiatic Society's Library are some papers (No. 133) relating to this reign, which may contain some materials of value, and also some general histories. One cause of the paucity of good materials for this reign is that the Emperor himself in the eleventh year of his reign issued strict injunctions that no one should write the record of his times. The reason for this injunction is attributed to a bigotry similar to that which caused the destruction of the Alexandrian Library, but it is not very plainly stated. It is more than probable that it is to be found in the fact that from this year dates the commencement of the disruption of the great empire Aurangzeb inherited from his father. The history of the reign of Aurangzeb is of singular importance for the British Government in India, and cannot be too fully elucidated, for in this reign the latest attempt was made to reorganize the Government and to re-settle the whole country. For this period I selected the '*Ālamgír-námah* of Múnshi Muḥammad Kásim, the '*Maáşir-i 'Ālamgír* of Muḥammad Sákí Musta'id Khán, and the latter half² of the '*Muntakhab-i-Lubáb*, commonly called the '*Tárikh-i-Kháfí Khán*.

These three works, I believe, will give a tolerably clear and comprehensive view of the history of the period, in spite of the Emperor's prohibition to write. The first is a Court Chronicle, and consequently open to the objections before alluded to. It was written by order of Aurangzeb himself. It comprises only ten years of his reign; but for that

¹ *Maktal-i-Sultání*; *Roz-námah-i-'Ālamgír*; '*Ālamgír-námah-i-'Aḳíl Khán*; '*Ālamgír-námah-i-Muḥammad Kázim*; '*Tárikh-i-'Ālamgír-i-Mír Hāshim*; '*Maáşir-i-'Ālamgír*; '*Tárikh-i-'Ālamgír* 'Abd ul-Hādí; '*Futūḥāt-i-'Ālamgír*; '*Wikdyá-i-Ni'amat Khán 'Alí* (printed repeatedly); '*Tárikh-i-Bindrāban*; '*Ruḳa'at-i-'Ālamgír* (printed repeatedly); '*Tárikh-i-Dilkushdai*?; '*Tárikh-i-Mulk-i-'Ashám* (printed at Calcutta); '*Waḳ'iat-i-'Ālamgír*; '*A'zam ul-Harab*?

² The Bengal Asiatic Society, I believe, proposes to publish the whole, as so much objection is raised by the natives to mutilated editions.

period it is the most complete chronicle we have, though it was not commenced till the thirty-second year of Aurangzeb's reign. Subsequent authors do not express any very decided opinion upon the qualifications of Muḥammad Kāsim as a historian. The author of the *Mirāt ul-'Ālam*, however, speaks of him as an author of great erudition, the author of the *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgiri* has made an abridgement of his work the first portion of his history; and Khāfī Khān, the author of the *Khulāṣat ut-Tawārīkh*, has made the '*Ālamgir-nāmah* a chief authority. The *Maāṣir-i-'Ālamgiri* is a small work, but the author had good opportunities of consulting the records of Government, and of obtaining information regarding the events of this reign. 'Abd ur-Raḥmān Bakhtāwar Khān (a eunuch), the distinguished author of the *Mirāt ul-'Ālam*,¹ was for about thirty years in the service of Aurangzeb, and when he died (1095 A.H.), was Controller of the Household or held some such office (*dāroghah-i-khawāṣān*). Muḥammad Sākī was his secretary or head-clerk (*múnshī-i-diwān*). After the death of Bakhtāwar Khān, some changes were made in the household, by which Muḥammad Sākī was appointed keeper of the daily record (*i. e.* of the Emperor's proceedings). His book, therefore, short though it be, as also that portion of the *Mirāt ul-'Ālam*, which treats of this reign, are valuable authorities for the period.

But the most comprehensive of these histories is the history of Khāfī Khān. This history has been used freely by Elphinstone and other European historians, and is so well known that I might be excused from noticing it in detail; but my object, as before mentioned, is not to catalogue indiscriminately all the authorities for each particular epoch of the Mohammadan period which are extant; but rather to discriminate, if possible, between those authors who had good opportunities of acquiring information about the events they recorded whilst they were actually taking place, and of testing, by personal enquiries from eye-witnesses, the truth of

¹ This author also wrote a work which he entitled *Chahār Aīna*, giving an account of Aurangzeb's four great campaigns; and abridged the *Tūrikh-i-Afṣi*, and the *Rauzat ul-Aḥḍāḥ*, and many other works, which are probably lost.

current reports, and those who were mere transcribers of what they found in the writing of others. Now Kháfí Khán's history is a very important work. There can be no doubt that he was a historian of very great merit, and had singular capabilities for the task he undertook. He was contemporary moreover with Aurangzeb for the greater portion of his reign; and a story is current that he wrote his history during the lifetime of the Emperor, and concealed it until after his death. As far as I can ascertain, there is no truth whatever in this fable, but it has been put forth with so much apparent substantiality, that it is proper to notice it; as there can be no question that a record of events made at the time is of more value than one compiled from memory thirty or forty years after the events occurred, unless such record be supported by some documentary evidence. Mr. Morley, in his catalogue of the MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society's Library (No. 98, page 100), says:

“The author was of good family, and resided at Delhi in the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign; he composed his history during this period, but owing to the well-known prohibition of this monarch, he concealed his work, and, from some other causes, did not publish it till 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.). The book was well received on its publication, and from the circumstances of it having been so long concealed (Kháfí) the author received the title of Kháfí Khán.”¹

Mr. Morley would hardly make this statement without some authority, but he has not stated it. I think I have seen it somewhere else, and I have no doubt it had its origin in an imperfect and somewhat ludicrous misinterpretation of what Kháfí Khán himself says, to which has consequently been given a sense the very opposite of its true meaning. Kháfí Khán certainly says that he kept all these things locked up in a box; but it was the box of his “memory.” The passage I allude to is as follows:—

“And, whatsoever, after arriving at the years of intelligence and perception, I had for thirty or forty years seen with my own eyes, and laid up in the strong box of my

¹ See also Note 3, p. 125.

memory, that I have written.¹ And since I heard that Bindrában Dás Bahádur Sháhí, who was long a *Mutaʿaddi* of Sháh 'Álam during the time he was a prince, had compiled a history, and had included in it an account of upwards of thirty years, being exceedingly anxious to see it, I made great search for it. Subsequently when, after great trouble, I obtained a copy, and examined it carefully from beginning to end, in the hope that I might gather the rich fruits of his labours, I discovered that his work did not contain one half of what I had included in my own history."

There might be some apparent reason for Kháfí Khán concealing his work for a year or two after the death of Aurangzeb; but there seems no sound nor apparent reason for his concealing his work for nearly thirty years after that event. If such an assertion can with truth be made of any historian of the period, whose work is extant, it is of the author of the *Maʿasir-i-'Álamgiri*, Musta'id Khán. Of him Kháfí Khán says—and his statement affords pretty good proof of the correctness of my opinion—

"After the expiration of ten years authors were forbidden from writing the events of that just and righteous Emperor's reign; nevertheless some competent persons [did so], and particularly Musta'id Khán, who *secretly* wrote an abridged account of the campaign in the Deccan, simply detailing the conquests of the countries and forts without alluding at all to the misfortunes of the campaign [and Bindrában, who wrote an abridged account of the events of some years of the second and third decades]. I have neither seen nor obtained any history that contains a full and detailed account of the forty remaining years of this reign. Consequently, from the eleventh to the twenty-first year (22nd) of the Emperor's reign, I have not been able to relate the events in the order in which they occurred, giving the month and year; but after this year, with very great labour and pains, I collected information from the papers in the public offices, and by enquiry made from truthful persons, the confidential and old servants of the Emperor and old eunuchs, and what-

آنچه خود بعد حدّ تمیز رسیدن در مدت سی چهل سال برای
العين مشاهده نموده بصندوق حافظه سپرده بود بقیه قلم در آورد

soever, etc., I saw with my own eyes, I laid up in the strong box," etc., etc. (*Vide supra*).¹

I would here observe that in editing the *Tārīkh of Khāfi Khān* considerable difficulty will be experienced. Copies are very numerous; but, strange to say, no two copies that I have met with—and I have compared five apparently very good MSS.—are exactly alike, while some present such dissimilarities as almost to warrant the supposition that they are distinct works, some passages being quite accurate and others again *entirely* dissimilar. In the copies to be found of Abū'l-Fazl's *Āin-i-Akbarī* and other well known MSS., which have been copied and re-copied repeatedly, we find omissions, and a variety of readings, but not such broadcast discrepancies as I have found in some of the copies of Khāfi Khān which I have consulted. From this cause and the general ignorance and carelessness of the

¹ This passage is confused; but I think I have given the author's meaning. The passage is as follows:—

چون بعد انقضای ده سال مورخان ممنوع از تسطیر احوال آن
بادشاه عدالت گستر دین پرور گشتند مگر بعضی مستعد آن خصوص
مستعد خان بطریق خفیه برخی از احوال مهم دکن را مجمل بلا
تذکار مکروهات که همان ذکر فتوحات بلا دو قلاع را بزبان قلم داده
[ویندرا بن احوال چند سال عشر ثانی و ثالث را مجمل نوشته]
تاریخیکه احوال چهل سال باقی مجمل مفصل دران درج باشد دیده
ویافته نشد لهذا از سنه یازده هجری (?) لغایت بست و یک جلوس
که بضبط تاریخ و سال و ماه بتذکار سوانح حکم رانی عشر ثانی
حضرت خلد مکانی تواند پرداخت سر رشته بدست نتواند آورد

The passage between brackets is in two of the copies I have consulted, but not in a third, nor in the copy of this extract given in the *Siyar al-Muta'akkharin*, which differs from all three in many respects. The word *جلوس* for *هجری* occurs in three copies. *Khāfi* is a patronymic from *Khawāf*, a district near Nishāpūr; the author's name was Hashim 'Alī Khān *Khāfi*. The patronymic is a very common one about this period, as Khwājah-i-Jihān *Khawāfi*; Saiyid Amīr Khān *Khāfi*; Shaikh Mīr *Khāfi*; Calābat Khān Khwājah Mīr *Khawāfi*, etc. Authors write *Khāfi* and *Khawāfi* indiscriminately.

compilers of the only catalogue there is of the MSS. in the valuable library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, two copies of portions of Kháfí Khán (Nos. 181 and 382) have been styled the *Tawárikh-i-Bádsháhán-i-Hind wa Dakhan*, and the *Tárikh-i-'A'lamgiri*.

It is proper also to mention another work as an authority to be consulted for the history of this period, as the author stands on the same footing with *Kháfí Khán* as a contemporary historian. With limited funds, however, the publication of the one history must suffice. I allude to the *Tazkirat-us-Salátn-i-Chaghatá* of Muḥammad Hádí, styled Kámwár Khán.

I do not know the exact limits of the period within which this author flourished ; but it is evident that he was contemporary with Aurangzeb for a considerable portion of his reign, and, for some portion of the time at least, had good opportunities of obtaining accurate information. I find that in the forty-fifth year of this reign he went in company with the Paymaster-General Kifáyat Khán bin Arshad Khán *Kháfí* to Ahmadábád ; and as he has brought down his history only to the sixth year of Muḥammad Sháh's reign or A.H. 1136,¹ and Kháfí Khán has continued his to the fourteenth year of the same reign, or 1144 A.H., we may conclude that Kámwár Khán was not the later of the two. He opens his history modestly, stating that he commenced it after he had completed the compilation of the *Haft Gulshan*, which treats of the Kings of Delhi, Bengal, Málwa, Dakhan, Multán, Thathah, Kashmír, and the other provinces of Hindustan ; and after stating that he commenced this work, the history of the life of Taimúr, he continues :—

“I humbly crave the students of history, regardless of the impropriety of the words I have used or the want of elegance in my style, to take into their consideration, and do me the justice to remember, that without any royal order, and without the aid or assistance of any of the nobles of the times, which in an undertaking of this

¹ So far the Bengal Asiatic Society's copy. Mr. Morley says, the Royal Asiatic Society's copy is continued for another year ; and I think the Bengal Asiatic Society's wants a page, though the loss has been ingeniously repaired.

important nature is very necessary, how many nights I have turned into days and *vice versa*, and what anxiety of mind I have suffered, in communicating the information contained in this history in a new form."

The author was appointed Controller of the Household of Prince Muhammad Ibráhím, and received an increase of pay and the title of Kámwár Khán in the second year of the reign of Bahádur Sháh Sháh 'Álam; and he received a Khilat from the king the following year. He was in a position then to know what was going on; and the apparently straightforward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader.

There is another history with a very similar name, which compiled about the same time, viz., the *Tárikh-i-Chaghatát*, by Muḥammad Shafí'-i-Ṭahrání whose poetical sobriquet was Wárid. The book is in one volume, and that not very large (668 pages, royal 8vo. 15 lines to a page of large *Nastalík*). It is a very elegant composition, and the record for about twenty or thirty years may be considered that of a contemporary writer. The author says:

"From the year 1100 A.H., the greater portion of what I have recorded I have myself seen, and that which I heard from trustworthy persons I took the utmost pains in sifting and inquiring into, and whatever statements I had the slightest doubt about I discarded. But from the commencement of the war of the late Sultan Muḥammad 'Ázam, up to the present time, or for twenty-two years, I have seen everything with my own eyes."

He closes his work with the following statement:—

"In short, after the departure of Nádír Sháh, a Royal order was issued by Muhammad Sháh to the following effect: 'All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands. I am now the Viceroy of Nádír Sháh'; and notwithstanding that, the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommend him to withdraw this order. His Majesty would not be satisfied. Conse-

quently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate and laid down their pens."

I mention this work as, in consequence of the title, it might be mistaken for the *Tazkirah-i-Salâṭini-Chaghatâi*, which is much better known. Elliot, I observe, mentions it amongst the general histories of the House of Taimûr, but as he has not mentioned the *Tazkirah* at all, I assume that that is the work he means. The *Maâsir ul-Umarâ*, by Samsâm-ud-Daulah Shâh Nawâz Khân (the later edition by his son 'Abd al-Haijî) affords some valuable information; but this, and latter portions of the *Tazkirat us-Salâṭin-i-Chaghatâi*, the *Târikh-i-Chaghatâi*, and the *Târikh-i-Khâfi Khân*, belong to a later period. Khâfi Khân brings his history down to the fourteenth year of the reign of Muḥammad Shâh, 1144 A.H. (A.D. 1731), so that his history gives us a contemporary record of the history of the reigns of seven kings after Aurangzeb, viz., 'Azam Shâh, Bahâdur Shâh, Shâh 'Âlam, ('Azîm ush-Shân),¹ Jihândâr Shâh, Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Raff'i ud-Darajât,² Raff'i ud-Daulat,³ Raushan Akhtar, commonly called Muḥammad Shâh (fourteen years). For the period subsequent to this, I have as yet taken no thought; and I fear it will not be very easy to add many very valuable works. Sir Henry Elliot gives a very long list of histories, but most of them are of little value.

The historians, however, which have been mentioned as completed, and in course of completion, will give as good an account of the reigns of the following sovereigns as can well be obtained from any materials likely to be procured elsewhere, viz. :—

XXXII. Jalâl ud-dîn Muḥammad Akbar.

XXXIII. Nûr ud-dîn Jehângîr.

XXXIV. Shahâb ud-dîn Muḥammad Shâh Jehân.

XXXV. Muḥî ud-dîn Aurangzeb, 'Âlamgîr.⁴

¹ This King sat upon the throne but for a few days.

² Reigned three months and fourteen days.

³ Reigned two months and some days.

⁴ I have omitted here Muḥammad 'Azim Shâh, the second son of Aurangzeb, who held the reins of power for a few months, although he coined money and the Khutbah was read in his name. He ascended the throne on the 10th Zi-l-hijjah, A.H. 1118, and was killed in battle 18th Rabî' ul-Awwal, A.H. 1119.

XXXVI. Kutb ud-dín Muḥammad Mu'azzam Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh.

XXXVII. Mu'izz ud-dín Muḥammad Jehándár Sháh.

XXXVIII. ————— Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar.

XXXIX. Abú 'l-Barákat Rafi'i ud-Daraját.

XL. Rafi'i ud-Daulat Sháh Jehán-i-Sání.

XLI. Raushan Akhtar Muḥammad Sháh (14 years).

To this long list of Emperors, our predecessors in the sovereignty of India, I append a list of the works which contain their history, and which have been published, or are in course of publication, in the Persian series of the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The works which have been already published, I print in small capitals, those which are in the press, or about to be published, in italics, and those which have been recommended for publication, but the publication of which has not yet been sanctioned, in plain Roman letters.

1. TÁRÍKH-I-'ÁL-I-SUBUKTAGÍN OF BAIHAQÍ. LIFE OF MAS'ÚD.
2. Táǵ ul-Maášir, by Hasan Nizámí.
3. TABAKÁT-I-NÁǦIRÍ OF MINHÁJ UD-DÍN JAUZJÁNÍ.
4. TÁRÍKH-I-FÍROZSHÁHÍ OF ZÍÁ-I-BARNÍ.
5. *Continuation of the above, by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afi.*
6. TÁRÍKH-I-SALÁṬÍN-I-AFÁǦHANAH OF AḤMAD YADǦÁR.
7. TABAKÁT-I-AKBAR SHÁH OF NIZÁM UD-DÍN NAKHSHOHS.
8. MUNTAKHAB UT-TAWÁRÍKH OF BADÁONÍ.
9. ÁÍN-I-AKBARÍ OF ABÚ'L-FAZL.
10. IKBÁL-NÁMAH-I-JEHÁNGIRÍ OF MU'TAMAD KHÁN.
11. BĀDŠHĀH-NĀMAH OF 'ABD AL-HAMÍD LĀHORÍ.
12. *Continuation of the above by Muḥammad Wáriṣ.*
13. 'Amal-i-Ḥálih of Muḥammad Ḥálih Kambú.
14. 'ÁLAMGÍR-NÁMAH OF MÚNŠÍ KÁSÍM.
15. MAÁŠIR-I-'ÁLAMGÍRÍ OF MUSTA'ID KHÁN.
16. Tazkirat us-Saláṭín-i-Chaghatá of Kámwár Khán. One Half.
17. *Muntakhab ul-Lubáb of Kháfí Khán.*

Similarly I have omitted, between Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh and Jehándár Sháh, 'Azim ush-Shán, the son of the former, who reigned one month, fled, and was drowned in crossing the Rávi, one of the rivers of the Panjáb. He ascended the throne on the 19th Muḥarram, and was drowned on the 19th Safar, A.H. 1124.

In addition to the above works, there are available for the purposes of the future historian of India other works which have been published in India and in Europe, many of which I have mentioned in this paper: in the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, or Life of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, in Arabic, by Al-'Oṭbī, lithographed at Delhi; the Travels of Ibn Butūṭah, published in Arabic, with a translation in French, by the Société Asiatique of Paris; the *Tārīkh-i-Tīmūrī*, or Life of Tīmūr Lang, in Arabic, by Ibn 'Arabshāh (Calcutta, 1818); the *Akbar Nāmah* of Abū'l-Faẓl (Lucknow, 1867); the *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah* (Bombay, 1832, and translations by Briggs, Dow, and Scott); *Mirāt-i-Iskandarī*, or an account of the Kings of Guzerat, by Muḥammad Iskandar, (Bombay, 1831); the *Ḥabīb us-Siyar* (Bombay, 1857); *Rauzat uṣ-Ḥafā* (Bombay, 1848); *Tūzak-i-Jehāngīrī* (Allypore, 1865); *Wiqāyá-i-Nī-mat Khān 'Alī* (class book in schools); *Tārīkh-i-A'shām* (Calcutta, 1849); *Tārīkh-i-Nādirī* (Bengal Asiatic Society, 1845); *Durra-i-Nādirī* (Bombay, 1863); *Siyar ul Mutaakhhharin* (Calcutta, 1836); *Imād us Sa'adat* (Lucknow, lately printed, no date); *Gulistān-i-Raḥmat*; ¹ *Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh*, in Urdū (Calcutta.); *Karnama-i-Ḥaidarī*; *George-nāmah*, or account of the Conquest of India by the English, from the earliest times, in heroic verse (Bombay, 1837).

Doubtless some other works have been printed which I have not got, and which I do not recollect at present; leaving them, however, out of the question we have here a large number of texts containing a vast amount of valuable information regarding the history and people of India, which, if it has been rescued from the dangers incidental to a manuscript literature is still as much a sealed book to the English public as it was before. These books may remain for years on the shelves of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library, and no one, with the exception of the few German Oriental scholars who make Oriental languages the study or the recreation of their lives, will know any more of them than if

¹ I have no copy of this work to refer to. It contains the history of Ḥafīz Raḥmat Khān, and an account of his war with Subadār of Oudh, assisted by the English, in 1774. The last two or three works all relate to the history of modern times.

they never had been printed. Many of these works, and especially those printed and published by natives of India, may go out of print and be lost. Looking to the supersession of the native classical languages in India by the English language, and the gradual disappearance of men brought up in that school in which Oriental literature was appreciated and cultivated for its own sake, there is little chance of any of them being reprinted.

It seems to me, then, that unless some measure be adopted to secure English translations of these works, our labour will in great part be lost. The books, it is true, will be available for the Orientalist, and will occasionally be dipped into by *savans* to illustrate papers written for literary and scientific journals; but Orientalists are not often historians, and the chief end aimed at in these publications will not be attained. Many of these works are ably written, and most of them contain much that would be read with interest even by the general reader in England if it were available in a European language. But how, by whom, or under whose auspices, are these translations to be made? The "Oriental Translation Fund," which for so many years supplied Orientalists throughout Europe with the means of publishing the Oriental works they translated, and which has bequeathed to posterity such noble monuments of its usefulness, has expired, and I am told for want of support.¹ Much has been done certainly to render the literary treasures of the East more accessible to European scholars, but the mine is by no means exhausted; and it seems to me strange indeed that the more familiar the English become with India and the East the less they seem disposed to drink deep at that fountain of knowledge a draught from which is absolutely necessary to a thorough understanding of the people. But if the Oriental Fund has ceased to exist, there must be very many in England still who are deeply interested in bridging the gulf of ignorance which divides the sympathies of the races which are brought in contact on the plains of India. I cannot but believe that they would sup-

¹ [The unfinished translations of Ibn Khalikan and Tabari are still in course of publication.—ED.]

port a fund formed to co-operate with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in this good work; and what learned Society more competent or more fit to inaugurate such a movement than the Royal Asiatic Society? Competent Oriental scholars now-a-days are more plentiful in Europe than in India; the greater portion of the texts which are published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* are edited by natives. All Europeans in India, moreover, are overworked; and consequently the few who have the ability have not the leisure to make translations from Persian works. Even the abstracts of the works which the rules of the Society require, have never been written; and if the public look to India for translations, it may be centuries before they see them. If the Royal Asiatic Society, then, would entertain the proposition, and undertake the translation of all the works which are published in the *Bibliotheca*, much profit would be gained.

APPENDIX.

Mr. Hammond has drawn up the subjoined memorandum of the works adverted to in note, page 419, suprâ.—ED.

In 1855 the late Mr. Colvin, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces of India, at the suggestion of Mr. Edward Thomas, of the Bengal Civil Service, entrusted to me the task of collecting and collating MSS. of the Mohammedan Historians of India, in continuation of the late Sir Henry Elliot's work.

Accordingly the following MSS. were purchased or borrowed by me :

Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi of Zíá Barní	6 MSS.
Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháhi of Shams Siráj 'Affif	3 „
Ikbál-námah-i-Jihángíri of I'timád Khán	6 „
Túzak-i-Jihángíri, by the Emperor Jihángír	3 „
Maáṣir-i-Jihángíri, of Hasnī	1 „
Siyar al-Mutaakhkharín	3 „
Tárikh-i-Ferishtah.....	3 „
Khalácat ut-Tawárikh	2 „

Zubdat ut-Tawárikh of Míral-Haḡḡ, from Mu'izz ud-dín to Akbar	1	MSS.
Zubdat ut-Tawárikh of 'Abd al-Karím, from Muḡammad Sháh to E.I. Company	1	„
Akbar-námah, Part I.	4	„
Idem, Part II.	1	„
Srivánah Akbarí	3	„
Sháh Jahán-námah	1	„
Tárikh-i-Badáúní	2	„
Maáṣir 'Alamgírí of Muḡammad Sáḡí	1	„
'Alamgír-námah Dosálah, by the same	1	„
Maáṣir 'Alamgírí, by Múnshí Muḡammad Kázim	1	„
Tárikh-i-'Alamgírí, author unknown	1	„
Muntakhab ul-Lubáb.....	1	„
'Ibrat-námah, Vol. II.	1	„
Tárikh-i-Muzaffarí	3	„
Ṭabaḡát-i-Jímúriah (abstract of Vol. I.)	1	„
Zafar-námah	1	„
Túzak-i-Tímúrí, by Amír Tímúr	2	„
Tárikh-i-Tímúrí (by ?)	1	„
Malfúzát Amír Tímúr, by Muḡammad Afzal	1	„
Nádir az-Zamání, by Múnshí Mehdí	3	„
Khaláḡat ut-Tawárikh	3	„
Hadíkat al-Aḡálím	1	„
Idem, abstract of	1	„
Makhzan-i-Afghání	1	„
Maáṣir al Umará	1	„
(? ? ?) Sikandarí	1	„
Tárikh Mamálik-i-Hind	1	„
Total.....	67	MSS.

The MSS. of Zíá Barní's Tárikh-i-Fíroz-Sháḡí were carefully collated, under my supervision, by Moulví Faiz Aḡmad, Serishtahdár of the Board of Revenue at Agra, a man well versed in Oriental literature, a good Persian and Arabic scholar, and much employed by the late Sir Henry Elliot. He disappeared during the mutinies, and I never could ascertain any particulars regarding his fate. In collating the MSS. he was assisted by two competent Moonshís. One copy of Zíá Barní's history, belonging to Sayyid Aḡmad, was

prepared for press, and (I believe) formed the basis of the text lately printed from in Calcutta. This and one other MS. of Zíá Barní alone escaped. All the others were placed by me in a strong chest on leaving India in 1856, and were deposited in the Record Office of the Board of Revenue at Agra, which edifice was burnt during the mutinies. There were in the same box some MSS. of Arabic and Persian Dictionaries.

The MSS. of Shams-i-Siráj 'Affif's history were also collated, and some others commenced upon. I defrayed from my private means all expenses of collection or collation of the MSS. herein referred to. I have no idea whether any grant for purposes of publication was subsequently made by the Government of India.

H. W. HAMMOND,
Late Bengal C.S.

PRISTON, 27th July, 1868.

ART. XIII.—*A few words concerning the Hill People inhabiting the Forests of the Cochin State.* By Capt. G. E. FRYER, Madras Staff Corps, M.R.A.S.

[Read March 30, 1868.]

THE hill people, regarding whom I purpose saying a few words, inhabit the hill tracts of the States of Travancore and Cochin, and the base of the Annamully hills in the district of Coimbatore. They go by different names in different localities, such as Kardars, Mulliyars, Vaisharvars, Kannekarens, all of which signify "foresters," and they are also called Mulchers or outcasts, which is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit word म्लेच्छ Mlechchha, meaning a barbarian or outcast.

But although they are regarded as outcasts by the inhabitants of the plain, they by no means consider themselves as inferior to them, for they address every one by "thou," which, as in German, is only used by superiors to inferiors or by equals.

They are of true aboriginal type, distinct in appearance and manners from the fairer population of the plains. They are exceedingly small in stature, though not disproportionately so, having lithe and active frames capable of enduring great exposure and fatigue.

They are very wild and indolent, ignorant of agriculture, subsisting on such jungle produce as arrowroot, berries, honey, and are subject to all the privations of a savage life. A small rude knife is their only implement. They use bows and arrows, but they have neither bill-hook, hoe, nor any other native tool, however rude. Their conceptions of the deity are of the vaguest description. They possess no letters. Their dialect, which is a broken Malayalam, is simply colloquial.

Nevertheless they exhibit many nice traits of character. They are gentle to their wives and children, faithful to their conjugal vows, rarely (excepting upon good grounds, such as proved barrenness, or manifest infidelity) marrying more than one wife, or more than once, unless death occurs. Mr. Kohlhoff, late Conservator of Forests in the Cochin State, to whose kindness I am indebted for the statistics contained in Statement A., informed me that widows of any age frequently marry men younger than themselves, and he quoted the case of a young man having married a buxom widow of forty with five children to boot. As regards gentleness in their domestic relations, then, these people resemble the Bodo and Dhimal tribes in Sikkim, who are stated by Mr. Hodgson to be "good husbands, good fathers, and not bad sons;" but beyond this they do not bear out Mr. Hodgson's conclusion that "those who are virtuous in these most influential relations are little likely to be vicious in less influential ones," for in 1856 the Collector of Coimbatore informed the Madras Government that their propensities for highway robbery were so strong that they were "becoming a terror and nuisance" in that district.

Their collections of hill produce consist chiefly of cardamoms, soapnut, ginger, honey, wax, deer's horns, ivory, and dammer. They are also employed by Government and timber merchants to point and mark valuable trees for timber.

They neither value nor care for money. On shooting excursions, when employed as beaters, remuneration is given to them in the shape of bundles of dried tobacco, pan supari, rice, etc. They are excessively fond of spirituous liquors.

Whether being accustomed from earliest infancy to the pestilent vapours which surround their dwellings, or whether the inspissated juices of the roots they use in any way protect them from the morbid influences of malaria, it is a well-known fact that these hill people are capable of wholly withstanding the effects of the frequent changes of temperature and of the heavy mists at night which prove so fatal to other people. Moreover they assert that the climate

of the open plains gives them fever. Small-pox is the chief disease among them and commits the greatest havoc. They do not practise infanticide.

The marriage ceremony is a very simple affair. When a damsel is sought in marriage the circumstance is made known to the head of the clan, who merely delivers over the maiden to the man, and the ceremony closes with feasting and rejoicings. They bury their dead. Their square huts are constructed of bamboo uprights and cross-posts with a grass roof and walls of bamboo matting.

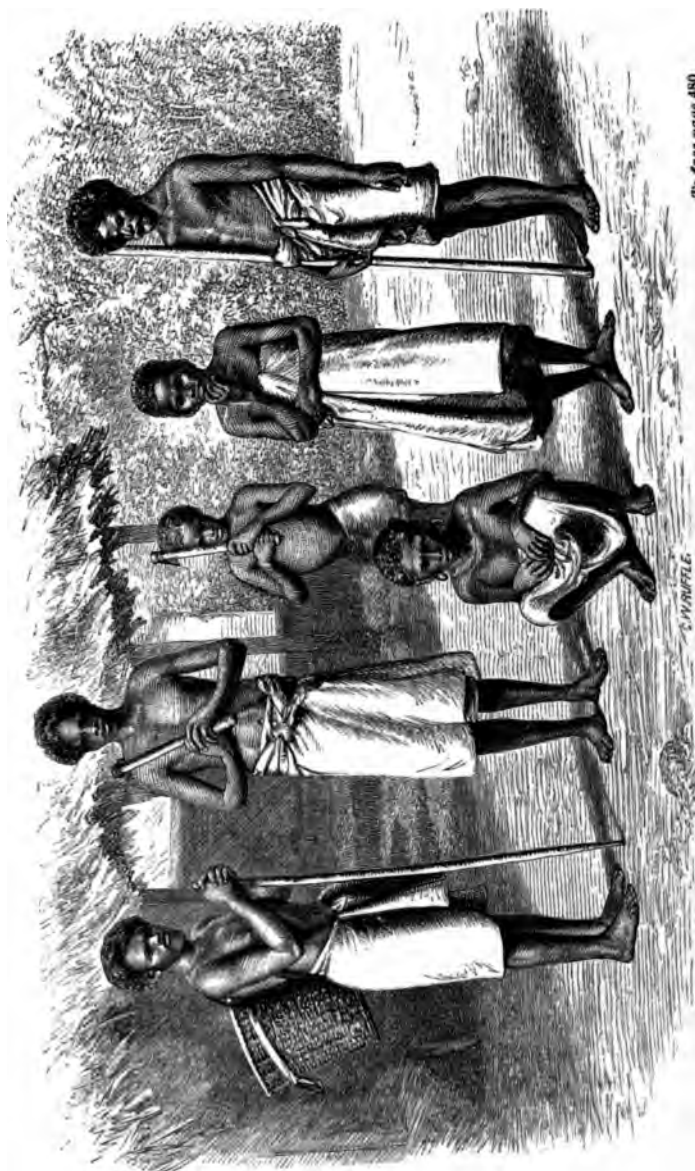
Statement A. gives the measurements and weight of ten adult male Mulchers, the first six of whom appear in the accompanying wood-cut. I can testify to the accuracy of the figures, for they were recorded by the late Mr. Kohlhoff, in the presence of the late Captain Barwise and Lieutenant (now Captain) Beauchamp of the 45th M.N.I.

Assuming that the mean stature of the male at the time of maturity is 5ft. 8in. English measure, we find the tallest among the ten to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches short of it.¹

As regards girth round the chest, Koongen, the tallest, at $65\frac{1}{2}$ inches, has only a girth of 31 inches, while for infantry recruits at 65 inches the chest measurement is 33 inches.

In No. VII. of the Madras Quart. Jour. Med. Soc. 1862. Dr. Shortt gives some interesting comparative tables of measurement between individuals of races of the plains and two hill tribes of Orissa. In Statement B. I have used his figures and added, by way of extending the comparison, the average measurement of the English recruit and that of the ten Mulchers. Excluding the English recruit, then, we note that the Brahmin weighs heaviest and is larger round the head. The Hindoo is larger round the neck, and, though taller, has the same chest girth as the Pathna. The Pathna has the thickest thigh and arm, though only 61.30 inches high. The half-savage Mulcher, on the other hand, is conspicuous only for general diminutiveness.

¹ It should be borne in mind that the height of a skeleton is less than that of the individual during life by about one inch.



To face page 480.

MULCHERS.

Judging from the photographs, Professor Huxley detects in these people a striking resemblance to the aboriginal Australians. They have the same contour, the beetle brow, the smooth black shining hair; in fact, he says, divest them of their clothing and the Australian is before you.

I might here refer to Dr. Shortt's "account of some rude tribes, the supposed aborigines of Southern India," *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. iii. p. 373. These are Yenadies, Villees, Iroolers, and Dombers. He gives the measurements of twenty-five men and twenty-five women of the first, fourteen male Villees, nine male Dombers and three females. He has omitted to calculate averages, but they are as follows:—Yenadies, males, 64·8, females, 54·6; Villees, males, 65·5; Dombers, males, 66·5, females, 61. General averages, males, 65·6; females, 57·8. In another paper, "A contribution to the Ethnol. of Jeypore," *Ethnol. Trans.* vol. vi. p. 264, I find he gives the stature of seven male Dorus of Jeypore, the average being 64·1, and of 25 male Pargahs or ryots of Jeypore, the average being 63. But with all this the Mulcher males are still the shortest.

STATEMENT A.
MEASUREMENT AND WEIGHT OF TEN ADULT MOUNTAINERS OF THE PALLAPULLY HILLS IN THE COCHIN STATE.

No.	Name of Individual.	Age.	Height.	Weight.	Length of				Circumference in inches round.					
					Arm.	Leg.		Chest.	Thighs.	Calves.	Arms.	Neck.	Head.	
						Shoulder to Elbow.	Elbow to Wrist.							Hip to Knee.
		Years.	Ft. In.	Lbs.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.						
1	Koongen	27	5 5½	107½	13	10	21	20	16½	12	8½	12	20½	
2	Vettepara.....	30	4 9	96	13	10	17	16½	16	11½	9½	12½	21½	
3	Poammalee	32	5 2½	103½	13	10	19	19	17	11½	9	11½	22½	
4	Panthenee	21	5 1	92½	13½	10	18½	20	16	11½	8½	11	20½	
5	Jeravee	19	4 10½	88	13	9½	18½	16½	15½	10½	9½	11	20½	
6	Jayratnaun.....	38	5 1	91½	13	10	17½	16½	29	12	9	11	19½	
7	Koachobousha.....	28	5 1	103	14	10	19	18	30½	17	8½	12	20½	
8	Rammen	30	4 9	88½	12½	9½	17	16	30	16	11	8	19½	
9	Maycodan	28	4 10	90½	12	9½	17½	17	29	16	11	10	20	
10	Munda	30	4 9½	82½	12	9½	18	16½	29	15	10½	9	19½	

STATEMENT B.

Races.	Age.	Height.	Weight.	Circumference in inches.					These figures are approximate only.
				Head.	Neck.	Chest.	Arms.	Thighs.	
English recruit	18-50	65	144	21-5	13	33	9-5	18-5	The weights of the two Orissa tribes not given.
Brahmins	21-64	64-6	117-5	21-06	11-5	31-2	8-9	16-4	
Hindoo	21-48	65-1	116-24	20-91	12-7	31-7	8-8	16-3	
Pariahs	21-72	64-7	110-52	20-80	12-1	31-3	9-2	15-9	
Corovas or Tankdiggers	21-88	64-7	104-54	20-82	10-3	31-1	8-9	15-9	
Muslimans	24-7	64-8	107-2	20-55	12-2	31-6	9-0	16-3	
Boorians	30-25	62-3	20-76	11-2	31-5	9-1	17-1	17-1	
Pathna	31-25	61-5	20-50	12-3	31-7	9-7	17-5	17-5	
Mulchers, average of 10 ...	28-3	60	94-3	20-47	11-3	30-0	9-0	16-0	

ART. XIV.—*Notes on the Bhojpuri Dialect of Hindí, spoken in Western Behar.* By JOHN BEAMES, Esq., B.C.S., Magistrate of Chumparun.

[Read February 17, 1867.]

THE Bhojpuri dialect is spoken in the British districts of Chumparun, Sarun, Shahabad, Ghazipoor, Azimgurh, and Goruckpore, by a population which probably amounts to five millions. It is not, of course, the same in all these districts; but through all its variations it preserves the same general features, such as the use of the substantive verb *bhá* or *bá*, the perfect in *il*, and other points of difference from the classical or literary type of Hindí. It is largely used as a written medium of communication by native merchants, and in all the transactions of the rural population, such as village accounts, leases, receipts, and so forth. The character is a variation of the Devanágari, formed by omitting the horizontal top line, and is strikingly similar to the Gujarátí character, so much so that a work printed in that language can be read by a native of Chumparun. In the following remarks, however, I shall use the Devanágari character as more generally understood in Europe.

It is expected of one who writes on the modern Indian dialects that he should trace the origin of the forms from Sanskrit through the Prakrit, and I shall endeavour as far as I can to do this; but it must be remembered that the subject of Prakrit is involved in much obscurity, and that in India the difficulty of procuring books is very considerable. The greater part of the literary treasures of India is now in London and other European capitals; and we are constantly, in our search for manuscripts and copies of celebrated works, told by natives that they are not now to be procured. As an instance of this, I lately endeavoured to obtain a copy of the whole or part of the Prithi Raja Rasa of Chand. After vainly inquiring in Calcutta, Benares, and other large

cities, I found that only *one* manuscript was known to be in existence in the whole of the Bengal Presidency, and that was in the Library of St. John's College at Agra. Whereas, therefore, we in India possess an advantage over scholars in Europe, in being able to hear the various dialects in the mouths of the people, and thus have a great command of facts, we are far behind them in the matter of *apparatus criticus*. The learned researches of German scholars seldom reach us, except by accident,—we are, necessarily, ignorant of the progress of philological science, and it is therefore safer for us to establish a division of labour, and to confine ourselves to supplying facts for the information of our more fortunate fellow-labourers in Europe. Certain salient points, however, exist which may be noted with advantage, and to these I shall confine myself.

The name Bhojpuri, usually applied to this dialect, is derived from the ancient town of Bhojpur, in the district of Shahabad, situated a few miles south of the Ganges, and about sixty miles west of Patna. It is now a mere village, but was formerly a place of great importance, as the headquarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots, whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon, and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kunwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining "Sair-ul Mutakherin" will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpuri language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (बाबन) or Bhuinhárs (भूँहार=landleute), who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told. The Maharaja of Bettiah in the Chumparun district is of this caste, though he is pleased to call himself a Brahmin.

I consider that the purest form of the Bhojpuri is to be

found in Chumparun and Eastern Goruckpore. The Sarun people clip their words, and the Shahabad folk have been exposed to constant contact with other people, so that they have in many respects assimilated their speech to that of the townsmen and educated classes. Chumparun, lying far from the great highways of India, has remained in comparative obscurity. The valour of the Rajpoots has protected their country from Musulman invasion, and as its name (Chumparun चम्पारुण = "the forest of the Champak tree"), implies, it was probably for many years a vast tract of almost impenetrable forest. Indeed, even in the present day, there are dense jungles in many parts of the district. From these causes the ancient speech has preserved its purity more in Chumparun than elsewhere; and the remarks I shall make will have reference chiefly to this district, though I shall also note any peculiarities in the dialects of other districts which may be known here, or seem deserving of mention.

The use of the compound consonants is unknown, and in writing the words of the language I shall therefore insert a *virāma* wherever there is any risk of obscurity, but in general the rules observed in Hindī may be applied, remembering that in some cases, *e.g.* the second person singular future, the final inherent vowel is distinctly heard (*karba* or *kōrbō*), while in the first person of the same tense it is mute (*karāb*). In such cases as these the *virāma* will be used.

I may also call attention to the fact that the proper name for the vernacular of the valley of the Ganges when unmixed with Persian words is not Hindvī, nor Hindūī, nor Hindoui, nor Hindavi, but plain and simple Hindi हिन्दी, and that all the distinctions drawn by some writers between the words Hindī and Hindūī are purely imaginary. Both words mean the same thing, but those forms which contain the *v* are more used by the illiterate and by Mahomedans.

I.

The sounds are in general the same as those in Sanskrit, and are expressed by the same letters, the vowels अ and इ, however, are unknown, and the compound or Gupa vowels ए and ओ are preferentially written अइ and अउ; so also the Vṛiddhi vowels ऐ and औ are

expressed by **खर** or **खार** and **खज** or **खाज**; but generally very little difference is observed between these two classes of sounds. This habit of writing the compound vowels by their elements is probably attributable to the fact that they are, as in Prakrit, derived by the elision of a consonant, and that a half-observed memory of their origin tends to retain for them a separate existence in writing, and to a certain extent in speaking. It is not uncommon, for instance, to hear the word *kaisan* (Hindi *kaisā*) pronounced *ka-isān*, and it is generally written **कासन**.

With regard to the consonants, it is noticeable that their regular elision in the middle of a word, leaving a hiatus, is one of those characteristics of the Mahārāshṭrī and Sauraseni Prakrits, especially of the former, which seems to militate against the supposition that the Marāṭhī and Hindī were derived from Sanskrit through them. For instance, the mutilated form **निओओ** *ni-o-o* for the Sanskrit **नियोगो** *niyogo*, can never be the parent of the Hindī **नियोग** *nijog*. A fact observable in Bhojpurī, however, seems to me to throw some light on this point; it is this, that many words are written with their full complement of consonants, but in speaking only a few can be heard. Thus the word *indāra*, "a well," sounds *in'āra*; and even the few Persian words in use have not escaped, **بندشوار** *bandishwār*, "an opium contractor," sounds regularly *ban'swār*. So also in the infinitive *dho'e wāṣṭe*, *dekh'e jāet*, are heard for *dhone ke wāṣṭe*, *dekhne ko jāttā*; *sa'ak* for **सड़क** *sarak*, "a road," and many others. We conclude, then, that the Prakrit of the plays is written more according to sound than etymology, and that the letters so frequently dropped represent the blurred inarticulate pronunciation of the peasantry, half-contemptuously mimicked by the Sanskrit playwrights. In Pali we do not find these numerous hiatus and droppings of consonants; and in the Māgadhī, from which it is derived, even the Prakrit grammarians notice that the elision of consonants is less frequent than in the principal dialect. Owing to religious influences, the modern Marāṭhī has in so many instances borrowed the old pure Sanskrit words again that we cannot reason upon the Mahārāshṭrī Prakrit from it.

Another peculiarity in Bhojpurī is its tendency to substitute medials for tenues. Thus we hear **भीगनां** for the Hindī **फेंकना** "to throw," **भिरानां** for **फिराना** "to return," **गुगा** "a parrot," for **शुका**, etc.

र is constantly substituted for **ल**. Thus **करिअ** "black," for **काला**; **हर** "a plough," for **हल**; **बरद** "a bull," for **बलद**; **हरदी**

“turmeric,” for हलदी; केरा “a plantain,” for केला; परवर “a small sort of gourd,” for पल्लव; मुरई “a radish,” for मूली; अंगुरी “finger,” for अंगुली; and very many others. A dissyllabic word containing two open long syllables, like the word कासा quoted above, generally takes an incrementary syllable, — हस or उस (more frequently the latter), which increment has the effect of shortening the first syllable, as we have just seen in करिस. Thus they say असुआ “a mango tree,” for Hindi आम, बेदुआ for बेटा, चरआ for घर, खेतुआ for खेत, असुआ for चास, etc. In the first and third of these words the *e* is pronounced short, as in English, reminding one of Lassen’s discovery that *e* and *o* are short as well as long in Prakrit. There is an unchecked license in this respect which gives a singular type to the language. Some men always add the *ud*, others rarely. In Shahabad it sounds *id* more than *ud*; but so confirmed is this habit that even *mardud*, for the Persian *mard*, “a man,” is heard; and the English “box” becomes बकुसुआ *baksud*. This habit is evidently of great antiquity, as it is seen in names of towns and villages; thus Rámpúr becomes in Chumparun Rámpúrwá; Tirkúla (Sanskrit तिर्यूलः) Tirkúliá and Tirkuluá, and even Mahuá is called Mahúwuwa, a word almost unpronounceable, and yet I know five or six villages of this name.

Sh is invariably pronounced *s* both in Hindi and Persian words. This agrees with Vararuchi xi. 2 (Lassen, p. 391), as far as *ष* goes, and would be a Mágadhí type. I am unwilling, however, to admit the connection of Bhojpuri with Mágadhí—1st. Because there exists another dialect called Magadh or Magarh (मग) spoken in Gya and Patna which differs from Bhojpuri, and has the best claim to the title. 2nd. Because I think there is evidence of great changes having taken place in the localities of certain tribes and classes since the days of Prakrit. Roughly speaking, Maháráshṭrī should be the parent of the modern Maráthī, Sauraseni that of Hindi proper, Mágadhí of Magadh, Paisháchi of Nepalese, Apabhraṁśī of Sindhi; but in taking up any dialect now spoken in India it is impossible to avoid being struck by the mixture of types from all the Prakrit dialects that meets the eye. It would take me too far from the limits of this sketch to work out this point thoroughly, nor have I the machinery nor the ability for the task; but I mention it as a fact patent to the most cursory observer.

The above are the chief points of note in the pronunciation of this dialect. I proceed to the various parts of speech.

The noun is declined precisely as in Hindi, with the usual affixes *ka*, *ka*,

ke, kī, ko, etc. ; but there is a tendency to confusion of forms. Thus we hear *ke* used where the accusative or dative is evidently intended, and occasionally *ko* for *kā* of the genitive.¹ In ordinary conversation in Bhojpuri, and often in other dialects of Hindī, the distinction between *kā, ke*, and *kī* is lost sight of, all three forms being merged in an obscure *kī*. For *से se सो son* is commonly used, as also *सौ sāt*; and for *पर* often *परि pari*. The plural is preferentially expressed by adding *लोग* or *सब* to the singular; and in all nouns except those ending in *आ* nom. and *ए* oblique, there is generally no distinction of form between the two numbers. In the oblique cases of the plural, however, we occasionally find the termination *ल* corresponding to the *लौ* of Hindī, thus *लोग ल* “of people;” also, when with more emphasis, *लोगनी ल*. This is similar to the old Hindī form.

The pronoun affords, on the contrary, great varieties of form, and it is in it that some of the most striking peculiarities of this dialect are exhibited. I give the personal pronouns in full.

FIRST PERSON.

SINGULAR.		PLURAL.	
I,	हम्	We,	हमनी
Of me,	हम् हमरा हमरे हमरो	Of us,	हमार (also हमनी का).
To me,	{ हमरा के	To us,	{ हमनी के, हमरा के
me,		us,	
From,	{ हमरा सों, में, etc.	From,	{ हमनी सों, etc. हमरा सों
on, etc.		etc., us,	
me.			
(Shahabad मोंह सों)			
monh son.			

SECOND PERSON.

Thou,	तुह, ते	Ye,	तोहनी, तुहनी
Of thee,	तुहर तुहरा तुहरे	Of you,	तुहार, तुहनी का
To thee,	{ तुहरा के	To you,	{ तुहरा के तुहनी के
thee		you,	
From thee,	तुहरा सौ	From you,	तुहरा सौ-तुहनी सौ etc.

In the first person the true singular (में of the Hindī) does not exist. The form *हम्* is used for both singular and plural, and the plural form

¹ Analogous to this is the use of the affix *ko* for the usual *ke* or *karke* in the Maithil dialect (Tirhāt), where they say देखकरको, देखको, for the ordinary देखके and देखकरके, “having seen.”

given above is only used when the notion of plurality requires to be distinctly enforced, and even then the forms **हम सब**, **हम लोग** (or frequently **हमरे लोग**), are commonly heard. The only true plural form is that of the genitive, which, together with its analogue **गुहार**, exhibits a near approach to classical Hindî. The ablative form **मोह से** is the only one which recalls the Hindî singular, but I cannot say I have ever heard it in Champaran. In the second person the singular is used in a familiar or half-contemptuous way. The respectful method of address corresponding to the Hindî **आप** is **रउरा** or **रौरा**, *raurâ*, with a plural **रउरन्ह**, *rauranh*, which is declined regularly as a noun. The oblique cases of the second person may also be written **तौरा**, **तोहरा**, etc. Of course, in a language which is so seldom committed to writing in a serious way (for in writing accounts and the like every one seems to follow his own ideas), much diversity of spelling must exist; and as I am recording the forms of this dialect only from what I hear around me every day, I must confess to being very much in doubt about the correct spelling of many words.

The form **रवाँ** *rawān* is also heard for **रउरा**, and suggests a possible connection with the Sanskrit **भवाँ**, perhaps with an incorporation of the particle **रे** or **अरे** in some way. This is a mere conjecture, however, and I can offer no certain clue to the origin of the word.

The pronoun of the third person is of two kinds,—the proximate **ई**, **ए**, or **हे**; the remote **ऊ**, **ओ**, or **हो**: here the old rule of the palatal sounds expressing nearness, and the labials, distance, comes out clearly as in the Hindî **यह** and **वह**, and so many other languages. The declension is as follows:—

Singular, ए this (he).		ओ that (he).	
N. ए or हे (raro ई),	this.	ओ or हो (raro ऊ),	that.
G. एकर (Shah. इकरा),	of this.	उकर (Shah. ओकरा),	of that.
Acc. इकरा के and एके,	this.	उकरा के and ओके,	that.
Ab. ए सेँ,	from this.	ओ सेँ,	from that.
etc. etc.		etc. etc.	
Plural.			
N. इहे,	these.	उहे,	those.
G. इनकर ०रा ०रे,	of these.	उनकर ०रा ०रे,	of those.
Acc. इनकरा के, इनके,	these.	उनकरा के, उनके,	those.
Ab. इनकरा सेँ इन सेँ,	from these.	उनकरा सेँ उन सेँ,	from those.
etc. etc.		etc. etc.	

It will be observed that the post-positions can be added either to the direct base, i.e. nominative, or to the secondary, i.e. inflected base; in the former case, being mere signs of inflection; in the latter, true post-positions, as in Latin or Greek. The latter form is more used when emphasis is required. The Hindí dialects are in an unsettled and transitional condition in respect of these particles. Thus we find that in the singular the particles are always appended to the direct base, while in the plural they are attached to an inflected base. Thus we say *का बिल को*, *बिल को*, etc., in the singular, but *को बिलों*, etc., in the plural. In nouns ending in *d*, we have, even in the singular, an inflected base for the post-position; thus from *गहोरा* *ghorá* we have *का गहोरे* *ghore ká*. Thus, at least, the grammarians tell us, though *का गहोरा* is a not uncommon vulgarism.

The several series of pronouns and pronominal adverbs are not quite so perfect as in Hindí. They are as follows:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Place— <i>कहवाँ</i> where? | 2. Time— <i>के बेर</i> when? |
| <i>इहवाँ</i> here. | <i>ए बेर</i> now. |
| <i>उहवाँ</i> there. | — then. |
| <i>जहवाँ</i> wherever. | <i>जे बेर</i> whenever. |
| <i>तहवाँ</i> there. | <i>ते बेर</i> then. |
| 3. Quantity— | 4. Quality— |
| <i>कतेक</i> or <i>कितेक</i> how much? | <i>कैसन</i> (<i>कइसन</i>) what like? |
| <i>अतेक</i> this much. | <i>ऐसन</i> like this. |
| <i>उतेक</i> that much. | <i>वैसन</i> like that. |
| <i>जतेक</i> however much. | <i>जैसन</i> whatever like. |
| — so much. | <i>तैसन</i> such like. |
| 5. Direction— <i>कैन्हर</i> , <i>कैने</i> whither? | |
| <i>एन्हर</i> , <i>एने</i> hither. | |
| <i>उन्हर</i> , <i>उने</i> thither. | |
| <i>जैन्हर</i> , <i>जैने</i> whithersoever. | |
| <i>तैन्हर</i> , <i>तेने</i> thither. | |

The series of place may also be expressed by *केठाई*, *केठां*, etc., and that of direction by *के ओर*, etc.

The other pronouns may be given in comparison with the Hindi, thus—

कौन *के*, gen. *केकर*, Shah. *किकरा*, etc.

कौय *केह* *kehá*, gen. *केह का*, etc.

कुछ, कौनो, the former means "nothing," as कुछ ना जानत
 बारी, "we know nothing;" the latter is an adjective,
 meaning "none," "no," as कौनो उपाय नहीं, "there is
 no remedy."

क्यों काहे.

क्या.

कभीउ.

कहीं.

जो जे कुँ जे केह.

II.

The verb in all its forms is best exhibited in comparison with the Hindi verb, as the arrangement of tenses is the same in both.

Infinitive, जानना, to know, knowing (the act of).

जाने वा, of knowing.

Present participle, जानत, knowing. H. जानता.

जानता. (This form is rarely used.)

Plural, जानत.

जानते. H. जानते.

Past participle, जानस, जानिस, जानिसा } H. जाना, known, having
 Oblique case, जानिसे पर, सो, etc. } known.

Future participle, जानिहार, knower, or about to know. H. जानिवासा.
 (Agent.)

PRESENT TENSE.

Sing. हम, तुह, उह जानत बा, I am knowing, etc. H. जाना ह, etc.

Pl. Id. H. जाने हैं.

PAST TENSE. (H. में जाना - हम जाने, etc.)

SINGULAR.

1. हम जानिसी, I knew.

2. तुह जानिस, thou knewest.

3. उह जानिस, he knew.

(Variant of 3rd pers. जानिसस्.)

PLURAL.

हमनी जानिसी, we knew.

तोहनी जानिसह, ye knew.

उह जानिसन्, they knew.

(Variant of 3rd pers. जानिसा.)

FUTURE TENSE. (H. जानूमा, etc.)

1. जानव, I shall know.

2. जानव, thou shalt know.

3. जानि, he shall know.

1. } Same as singular.

2. }

3. जानिहीं, they shall know.

IMPERATIVE. (H. जान, जानो.)

जान, know thou.

• | जानो, know ye.

The compound tenses in Hindi are, as is well known, nine, and may be thus classified.

A. Present participle +	{	Present, verb subst. जानता है	1.
		Past „ „ जानता था	2.
		Future „ „ जानता होगा	3.
B. Past participle +	{	Present „ „ जाना है	4.
		Past „ „ जाना था	5.
		Future „ „ जाना होगा	6.
C. Future participle + (Agent.)	{	Present „ „ जानेवाला है	7.
		Past „ „ जानेवाला था	8.
		Future „ „ जानेवाला होगा	9.

The same array of forms may be produced in Bhojpuri by a combination of the three participles A. जानत, B. जाना, C. जानिहार, with the following. For the present, the verb substantive जा, for the past, रहत, and for the future, हरे. In an uncultivated dialect like this, however, refinement of speech cannot be looked for, and consequently the Bhojpuri peasant as a rule confines himself to the three simple tenses given in the paradigm above. The use of जा, however, is very frequent, and its variations very great. First we have जा (in Shahabad भा), then बटे or बाटे, बाह and बाह्या; and, lastly, a declinable form (the others being indeclinable), which, though the same for both singular and plural, varies for the persons, thus—

1st person, हम देखत बारी,	I am,	we are looking.
2nd „ तुह देखत बार (bára),	thou art,	ye are looking.
3rd „ उह देखत बारन,	he is,	they are looking.

I generally hear this form used in asking questions and in replying to them; in narrative the other indeclinable forms are used.

For the Hindi था, which is unknown, the past tense of the verb रहना, “to stay,” is in use; and the future exhibits हरे, the regular future of होना, “to be,” the conjugation of which will be given hereafter.

There are also some fragmentary forms in use. The dialect being an expressive one, in its rude way, indulges much in enclitics (*thegá*, ठेगा, as they call them, Anglice, *tags*). Thus we hear कहितारि, “I say,” probably a corruption of कहत बारी, as I do not remember to have heard this particular tag used with any other verb.¹ Another

¹ Since writing the above I have heard the words जाइतारी, “I am going,” and बान्तारी, (*ban'tarin*) for बाधितारी, “I am tying,” so that probably the phrase is a common one.

favourite is **जुं**, which is added to the end of a sentence, however long, and gives a certain accent of conviction or energy, as we should say, "Don't you see?" Take for example the following sentence: **तोहनी के दुई रुपीआ महीना मिसत् बानू**, which means, "*Well, but you get two rupees a month you know, recollect that.*" The words in italics are all expressed by **जुं**, accompanied by a certain turn of the voice and gesture with the hands and shoulders, which must be seen to be appreciated. **ह** (pronounced ha! or ho!) is also added to commands, as **जाह जाह** *jāha!* "go! go!" Others are **ही** (Sansk. हि), **हीं** (id.), **नी** and **नों**, etc.

It is expedient to exhibit the conjugation of a verb whose root ends in **आ**, as such verbs deviate in some points from others. I take the verb **पराना**, to fly (Hindī भागना).

Present participle, **पराहत**, flying.

पराता (rare) id.

Past participle, **पराहस**, fled.

Future participle, **परानिहार**, about to fly.

PRESENT TENSE.

Sing. all three persons, **पराहत बा**, I am flying.

Plural " " " "

PAST TENSE.

SINGULAR.

हम पराहसी I fled.

तुह पराहस thou fledst.

उह पराहस he fled.

Var. **पराहस**.

PLURAL.

हमनी पराहसी we fled.

तोहनी पराहसह ye fled.

उहे पराहसन they fled.

FUTURE TENSE.

1. **हम पराहस** I will fly.

2. **तुह पराहस** thou wilt fly.

3. **उह पराह** (or **ई**) he will fly.

1. } Same as singular.

2. }

3. **उहे पराहसी** they will fly.

Imperative, **पराव** (*pardwa* or *-wo*), fly ye.

The Passive is expressed by the following form :

Present, **हम पकड़ाह बा** I am seized, or **पकड़ाह जात बा**.

Past, **उह पकड़ाह गेल** he has been seized.

Future, **उह पकड़ाह** he will be seized, or **पकड़ाह जाह**.

The form, usually appropriated in classical Hindī to the causal verb, being thus used for the passive, recourse is had to the other available

semi-vowel **व** to form the causal, which sounds therefore **दिखावना** or **दिखौना**, "to shew."

Present, **दिखाउत बारी**.

Past, **दिखाउसी** or **दिखउसी** or **दिखीसी**, etc.

Future, **दिखाब**, **दिखाउब**, etc., also **दिखाएब**, etc.

The verbs which, in Hindî, form their preterites in a manner peculiar to themselves, have the same special forms in Bhojpuri. Thus—

करना to do.

Pret. **कैसी** or **करिसी**.

जाना to go.

जैसी.

मरना to die.

मूइसी and **मूचसी**.

(Also **मूचनी**).

The indefinite participle, which in Hindî ends in **कर** or **के**, is rarely used; in its stead the oblique form of the past participle is commonly heard, as **जानिखे पर - जैखे सीं**, "on knowing," "on going." In some sentences, however, the participle in *ke* is used, as **समझ बूझके**, "having thoroughly understood." I suspect such phrases are recent importations from Hindî.

I have left till the last the aorist, because I almost doubt of its existence. In Urdû this tense is generally used as a vague present, in contrast to the definite present in *tâ*:—*wuh kahân jâe*, "where is he going?" but *abhi jâtâ hai*, "he is going at once." Such a delicate distinction is beyond the comprehension of our simple peasantry. The only time I am sensible of the existence of a sort of aorist is when a man says, "May I take leave?" = *ab hum jân*, **अब हम जाई**, which is literally, "now I go," said with a questioning tone. If there be any such tense it differs only from the Hindî in sounding **ई** for **ए** in the first and third persons of the plural; and here, again, I half suspect copying from the Hindî.

The prohibitive particle **मत्** of the Hindî imperative is not in use; **न** is used.

It must further be noted that the utmost confusion exists in the application of the above rules, so that you hear, *e.g.* **पीटाइ** as the future of **पीटना**, "to beat," **कउचावत रहल**, as the imperfect of **कौचाना**, "to steal," and the like. I have endeavoured, however, with the aid of the best-informed natives, to select and exhibit the most accurate and widely used forms.

In this place should be noticed the form of a verbal noun in **वे** or **बे**. Examples of this form are **सुम्बे न कैलन** *sunbe na kailan*, "they would not give me a hearing," **आवे न करिल** *âbe na karila*, "you would not

(even) come," होवे करि ऐसन *hove kari aisan*, "it will probably be so," "it may be expected to be so." On comparing this form with Bengálí expressions, such as करिबार् ज्य *kôribâr jönyô*, "for the sake of doing," and the Gujarátí infinitive which ends in *जू* as *करुजू* *karvũ*, *levũ*, etc.; and again with the two infinitives in Maráthí, one of which ends in *ऊँ* as *करूँ* *karũ*, the other in *ऐँ*, as *करैँ* *karñẽ*; and taking further into consideration the old Braj infinitive in *वी*, as *जखवी* *jalkavũ*, we are forced to regard this form also as a true infinitive, or perhaps a gerund, with a substantive power, similar to that of the inflected infinitive in *ने*; and its preservation in the local dialects, after it has been lost from the classical tongue, supplies an additional link between the Hindí and other neo-Aryan dialects. Further, the form of the Bengálí future, as करिब *kôribô*, etc., and the same tense in Bhojpurí, as करब, etc., gives us in connection with the Latin forms *amabo*, *amabis*, etc., a clue to its origin in the substantive verb *भू* "to be," which has lost its aspirate equally in the neo-Aryans and in the Latin. The peculiar value of this and similar formations in the local dialects consists in this, that Urdú has in many respects alienated itself from the sister languages owing to foreign influences, and the existence of such forms as these helps us to restore and establish the fundamental unity of the whole class, even though on a surface view many links might seem to have been lost.

The substantive verb होना, "to be," though in many respects quite regular, possesses, however, some forms of a peculiar nature. The chief noticeable point is the presence of ख *kh*. Thus we have—

Bhojpurí.		Hindí.	
होखत्	for	होता	being.
होखस	"	हए	they have been.
होखब	"	मैं हंगा	I shall be.
होखबहू	"	तू होगा	thou shalt be.
होखीहै (ही)	"	वह होगा	he shall be.
होखी	"	होखीये	be thou (respectful).

These forms arise from the incorporation of the substantive verb खे. This verb, except in the combinations given above, is not declinable, though the single form खे with its negative नाखे is common. As we go further east into Tírbhut the form है is universally employed for "is;" quite superseding बा. है is heard as far east as the Hindí language goes, viz., as far as 87° 45', where it merges into the Bengálí खाटे *áchhe*. Inasmuch as this last word is clearly a corruption of the

Sanskrit अक्षि, we have a chain of forms whose relative geographical position is analogous to their philological. Beginning in Bengal, the region, *par excellence*, of well-preserved Sanskrit forms, and going steadily westwards, we pass in order through the following forms:—आछ् *áchhe*, छे *chhe*, खे *khe*, and है *hai*. I am disposed, however, to place है between छे and खे, and to regard the latter as sprung from a hardening of the aspirate, something similar to what takes place regularly in the termination *ś h* of Persian words, which spring from a Sanskrit *visarga*, and become in Armenian *h g*, as प्रेतस् *pretas*, فرشت *frishta*, *հրիշտակ* *hrieshdag*.

The word बा is pronounced in Shahabad भा *bhd*; and that this is the more correct pronunciation is shown by the form of the past tense, which is in Chumparun भै *bhel*, in Shahabad भै or भोरख. It is also evidently derived from the Sanskrit भू. The form भा is found in old Hindí, but in a past sense (Garcin de Tassy, *Gram. Hind.* p. 37); the most usual form is भयी, and भया is common in modern Hindí for *हृभा* all over India.

The form in स् of the perfect is of frequent use, and in some constantly recurring words, as रहना, it loses its ख and sounds रहस्, as in the phrase तेबेर रहस् कि ना, “was he there at the time or not?” This clipping is a characteristic of the Sarun district.

I now proceed to make a few remarks on the origin and general relations of the forms of the Bhojpurí verb.

The infinitive retains the *anuswára*, which appears originally to have existed in the Hindí. I may mention that even in Urdú at the present day I have met many educated natives who always write کرنا, هونا *honá, karná*, etc., for کرنا, هونا *honá, karná*.

The presence of this *anuswára* leads me to the conclusion that the infinitive is derived from the neuter form of the verbal substantive in Sanskrit, and not from the masculine as suggested by Professor Bopp (*Comp. Gram.* vol. iii. p. 1233, Eng. ed.) Taking the forms in order of antiquity, we have first the Sanskrit in *am*, e.g. ज्वलनं or ज्वलनम्. (This use of the *anuswára* is merely a *compendium scripturae* and not a pure nasal as in वञ्च; or the like.) Next we find the म resolved into its two elements, the labial and the nasal. The former element in its vowel form amalgamates with the inherent short vowel of the preceding न and forms नो; the latter becomes a pure *anuswára* with nasal intonation, and the weakening of the म into these two feebler exhibitions of each of its component elements is compensated for in the ever sensitive

Hindí by lengthening the **जो** to **जो**; thus we get the Braj form **जखनी**. The next stage is the Bhojpuri **खनना** which follows the rule by which all words in Braj ending in **नी** change this vowel into **ना**; lastly, we get the Hindí and Urdú form **खनना**. In support of this view I may allege—Firstly, that in the cognate languages the infinitive has always a neuter form, that is to say, the Gerundial or Noun-infinitive. Thus the Maráthí has **होणे, लेणे**, which is shown to be a neuter form by the neuters of the participles and adjectives, as **चसते**, etc.; also the pronouns **हे, ते**, etc. Similarly the Gujarátí exhibits **जु** as **करुण**, “to do,” **लेणु** *levuṇ*, “to take,” etc., in comparison with the neuters of participles in **ऊ** and the possessive pronouns **अमारे** *amāruṇ*, **तमारे** *tamāruṇ*. So also the Bengálí gives **देखन** *dekhan*, “to see,” **बजब** *basan*, “to sit,” etc., true neuters. The Sindhí inf. similarly ends in **खुं** and the Uriyá in **न**. Secondly, the dissolution of final **म्** into its elements, and the working up of the dissolved elements, as in the infinitive, is exemplified in such words as **गाछी** from **ग्राम**, **गाछी** from **गाम**, **सारी** from **स्वामि**; in the last instance, however, the palatal vowel has overcome the labial left by the **म्**.

The form of the present in **त** is a truer present than the ordinary Hindí in **ता**, which is really the agent of the Sanskrit. The Braj form **जातु** leads us to the Sanskrit agent base in **तृ** rather than to the form of the nominative in **ता**, and the feminine form **जाती** points to the Sanskrit feminine in **त्री**. It is, however, possible to imagine that the Hindí forms in **ता** and **ती** arose also out of the present participle in Sanskrit in this way. The Prakrit form of this participle ends in **ज्जा**, from which we get the Sindhí form in **ईदो** as **मारीदो**; a closely allied form is that in use in the southern parts of the Punjab and as far north as the boundary of the Barr, **मारेंदो** *māreṇdo* or **मारेंदा** *māreṇdd*, “beating.” A step further brings us to the Panjábí proper, which has two forms; that which is used with a verb ending in a vowel retains the nasal, as **जाउंदा** *jāuṇdd*, “going,” but in a verb which ends in a consonant the nasal is of necessity dropped, and we hear **करेंदा** *kardd*, “doing,” **बहेंदा** *ghald*, “sending,” etc. This latter form brings us naturally to the Hindí **कर्ता**. If this supposition be the true one, the Bhojpuri would seem to have kept itself outside of the whole of this process, and to have retained the simple and original Sanskrit form in **जत्** unchanged. I am not yet in a position to give an opinion as to which of the two suppositions is the more correct. The solution of the question depends on the relative antiquity of the

various dialects, and we have yet to settle whether it is likely or possible for the Hindí to have borrowed from so obscure a source as Panjábí. In fact there is much that requires clearing up in the relation between the Saurasení, Braj, and the modern Hindí dialects, and until we know more of the colloquial forms of early Prakrit, the mist cannot be dispelled. The Prakrit of the poets is clearly *not* a dialect that was ever spoken. How far it represents the characteristics of any spoken dialect is a question. It is, however, clear that each dialect of Hindí has had an independent existence for centuries, and I think an independent origin. It cannot be supposed that the Bhojpuri ever arose out of classical Hindí, or Hindí out of it. The next form that we have to notice is of itself sufficient to refute any such supposition. I allude to the past tense with its characteristic क्. The generally received theory concerning this widely-spread form, which is found in Bengálí, Maráthí, Gujarátí, and in one at least of the Hindí dialects, is that it is derived from the Sanskrit past participle क्त by a change of क्त into क्, thence through क् and क् to क्. This theory has received the support of the highest authorities, including Bopp and Lassen. My objections to it are these. In the first place, though the possibility of such a change cannot be denied, yet the probability is slight. So great a change must have been gradual and must have left some landmarks. Yet we find the form in क् existent in Prakrit at the same time as forms in क् and क् (*vide* Lassen, *Inst. Prak.* p. 363), and in the modern languages no traces of the two latter forms exist. Again, the dialects which use the form in क् have no examples of the form in क्त except in such Sanskrit words as they have resuscitated in their old dress in comparatively modern times. The argument insisted upon by both Bopp and Lassen of the existence of a parallel form in the Slavonic languages militates against their theory, for the Slavonic people separated themselves from the general stock at a period when Sanskrit, as we know it, was hardly formed, and could have taken away with them nothing more than the common family wordstems, and the general birth-need, or inherent tendency to form their language according to the common Indo-Germanic canons. The existence among them, therefore, of such a form, seems to shew that it must have a higher antiquity than is secured for it by supposing it to be a mere later Prakrit corruption, and I am therefore inclined to suppose it to be an original and independent form for past time as ancient as that in क्त, and existing side by side with it, but one which for reasons we cannot

yet fathom has not asserted itself in written Sanskrit, unless it be there represented by the participle in ञ or ञ्, a supposition supported by the known convertibility of the two letters ञ and ञ् as exhibited in the modern Bengálí pronunciation, as also in the form of the Armenian infinitive in *l* as in *սիրել sîrel*, *բերիլ bieril*, and other words. Besides, it may be urged that though the transit of ॠ into ञ is a fact supported by some good examples, yet as far as the Bhojpuri is concerned the tendency is quite the opposite; ञ migrates into ॠ freely and frequently, but I cannot adduce any instances of ॠ changing into ञ.

I would here further observe that the written Sanskrit has unfortunately attracted the attention of scholars too exclusively. No one who lives long in India can escape having the conviction forced on him that the written language is quite inadequate to account for many forms and facts observable in the modern dialects. These dialects assert for themselves a high antiquity, and are derived, one cannot doubt, from an ancient Aryan speech, which is as imperfectly represented in Sanskrit as the speech of the Italian peasantry of their day was represented by Cicero or Virgil. The process of selection which led the polished Roman to use only stately and euphonious words—a process which is abundantly exemplified in the pages of modern English writers—was doubtless at work among the ancient Brahmins; and the fact that the cognate Indo-Germanic languages preserve words not found in Sanskrit, but which can be matched from the stores of humble and obscure Hindí or Bengálí dialects, is another proof of this fact. The line taken by Professor Lassen, in his valuable Prakrit Grammar, of treating all Prakrit words as necessarily modifications of Sanskrit words, is one which he has borrowed whole from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, and however excusable in those ancient commentators, seems unworthy of an age of critical research. The elaborate torturing of a Sanskrit word to make it serve as the etymon of a Prakrit word is a false and strained proceeding. If we approached the Prakrit from the side of the modern vernaculars we should, I think, arrive at a truer view of its position. But I am wandering from the subject of the present notice into a very wide field indeed.

The future appears to be formed of remains of two separate systems; the first and second persons belonging to one, and the third person to another. That of the first and second persons is clearly a combination of the stem with the substantive verb ञ्, which recalls the Latin future

in *bo*, *bis*, etc.; also the prefixed ب of the Persian and the ব of the Bengálí. The reason why the first person is pronounced in two syllables while the second person has three, is to be found, I believe, in the original existence of an स in the latter (भवसि), which modulated into *o* and thence into a short *ä*. The third person resembles some of the forms of the present given in Lassen's paradigms of the Mahārāshtrī Prakrit, and points to the existence of two futures,—one compounded with the root भू, the other with अस; the two first persons are remnants of the first verb as the third person is of the second. The reason for this it is difficult to discover; but I may mention that the respectful form of the imperative, which sounds in classical Hindi *jāiye*, is often pronounced, even beyond Bhojpuri limits, *jāihāi* जाहौं, which is identical in form with the third person plural of the future; and as the plural is used in most Aryan languages as a mark of politeness and respect, it is not improbable that the respectful form of the imperative arose from the same sentiment, and the final हौं of the plural may be nothing more than the emphatic particle. Beyond this I cannot at present offer any safe conjecture. The formation of futures, as a rule, in modern Aryan languages proceeds upon analytical principles, the inflectional characteristic being more readily lost in this than in other tenses. Just as we have in the Romance languages a future formed by the auxiliary "to have," so in the modern Indo-Aryans we see that recourse is had, in the absence of a possessive verb, to the verbs "to be," "to go," and the like. Thus in the Hindi the forms *gā*, *gā*, *gā*, *gā*, of the future are recognizable as connected with some now lost relative of the Sanskrit गम्; probably there existed a form गा,¹ which would be intermediate between the existing roots गम् and या, and thus we should have a series of roots meaning "to go," gradually modulating from the guttural into the palatal *varga*; thus गम्, गा, या, ह, of which गा has left no trace in classical writings. My suggestion that the third person of the Bhojpuri future points to the verb अस rests upon the Hindi form हू, which in ordinary conversation is apt to sound little more than ह, especially in Eastern Hindustān.

In the pronouns the most remarkable feature is the formation of the cases. Here, again, we find scholars trying to recall the forms in use in the modern dialects to some connection with the Sanskrit, and I fear with very bad success. I hazard with much diffidence some remarks which point in a fresh direction. In the first place it is noticeable that

¹ Westergaard gives गा, but only as a Vedic word. Rad. Sanscr. p. 2.

we have in the majority of these languages the same *system* of genitive formation with a different class of consonants.

Hindí, वा की के
Panjábí, दा दी दे दीक्षा
Maráthí, चा ची चे च्या चें, etc.

The effect of these particles, as has been observed from the first, is to make the governed substantive into an adjective agreeing in its accidents with the governing substantive, so that instead of saying *patris equus* we say virtually *paternus equus*, and so forth.

In the next place, the क् of the Hindí might, by known laws, modulate into the च् of the Maráthí, if we could safely assign to Hindí, *as Hindí*, a higher antiquity than to Maráthí. This is a question which must be investigated quite apart from any considerations as to the relative position of the Maháráshṭrī and Saurasenī Prakrits, because the locale of the plays being chiefly at Ujjayin, Maháráshṭrī probably acquired undue prominence. It is not possible, I think, to suppose upon known laws any phonetic connection between the द् of the Panjábí and the क् of Hindí. The Panjábí द्, however, can be legitimately connected with the र् of the pronouns of all the languages, and we may here throw in the द्र or एद्र of the Bengálí. Thus we have two groups. The Hindí and Maráthí noun, on the one hand, and the Panjábí and Bengálí noun, with all the pronouns, on the other. A third element occurs in the Gujarátí जो, which again is found as an accusative in the Panjábí जु, while the क् of the Hindí re-appears in the accusative of the Bengálí के *ke*. The Nepalese genitive sign is को, which is identical in form with the sign for the Hindí accusative; but, in origin, is doubtless a relic of the old Hindí form कौ, which has in modern Hindí been softened still further into का. The Sindhí क् system is a still further softening of the Maráthí च्.

With the द् of the Panjábí agrees the prefixed ɔ *d* of the Pushtu, and perhaps the ɔ *z* of the Armenian accusative. It is further noticeable that at one period of its history Hindí possessed both the क् and the द् system, as the latter is found in the poems of the early Hindí bards generally, and a series with र् is shewn in a quatrain given by M. Garcin de Tassy in a note to his valuable "Grammaire de la langue Hindoui." That distinguished scholar attributes the presence of these forms to Panjábí influence, and his view is doubtless correct. In the Márwarí dialect of Hindí the genitive is regularly formed by रो and रे *m*. री *fem*. This र् type also occasionally occurs in the Prithví

rāja, Rāsa of Chand, which is written in the Bhaṭṭī dialect of Hanai and Sirsa. The facts may be thus summed up :—

1. The machinery for expressing the genitive is identical in nature in the majority of the languages.
2. The said machinery differs by the employment of separate characteristics in each language.
3. These characteristics may be reduced into two groups—a linguo-dental and a gutturo-palatal.
4. In the first group are found Panjābī, Bengālī, and the pronouns of the two first persons in all the Neo-Aryan languages, and those of all three persons in Bhojpurī. In the second, Hindī, Marāṭhī, and Sindhī.
5. The characteristics of the genitive in some languages re-appear as characteristics of other cases in other languages.

The modern languages of the Indo-Germanic family reject as a rule the inflectional construction, and adopt an analytical construction by means of pre- or affixed particles. In the European languages these particles are words which in the inflectional period were prepositions—*de, ad, per, super, of, out, to*, etc. For the genitive relation the preposition which in the former period expressed “separation” and “derivation from,” is *de, of, von*.¹ Another method of expressing genitive relation is by the use of relative pronouns. This is one of the Semitic methods (לְ for instance, also بِي and ؟). On this principle we should expect a system of palatals from the Sanskrit यः;² and although it is in Hindī a common vulgarism to use कैसा for जैसा and so forth, yet we are not prepared to take the interrogative कः for यः though by this means the क system would receive an appropriate solution. Nothing, however, among the relative pronouns of Sanskrit furnishes an origin for the linguo-dental system. सः might, it is true, be adduced; but the real radical of the सः series of pronouns is त, and if we took this we should have to work backwards through the Panjābī द and an imaginary ड to the pronouns in र, which would hardly be consistent with the universally higher antiquity of pronouns, or account for their unanimous use of the र in languages which use the क system in their nouns.

¹ *Von* has a genitive relation, though a dative construction; *auf* and *of* have got sundered.

² Such as we probably have in the Persian *izāfa*. There is a good Essay, by Garnett, on the subject of genitives: it is published in the collected volume of his Essays, which I have not at hand while I write.

Dr. Trumpp's¹ suggestion of कृते for the कृ system, and Bábu Rájendra Lál Mitra's of the affirmative कृ of Sanskrit nouns, both fail to meet the necessities of the case, as they do not embrace the whole group of languages, and the uniformity of the machinery leads us to look for one general explanation which will satisfy all the members of the class.

There remains only the method adopted by the European languages, that of using prepositions as signs of case, and this is manifestly inapplicable to the genitive, whatever may be said of other cases. None of the Sanskrit prepositions can have furnished the elements of the कृ system, or of the र system.²

It is here that the Bhojpurí throws a new light on the problem. In the forms इकर, इकरा, etc., we find both the कृ and the र element combined, and the supposition immediately occurs that this is the oldest and most genuine form. There is a known tendency in languages of the Aryan family to sunder compound consonants, so that while one language preserves one of them a second will preserve only the other. May not this tendency have been at work in the present instance? If we assume that the original affix of personality was कृ kr, we have in the older and more widespread र system a rejection of the कृ, and in the more recent कृ system on the other hand a rejection of the र, which latter would be in consonance with the Pali and Prakrit rule of assimilating an र when it is the second member of a compound to the first member, e.g. प्य for प्र. As to the origin and meaning of this affix कृ kr, I cannot here dilate, but its existence is hinted at by Greek forms like ἡμετερός, etc. If it could be asserted that the root कृ (कृ) were in any way connected with this affix, Dr. Trumpp's theory would not be altogether out of harmony with mine; but I am far from being prepared to admit this point at present.

III.

To return to the Bhojpurí dialect. The vocabulary is in the main identical with Hindí, but there are many words which are not to be found in ordinary dictionaries, and which I have never heard beyond the Bhojpurí area. I give here a list of those which I have been able to record. I have not attempted to classify them.

¹ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. p. 392, etc.

² Though Dr. Trumpp's suggestion of कृ for the Panjábi कृ is undoubtedly correct.

Father,	बपसो	Hindī बाप	Grandfather,	आजा
Mother,	मतारी,	महतारी	Grandmother,	आजी
Pillow,	छोटखना	<i>oñhakhnā</i>	Uncle,	पितिता
To peep,	झांकना	<i>jhāñkñā</i>	Aunt,	पितितानी
Good,	नीमन्	<i>nīman</i>	Uncle,	मऊशा
A present,	शोचात्	¹ <i>śoghāt</i>	Aunt,	मऊशी
A son's wife,	पुतोह	<i>putoh</i>	Nephew,	भगीना
Younger brother's wife,	भहो	to be distinguished from बौह, H. बहू, which means a married woman in general.	Niece,	भगीनी
Branch of a tree,	डोधी			
A hut in the jungles used by graziers,	}	बघान, also अरार (Goruckpore)		
A cow-shed,				
Feeding cattle at night,	मेलाण, पशर	(especially buffaloes, which in the hot weather feed best at night).		
To run after,	पीकवाना			
To collect cattle,	बेलावना			
To quarrel,	टंटा करी, बजनी क०, झोझ क०, झवर क०,	probably from Ar. جبر <i>jabr</i> .		
To search for,	गरश् क०, ऊदेस क०			
To plough,	चास क०.	They say एक चास भेल it has been ploughed once, etc.		
An acquaintance,	परचे, चीन्हा परचे			
To sow,	बाउग, बावग क०			
To transplant,	रोपना			
To pull up,	कवारना, चोतना			
To eat,	जेवना, पडना			
Quickly,	तुरन्त, हालदे			
To look at,	तकना, कन्खिखवना, घुरना			
To pass,	बीतना (said of passing time)			
To stand,	डा रहना			
To stink (neut.)	पशाना			
To smell (act.)	मुंहकना			
To sleep,	सुतना			
Poor,	ताधराम			

¹ The श in these words is not distinguishable in pronunciation from स, though in writing it is the more frequently used of the two, probably because it is easier to write. A similar confusion between these two letters exists in Marāṭhi, and to a still greater extent in Bengālī.

Pice,

डेकुआ (generally applied to the small black pice or lumps of unstamped copper imported from Nepaul which are current in Chum-parun, and preferred to the Government pice, as the value of them rises and falls like the price of goods. They are reckoned by "gaṇḍas" or clusters of four. From 25 gaṇḍas and upwards go to the seer.

A broom,

बड़नी

A basket,

इउरा डैटी

A water-pot,

गगरी

A platter,

चरोआ (H. चाखी)

A small water-pot,

डुभा (H. कटोरा), other sorts of pots are तउआ, a large earthenware vessel, the Hindī हाडी, and पतकी a smaller sort.

Shoes,

पगड़ी

A walking stick or staff,

बोकी, डेगा, पईना

A rope,

रसरी; खडर *javār*.

A beam,

खरही; परेर *pareār*.

A post,

चुनी

Thatch,

झानी

Meat,

समउती

Vegetables,

तीखन

Near,

जेरे

Far,

झाट

Clothes,

खूना

Wind,

बीआर

Sunshine,

चाम

Morning,

बिखार (var. भी°)

Hot,

तातख

Cold,

शेराख

Man,

मईआ (Pers. مرد)

Woman,

मिहारा *mihārā*

Slave,

बेरुआ

The guava,

खनी

The brinjal,

भेटा

Ginger,

आदी

Torai,	बीछरा <i>ghiré</i> or घ्यूरा (a small sort of cucumber much used as a condiment).
Spinach,	भाजी; Hindi साग or पासकसाग
Plantain,	केरा
Pepper,	मरीचा
Gourd,	खट्वा
A plough,	हर
Ploughshare,	फासा, फार
Sickle,	हंसुआ
Axe,	टांगी, टंगारी (small)
Pot for husking rice,	छखर
Rice-beater,	मुसर
Wolf,	ऊंरार, ऊंड़ार
Fox,	खीखीर
Cat,	बीसार
Squirrel,	खखी (from खख a tree)
Fish,	माछर
Pigeon,	परवा
Rat,	मूश
Fly,	माछी
Snake,	सरप
Calf,	खेख <i>leru</i>
Heifer,	उग्रर
Milch cow,	दोहान
Buffalo heifer,	पत्
Buffalo,	म्हैस <i>mhains</i>
Wife and family,	बिकत् (S. व्यक्ति). This word is used in a general sense, a man will say, "I have five bikats," meaning that his family consists of five persons; when only the wife is alluded to she is called बिकती.
Head,	मुर, कपार (Hindi)
Forehead,	माथा, माथ
Neck,	घेंट
Goutre,	घेघा a very common disease in Chumparun.
Waist,	डार
Back,	डीडा

Hand,

बाउन्ह probably from Hindī बाँह "arm"

Foot,

गोर

This short vocabulary is taken chiefly from notes made at the time I heard the words. It, and in fact the whole of this article, would have been more complete had I not been appointed to another district in quite a different part of the country, and thus obliged to leave Chumparun before I had completed my researches. I trust, however, that, slight as they are, these remarks may suffice to show how much valuable information, and what an amount of new light on doubtful subjects, may be expected from a fuller investigation of the rural dialects of Hindī. In the Bhojpuri we have a dialect spoken by a numerous population in one of the most fertile and accessible parts of India, one which counts more speakers than any other dialect of Hindī, and which yet has remained entirely uncultivated and uninvestigated. The Braj having attracted the attention of the Musulman invaders, and having been adopted by them and made to serve as a basis for their copious, beautiful, and all-pervading Urdú, has usurped the honors due to its sister dialects, and is in return deprived of the light which they might throw on its otherwise obscure formations.

If at a future time I should have further opportunities of investigating the Bhojpuri, I shall endeavour to collect ballads and old songs, sunnuds and title deeds, in the hope that the older forms of the dialect may thus be brought to light. I do not, however, think much is likely to be done in this way, as I observe that the wording of ballads is apt to get modernized, when they are not reduced to writing, and from the fact that Chumparun was so long a jungle, there are not likely to be many old title deeds in existence. It is, however, pre-eminently a district for archæologists. There is a large Buddhist tope at Kesarea (called by the people Raja Bhīm's house); two Asoka pillars at places named after them Louriā (*लौर* = *φάλλος*); the vast ruins of the ancient city of Simraon;¹ and many old temples. Mud forts exist in the northern part of the district, and in one place there is a re-

¹ In 1835 the remains of walls, a large reservoir, ditches, a brick causeway, palace, citadel, and temple of richly carved stone, were still standing. Simraon was founded by Manyupa Deva in A.D. 1097, his sixth successor, Hari Singha Deva, was defeated by Toghlaq Shah in 1322, and fled to Kathmāndo, where he established his throne. Simraon has been in ruins since that time. The kingdom when at its height extended from the Kosi to the Gandak, and from the foot of the hills to the Ganges. See Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, March, 1835. The ruins have been much diminished since that date; a few fine sculptures still remain, and the mounds marking the old line of walls enclose an immense area.

markable collection of them, called Báwan Garhí or the Fifty-two forts. In all these places, as well as in the strange tower-like mounds which exist here and there, there might be found old copper plates of grants of land and so forth. In short, there is much to be done in the way both of linguistic and archaeological enquiry and discovery in this interesting district; it is to be hoped that some one will one day or other take up the task. It is also to be hoped that we shall soon cease to hear the modern languages of India sneered at as rude and unworthy of attention. This way of talking was originated by the Orientalist school of English in India forty years ago, who enchanted with the discoveries which were being made at that time in Sanskrit, and not yet emancipated from the frigid classicality of the last century, could spare no time for the examination of the living vernaculars. It is now considered ridiculous to speak of Italian and French as miserable modern jargons; and consistency demands that we should not treat Hindí or Maráthí with contempt either, or consider that time as wasted which is spent in investigations into the arcana of their structure and origin.

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